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PAUSANIAS'S

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

TRANSLATED WITH A COMMENTARY

BY

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IN SIX VOLUMES

VOL. I

TRANSLATION

P d 24

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Τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων οἴχεται καὶ πάντα τρόπον αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἐλεεινῶς διέφθαρται, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι λοιπὸν ἔστι τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν παθῶν εἴς γε τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁρῶντα· ἀλλ' οἱ λίθοι μᾶλλον ἐμφαίνουσι τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM, *Or.* xxxi.

TO

GEORGE GILBERT RAMSAY

PROFESSOR OF HUMANITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

TO WHOSE

SYMPATHETIC AND STIRRING TEACHING

I OWE

YEARS OF HAPPY COMMUNE WITH THE GREAT OF OLD

I DEDICATE THIS WORK

IN

GRATITUDE AND ESTEEM

PREFACE

In this work my aim has been to give a faithful and idiomatic rendering of Pausanias and to illustrate and supplement his description of Greece by the remains of antiquity and the aspect of the country at the present day. The translation has been made on the whole from the last complete recension of the text, that of J. H. C. Schubart (Leipsic, 1853-1854). All departures from that recension are recorded in the Critical Notes, in which I have also essayed to put together the more important suggestions that have been made for the improvement of the text since Schubart's edition was published. The materials for an illustrative commentary have been accumulated in great abundance by travellers, scholars, and antiquaries, and my task has been chiefly the humble one of condensing and digesting these copious but scattered materials into a moderate compass and a convenient form. But I have also embodied the notes of several journeys which I made in Greece for the sake of this work in 1890 and 1895.

At the outset of a book which deals so largely with archaeological matters, it is proper I should confess to being an expert in none of the branches of archaeology. If, nevertheless, I have presumed to comment on Pausanias, my excuse is that a commentary was needed and that at the time when, more than thirteen years ago, I undertook to write it no one else, so far as I knew, had announced an intention of doing so. It was not till I had gone too far to recede that I heard of a new critical and explanatory edition on which two highly competent scholars, Professors Hitzig and Blümner of Zurich, were engaged. Had I learned of their enterprise sooner I should probably have abandoned mine or contented myself with publishing a translation only. The first instalment of their edition, comprising the *Attica*, appeared in 1896,

too late to allow me to use it in my translation and commentary which had been already printed off. But in the *Addenda* I have recorded a few of the judicious changes which Professor Hitzig has made in the text. For a similar reason the notes on Attica and Argolis which I made on my second visit to Greece had also to be relegated to the *Addenda*.

The readers for whom this book is especially designed are students at the universities, but in order to render it intelligible to all who interest themselves in ancient Greece, whether they are scholars or not, I have given quotations from foreign languages in English and have been at some pains to write as simply and clearly as I could. A few technical terms, chiefly architectural, have resisted my efforts to resolve them into simpler expressions, but they are for the most part, I believe, only such as could not have been avoided without the use of intolerable circumlocutions. Inscriptions which bear closely on the matter of Pausanias are given in the original for the convenience of the classical student, to whom the texts of inscriptions are often not easily accessible. But in all cases a translation or abstract is added for the benefit of the unlearned.

In bringing to a close a work on which I have spent, well or ill, some of the best years of my life, I am bound to think of the friends who have aided and encouraged me in its long progress. As I do so, the past with its memories comes back on me

Und manche liebe Schatten steigen auf.

Since the book was begun two dear friends who took the warmest interest in it have passed before to the world of shadows, leaving in my life and in the lives of many an irreparable blank. In addition to all their other kindnesses both had expressed a wish to read the book in proof, and none who knew their vast and varied learning but must be aware how much it would have profited by their revision. But *dis aliter visum est.* William Robertson Smith died in 1894, as the book was going to press; John Henry Middleton survived him two years and read proofs of the translation, but failing health and the pressure of new and onerous duties prevented him from looking at any part of the commentary. Thus for the many errors and blemishes with which I cannot but fear that this part of my work is disfigured and which the criticism of my friends might have removed, I alone am responsible.

Amongst those whom it is my duty and pleasure to thank for help cordially given, I will name particularly Professor Ch. Waldstein, formerly Director of the American School at Athens, Mr. Th. Homolle, Director of the French School at Athens, Mr. Cecil Smith of the British Museum, formerly Director of the British School at Athens, and Professor Percy Gardner of Oxford. Professor Waldstein has on every occasion most courteously and readily placed at my disposal all information, whether published or unpublished, relating to the work of the American School over which he long presided, and he has further with great generosity allowed me to anticipate him in his own field by now publishing for the first time a plan, drawn by his architect Mr. Tilton, of the Argive Heraeum, the excavation of which has been the most important achievement of the American School in Greece. Mr. Homolle I have to thank for the patient courtesy with which he guided me over the scene of his labours at Delphi and for his most obliging permission to use the new French plan of the Delphic sanctuary drawn by Mr. Tournaire. Mr. Cecil Smith paid a visit to Delphi last summer for the purpose of furnishing me with the latest details as to the French excavations there. His useful notes are embodied in my fifth volume. Professor Percy Gardner most kindly exerted himself with success to procure from various European museums a set of casts and impressions of coins to be used in the illustration of this work. Mr. W. Loring politely guided me over the field of the excavations at Megalopolis, which were then being carried on under his direction, and has since given me information on points of Arcadian topography to which he has devoted special attention. Mr. W. J. Woodhouse allowed me to consult him in matters of Messenian topography in which he is an expert, and obligingly furnished me with some advance sheets of his work on Aetolia. From Mr. R. W. Schultz I have received notes on the neighbourhood of Stiris in Phocis, where he spent some months. Mr. R. A. Neil of Pembroke College has always been ready to illuminate my darkness in philological matters with the rays of his wide knowledge, and Professor Alfred Newton has liberally drawn for me on his wealth of beast lore whenever I had occasion to ask his help. I have benefited by the fine scholarship and sober judgment of my friend Mr. W. Wyse on many a pleasant afternoon ramble among Cambridge fields and meadows; and with my friend Professor W. Ridgeway I have talked over not a few of the

questions discussed in these volumes, and have never failed to come away stimulated by contact with his fresh and vigorous mind.

To the Messrs. Macmillan my grateful thanks are due, not only for the readiness with which they undertook years ago to publish the book, but also for the unflinching determination with which they have fulfilled their part of the obligation, although in the meantime the work has swollen to a bulk which neither side contemplated when the engagement was entered into. From beginning to end they have left me full scope in the planning and execution of the book, and have acceded with great liberality to my requests for illustrations, maps, and plans.

Finally, I thank the members, present and past, of the Council of Trinity College who, by thrice prolonging my Fellowship, have enabled me, free from sordid care, to pass my days in "the calm and still air of delightful studies" amid surroundings of all others the most congenial to learning. The windows of my study look on the tranquil court of an ancient college, where the sundial marks the silent passage of the hours and in the long summer days the fountain plashes drowsily amid flowers and grass; where, as the evening shadows deepen, the lights come out in the blazoned windows of the Elizabethan hall and from the chapel the sweet voices of the choir, blent with the pealing music of the organ, float on the peaceful air, telling of man's eternal aspirations after truth and goodness and immortality. Here if anywhere, remote from the tumult and bustle of the world with its pomps and vanities and ambitions, the student may hope to hear the still voice of truth, to penetrate through the little transitory questions of the hour to the realities which abide, or rather which we fondly think must abide, while the generations come and go. I cannot be too thankful that I have been allowed to spend so many quiet and happy years in such a scene, and when I quit my old college rooms, as I soon shall do, for another home in Cambridge, I shall hope to carry forward to new work in a new scene the love of study and labour which has been, not indeed implanted, but fostered and cherished in this ancient home of learning and peace.

J. G. FRAZER.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
December 1897.

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INTRODUCTION

Greece in the second century A.D.

It may be reckoned a peculiar piece of good fortune that among the wreckage of classical literature the *Description of Greece* by Pausanias should have come down to us entire. In this work we possess a plain, unvarnished account by an eye-witness of the state of Greece in the second century of our era. Of no other part of the ancient world has a description at once so minute and so trustworthy survived, and if we had been free to single out one country in one age of which we should wish a record to be preserved, our choice might well have fallen on Greece in the age of the Antonines. No other people has exerted so deep and abiding an influence on the course of modern civilisation as the Greeks, and never could all the monuments of their chequered but glorious history have been studied so fully as in the second century of our era. The great age of the nation, indeed, had long been over, but in the sunshine of peace and imperial favour Greek art and literature had blossomed again. New temples had sprung up; new images had been carved; new theatres and baths and aqueducts ministered to the amusement and luxury of the people. Among the new writers whose works the world will not willingly let die it is enough to mention the great names of Plutarch and Lucian.

It was in this mellow autumn — perhaps rather the Indian summer—of the ancient world, when the last gleanings of the Greek genius were being gathered in, that Pausanias, a contemporary of Hadrian, of the Antonines, and of Lucian, wrote his description of Greece. He came in time, but just in time. He was able to describe the stately buildings with which in his own lifetime Hadrian had embellished Greece, and the hardly less splendid edifices with which, even while he wrote, another munificent patron of art, Herodes Atticus, was rearing at some of the great centres of Greek life and religion. Yet under all this brave show the decline had set in. About a century earlier the emperor Nero, in the speech in which he announced at Corinth the liberation of Greece, lamented that it had not been given him to confer the boon in other and

happier days when there would have been more people to profit by it.[1] Some years after this imperial utterance Plutarch declared that the world in general and Greece especially was depopulated by the civil brawls and wars; the whole country, he said, could now hardly put three thousand infantry in the field, the number that formerly Megara alone had sent to face the Persians at Plataea; and in the daytime a solitary shepherd feeding his flock was the only human being to be met with on what had been the site of one of the most renowned oracles in Boeotia.[2] Dio Chrysostom tells us that in his time the greater part of the city of Thebes lay deserted, and that only a single statue stood erect among the ruins of the ancient market-place.[3] The same picturesque writer has sketched for us a provincial town of Euboea, where most of the space within the walls was in pasture or rig and furrow, where the gymnasium was a fruitful field in which the images of Hercules and the rest rose here and there above the waving corn, and where sheep grazed peacefully about the public offices in the grass-grown market-place.[4] In one of his *Dialogues of the Dead*, Lucian represents the soul of a rich man bitterly reproaching himself for his rashness in having dared to cross Cithaeron with only a couple of men-servants, for he had been set upon and murdered by robbers on the highroad at the point where the grey ruins of Eleutherae still look down on the pass;[5] in the time of Lucian the district, laid waste, he tells us, by the old wars, seems to have been even more lonely and deserted than it is now. Of this state of things Pausanias himself is our best witness. Again and again he notices shrunken or ruined cities, deserted villages, roofless temples, shrines without images and pedestals without statues, faint vestiges of places that once had a name and played a part in history.[6] To the site of one famous

[1] The official text of the emperor's speech was discovered some years ago at Acraephnium in Boeotia. See *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 12 (1888), pp. 510-528; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, pp. 192-194.

[2] Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 8.

[3] *Or.* vii. p. 136 ed. Dindorf.

[4] *Ibid.* vii. p. 117 ed. Dindorf.

[5] Lucian, *Dialog. mort.* xxvii. 2.

[6] Shrunken cities, iii. 19. 6, iii. 24. 1, vi. 22. 8, viii. 25. 3, viii. 27. 7, viii. 28. 1, 4, viii. 33. 1, 2, viii. 38. 1, ix. 7. 6; ruined and deserted cities, ii. 16. 5, ii. 25. 5, 8, 9, ii. 36. 1, ii. 38. 2, iii. 20. 3, iii. 22. 3, 13, iii. 24. 2, 6, iii. 25. 9, iv. 3. 2, iv. 33. 6, 7, v. 6. 3, 4, vi. 21. 6, vii. 18. 1, vii. 23. 4, vii. 24. 13, viii. 12. 7, viii. 13. 2, viii. 15. 9, viii. 18. 8, viii. 26. 8, viii. 27. 7, viii. 28. 7, viii. 29. 1, 5, viii. 34. 6, viii. 35. 5, 7, 9, viii. 36. 7, 8, 9, 10, viii. 44. 1, 2, 3, ix. 2. 1, ix. 4. 4, ix. 19. 2, 4, ix. 26. 5, ix. 29. 2, ix. 38. 9, x. 33. 1; ruined and deserted villages, viii. 7. 4, viii. 23. 9, viii. 25. 1; roofless and ruined temples, i. 1. 5, i. 40. 6, i. 44. 3, ii. 5. 5, ii. 7. 6, ii. 9. 7, ii. 11. 1, ii. 12. 2, ii. 15. 2, ii. 17. 7, ii. 24. 3, ii. 34. 10, ii. 36. 2, 8, iii. 21. 8, iii. 22. 10, vi. 20. 6, vi. 21. 3, 4, 6, vi. 25. 1, viii. 9. 6, viii. 12. 9, viii. 14. 4, viii. 15. 5, viii. 17. 1, viii. 24. 6, viii. 25. 3, viii. 26. 2, viii. 30. 6, viii. 31. 9, viii. 32. 2, 3, viii. 35. 5, viii. 36. 8, viii. 41. 10, viii. 44. 3, 4, viii. 53. 11, viii. 54. 5, x. 8. 6, x. 35. 3, x. 38. 13; temples without images, ii. 7. 6, ii. 12. 2, ii. 15. 2, ii. 36. 2, iii. 22. 10, vi. 25. 1, vii. 22. 11, x. 8. 6; pedestals without statues, ii. 24. 3, viii. 30. 5, viii. 38. 5, viii. 49. 1; other ruined buildings, i. 35. 3, ii. 36. 8, v. 20. 6, viii. 32. 1, ix. 12. 3, ix. 16. 7, ix. 25. 3.

city he came and found it a vineyard.[1] In one neglected fane he saw a great ivy-tree clinging to the ruined walls and rending the stones asunder.[2] In others nothing but the tall columns standing up against the sky marked the site of a temple.[3] Nor were more sudden and violent forces of destruction wanting to quicken the slow decay wrought by time, by neglect, by political servitude, by all the subtle indefinable agencies that sap a nation's strength. In Pausanias's lifetime a horde of northern barbarians, the ominous precursor of many more, carried fire and sword into the heart of Greece,[4] and the Roman world was wasted by that great pestilence which thinned its population, enfeebled its energies, and precipitated the decline of art.[5]

Date of Pausanias.

The little we know of the life of Pausanias is gathered entirely from his writings. Antiquity, which barely mentions the writer,[6] is silent as to the man.

Fortunately his date is certain. At the beginning of his description of Elis he tells us that two hundred and seventeen years had elapsed since the restoration of Corinth.[7] As Corinth was restored in 44 B.C. we see that Pausanias was writing his fifth book in 174 A.D. during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. With this date all the other chronological indications in his book harmonise. Thus he speaks of images which were set up in 125 A.D. as

[1] vi. 22. 1. [2] ix. 33. 7.

[3] ii. 11. 2, viii. 30. 4, viii. 44. 2, cp. viii. 26. 2.

[4] Pausanias x. 34. 5. An inscription lately found in the sacred Eleusinian precinct makes it probable that these barbarians attacked Eleusis. They may have been the people who profaned the mysteries and fired the precinct in the lifetime of the rhetorician Aristides, a contemporary of Pausanias (Aristides, *Or.* xix. vol. 1. p. 421 *sqq.*, ed. Dindorf). See D. Philios, in *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 19 (1895), pp. 119-128; *id.*, in *Mittheilungen des archäologischen Instituts in Athen*, 21 (1896), pp. 242-245.

[5] See Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient History*, 2. p. 53 *sq.* (English translation); Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, 8. pp. 332 *sqq.*, 358 *sqq.*

[6] Aelian (*Var. Hist.* xii. 61) refers to a statement of Pausanias which occurs in his description of Arcadia (viii. 36. 6). The grammarian Herodian, a contemporary of Pausanias, seems to have made use of his work (Aug. Lentz, *Herodiani Technici Reliquiae*, vol. 1. p. clxxix.), and the same may be said of Philostratus. See Philostratus, *vit. Apollon.* i. 20 compared with Pausanias ii. 5. 3 (story that the Euphrates flows underground to join the Nile); Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 16 compared with Pausanias ii. 1. 3, ii. 2. 1 (worship of Palaemon at the Isthmus of Corinth); Philostratus, *vit. Sophist.* ii. 1. 1 compared with Pausanias i. 29. 15 (Miltiades and Cimon); Philostratus, *Heroica*, ii. 3 compared with Pausanias i. 35. 5 (bones of Ajax); and Philostratus, *vit. Apollon.* viii. 19 compared with Pausanias ix. 39. 5-14 (oracle of Trophonius). These comparisons have been made by Mr. W. Gurlitt (*Ueber Pausanias*, p. 73). Others might be added, as Philostratus, *Imagines*, i. 12 (Amphion), ii. 6 (Arrhichion) and ii. 29 (Antigone) with Pausanias, ix. 5. 7 *sq.*, viii. 40. 1 *sq.* and ix. 18. 3. The geographer Stephanus of Byzantium often cites Pausanias by name and recognises the division of his work into ten books, all of which he refers to by their numbers. See the Index to Westermann's edition of Stephanus of Byzantium. A number of passages of Pausanias are copied more or less literally by Suidas, who does not, however, mention his name. See notes on vi. 4. 4, vi. 5. 1, vi. 6. 7, vi. 8. 4, vi. 9. 6, vi. 10. 1, vi. 13. 3, vi. 14. 5, vi. 18. 2, x. 37. 6.

[7] v. 1. 2.

specimens of the art of his day.[1] Again, he gives us to understand that he was a contemporary of Hadrian's,[2] and he tells us that he never saw Hadrian's favourite, Antinous, in life.[3] Now Hadrian died in 138 A.D., and the mysterious death of Antinous in Egypt appears to have fallen in 130 A.D.[4] It is natural to infer from Pausanias's words that though he never saw Antinous in life, he was old enough to have seen him; from which we conclude that our author was born a good many years before 130 A.D., the date of Antinous's death. The latest historical event mentioned by him is the incursion of the Costobocs into Greece, which seems to have taken place some time between 166 A.D. and 180 A.D., perhaps in 176 A.D.[5]

Dates of the various books.

From these and a few more hints we may draw some conclusions as to the dates when the various books that make up the *Description of Greece* were written. In the seventh book Pausanias tells us that his description of Athens was finished before Herodes Atticus built the Music Hall in memory of his wife Regilla.[6] As Regilla appears to have died in 160 or 161 A.D. and the Music Hall was probably built soon afterwards, we may suppose that Pausanias had finished his first book by 160 or 161 A.D. at latest. There is, indeed, some ground for holding that both the first and the second book were composed much earlier. For in the second book Pausanias mentions a number of buildings which had been erected in his own lifetime by a Roman senator Antoninus in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Epidaurus.[7] If, as seems not improbable, the Roman senator was no other than the Antoninus who afterwards reigned as Antoninus Pius, we should naturally infer that the second book was published in the reign of Hadrian, that is, not later than 138 A.D., the year when Hadrian died and Antoninus succeeded him on the throne. With this it would agree that no emperor later than Hadrian is mentioned in the first or second book, or indeed in any book before the eighth. Little weight, however, can be attached to this circumstance, for in the fifth book Hadrian is the last emperor mentioned[8] although that book was written, as we have seen, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, thirty-six years after Hadrian's death. A much later date has been assigned to the second book by Mr. W. Gurlitt in his valuable monograph on Pausanias.[9] He points out that when Pausanias wrote it the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Smyrna had already been founded,[10] and that if Masson's chronology of the life of the rhetorician Aristides is right[11] the sanctuary was still unfinished in 165 A.D. Hence

[1] v. 21. 15. [2] i. 5. 5. [3] viii. 9. 7.
[4] J. Durr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 64.
[5] See x. 34. 5 note. [6] vii. 20. 6 note. [7] ii. 27. 6 *sq.*
[8] v. 12. 6. [9] *Ueber Pausanias*, pp. 1, 59. [10] Pausanias ii. 26. 9.
[11] Masson, *De Aristidis vita collectanea historica*, printed in Dindorf's edition of Aristides, vol. 3. p. 91.

Mr. Gurlitt concludes that the second book of Pausanias was written after 165 A.D. Even the first book, according to him, must be dated not earlier than 143 A.D. His reason is that when Pausanias wrote this book the stadium at Athens had already been rebuilt of white marble by Herodes Atticus,[1] and that the reconstruction cannot, if Professor C. Wachsmuth is right,[2] have been begun before 143 A.D. or a little earlier. With regard to the other books, the evidence, scanty as it is, is less conflicting. The fifth book, as we have seen, was composed in the year 174 A.D. The eighth book, in which mention is made of the victory of Marcus Antoninus over the Germans,[3] must have been written after 166 A.D., the year when the German war broke out, and may have been written in or after 176 A.D., the year in which the emperor celebrated a triumph for his success. In the tenth book occurs the reference to the inroad of the Costobocs;[4] hence the book was written between 166 and 180 A.D. Further, the references which Pausanias makes both forwards and backwards to the several parts of his work show that the books were written in the order in which they now stand.[5] Hence books six to ten cannot have been composed earlier and may have been composed a good deal later than 174 A.D., the year in which our author was engaged on his fifth book. Thus the composition of the work extended over a period of at least fourteen years and probably of many more. That Pausanias spent a long time over it might be inferred from a passage in which he explains a change in his religious views. When he began his work, so he tells us, he looked on some Greek myths as little better than foolishness, but when he had got as far as his description of Arcadia he had altered his opinion and had come to believe that they contained a kernel of deep wisdom under a husk of extravagance.[6] Such a total change of attitude towards the religious traditions of his country was more probably an affair of years than of weeks and months.

The first book written and published before the rest.

That the first book was not only written but published before the others seems clear. Amongst the proofs of this the strongest is the writer's statement in the seventh book,[7] that when he wrote his description of Athens the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus had not

[1] Pausanias i. 19. 6.

[2] See C. Wachsmuth, in *Mittheilungen des archäologischen Instituts in Athen*, 9 (1884), p. 95.

[3] viii. 43. 6 note.

[4] x. 34. 5.

[5] The First Book was written before the Second (ii. 19. 8, ii. 21. 4, ii. 23. 6, ii. 32. 3), the Second before the Third (iii. 6. 9, iii. 10. 5), the Third before the Fourth (iii. 7. 5, iii. 15. 10, iv. 2. 4), the Fifth before the Sixth (v. 14. 6), the Sixth before the Seventh (vi. 3. 8, vi. 8. 5), the Seventh before the Eighth (vii. 7. 4, vii. 8. 6), the Eighth before the Ninth (ix. 41. 2), and the Ninth before the Tenth (x. 32. 10). For confirmatory references see i. 24. 5, iii. 11. 1, iii. 17. 3, iv. 29. 1, 12, v. 15. 4, v. 18. 8, v. 27. 9, vi. 2. 4, vii. 20. 6, viii. 5. 1, viii. 31. 1, viii. 37. 1, viii. 48. 2, viii. 52. 5, ix. 14. 5, ix. 19. 2, x. 9. 2, x. 19. 5, x. 37. 4, x. 38. 10. Compare G. Krüger, *Theologumena Pausaniae* (Leipsic, 1860), p. 10 note 3.

[6] viii. 8. 3.

[7] vii. 20. 6.

yet been built. This implies that when he wrote the seventh book the first was already published; otherwise he could easily have incorporated a notice of the Music Hall in its proper place in the manuscript. Again, in the eighth book[1] he expressly corrects a view which he had adopted in the first;[2] this also he might have done in the manuscript of the first book if he still had it by him. In other places he tacitly adds to statements and descriptions contained in the first book.[3] Further, the narrative of the Gallic invasion in the first book[4] is superseded by the much fuller narrative given in the tenth book,[5] and would hardly have been allowed to stand if it had been in the author's power to cut it out. More interesting are the passages in which we seem to discover references to criticisms which had been passed on his first book. Thus in the third book[6] he repeats emphatically the plan of work which he had laid down for himself in the first,[7] adding that the plan had been adopted after mature deliberation, and that he would not depart from it. This sounds like a trumpet-blast of defiance to the critics who had picked holes in the scheme of his first book. Elsewhere he seems conscious that some of their strictures were not wholly undeserved. In speaking of the descendants of Aristomenes he is sorely tempted to go into the family history of the Diagorids, but pulls himself up sharply with the remark that he passes over this interesting topic "lest it should appear an impertinent digression."[8] Clearly the arrows of the reviewers had gone home. The tedious historical dissertations with which he had sought to spice the plain fare of Athenian topography were now felt by the poor author himself to savour strongly of impertinent digressions. Again, old habit getting the better of him, the sight of a ruined camp of King Philip in a secluded Arcadian valley sets him off rambling on the divine retribution that overtook that wicked monarch and his descendants and the murderers of his descendants and *their* descendants after them, till, his conscience smiting him, he suddenly returns to business with the half apology, "But this has been a digression."[9] That Pausanias had the fear of the critics before his eyes is stated by himself in the plainest language. He had made, he tells us, careful researches into the vexed subject of the dates of Homer and Hesiod, but refrained from stating the result of his labours, because he knew very well the carping disposition of the professors of poetry of his own day.[10] Little did he foresee the disposition of certain other pro-

[1] viii. 5. 1. [2] i. 41. 2.

[3] Compare v. 11. 6 with i. 15. 3 as to the painting of the battle of Marathon; v. 12. 4 with i. 21. 3 as to the gilt head of Medusa on the Acropolis; ii. 30. 2 and iii. 15. 7 with i. 22. 4 as to the temple of Wingless Victory; vi. 20. 14 with i. 24. 3 as to the sculptor Cleoetas; x. 21. 5 *sq.* with i. 3. 2 *sq.* as to the colonnade of Zeus of Freedom.

[4] i. 3. 5-i. 4. 6. [5] x. 19. 5-x. 23. 14. [6] iii. 11. 1. [7] i. 39. 3.

[8] iv. 24. 3. [9] viii. 7. 4-8. [10] ix. 30. 3; compare x. 24. 3.

fessors who were to sit in judgment on him some seventeen hundred years later. Had he done so he might well have been tempted to suppress the *Description of Greece* altogether, and we might have had to lament the loss of one of the most curious and valuable records bequeathed to us by antiquity.

Birthplace of Pausanias

The birthplace of Pausanias is less certain than his date, but there are good grounds for believing that he was a Lydian. For after saying that in his country traces were still to be seen of the abode of Pelops and Tantalus, he mentions some monuments and natural features associated with the names of these ancient princes on and near Mount Sipylus.[1] This is nearly a direct affirmation that the region about Mount Sipylus in Lydia was his native land. The same thing appears, though less directly, from the minute acquaintance he displays with the district and from the evident fondness with which he recurs again and again to its scenery and legends. He had seen the white eagles wheeling above the lonely tarn of Tantalus in the heart of the hills;[2] he had beheld the stately tomb of the same hero on Mount Sipylus,[3] the ruined city at the bottom of the clear lake,[4] the rock-hewn throne of Pelops crowning the dizzy peak that overhangs the cañon,[5] and the dripping rock which popular fancy took for the bereaved Niobe weeping for her children.[6] He speaks of the clouds of locusts which he had thrice seen vanish from Mount Sipylus,[7] of the wild dance of the peasantry,[8] and of the shrine of Mother Plastene,[9] whose rude image, carved out of the native rock, may still be seen in its niche at the foot of the mountain. From all this it is fair to surmise that Pausanias was born and bred not far from the mountains which he seems to have known and loved so well. Their inmost recesses he may have explored on foot in boyhood and have drunk in their old romantic legends from the lips of woodmen and hunters. Whether, as some conjecture, he was born at Magnesia, the city at the northern foot of Mount Sipylus, we cannot say, but the vicinity of the city to the mountain speaks in favour of the conjecture. It is less probable, perhaps, that his birthplace was the more distant Pergamus, although there is no lack of passages to prove that he knew and interested himself in that city.[10] As a native of Lydia it was natural that Pausanias should be familiar with the western coast of Asia Minor. There is indeed no part of the world outside of Greece to which he refers so often. He seizes an opportunity to give us the history of the colonisation of Ionia, and dwells with patriotic pride on the glorious climate, the matchless temples, and the natural wonders of that beautiful land.[11]

[1] v. 13. 7. [2] viii. 17. 3. [3] ii. 22. 3, v. 13. 7.
[4] vii. 24. 13. [5] v. 13. 7. [6] i. 21. 3, viii. 2. 7.
[7] i. 24. 8. [8] vi. 22. 1. [9] v. 13. 7 note.
[10] See Index, *s.v.* "Pergamus." [11] vii. 2-5.

Other writers of the same name.

Some scholars have identified our author with a sophist of the same name who was born at Caesarea in Cappadocia, studied under Herodes Atticus, and died an old man at Rome, leaving behind him many declamations composed in a style which displayed a certain vigour and some acquaintance with classical models.[1] But, quite apart from the evidence that our author was a Lydian, there are strong reasons for not identifying him with his Cappadocian namesake. Neither Suidas nor Philostratus, who has left us a short life of the Cappadocian Pausanias, mentions the *Description of Greece* among his works; and on the other hand our Pausanias, though he often mentions Herodes Atticus, nowhere speaks of him as his master or of any personal relations that he had with him. Further, the author of the *Description of Greece* is probably to be distinguished from a writer of the same name who composed a work on Syria to which Stephanus of Byzantium repeatedly refers.[2] It is true that our Pausanias evidently knew and had travelled in Syria, but this in itself is no reason for supposing that he was the author of a work to which in his extant writings he makes no allusion. The name Pausanias was far too common to justify us in identifying all the authors who bore it even when we have grounds for believing them to have been contemporaries.[3]

Pausanias's travels.

That Pausanias had travelled widely beyond the limits of Greece and Ionia is clear from the many allusions he lets fall to places and objects of interest in foreign lands. Some of them he expressly says that he saw; as to others we may infer that he saw them from the particularity of his description. In Syria he had seen the Jordan flowing through the Lake of Tiberias and falling into the Dead Sea,[4] and had gazed at the red pool near Joppa in which Perseus was said to have washed his bloody sword after slaying the sea-monster.[5] He describes a tomb at Jerusalem, the door of which by an ingenious mechanical contrivance opened of itself once a year at a certain hour,[6] and he often alludes to Antioch which for its vast size and wealth he ranked with Alexandria.[7] In Egypt

[1] See Philostratus, *vit. Sophist.* ii. 13; Suidas, *s.v.* Παυσανίας; Siebelis's preface to his edition of Pausanias, vol. i. pp. iv.-vii.; Schubart, in *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 9 (1851), No. 37, pp. 289-291; W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 64 *sq.*

[2] See Stephanus Byzantius, *s.vv.* Βόστρυς, Γάββα, Γάζα, Δῶρος, Λάεια, Μαριαμμία; Jo. Malala, *Chronographia*, ed. Dindorf, pp. 38, 203, 204, 248; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, 4. p. 467 *sqq.*; Leake, *Topography of Athens*,[2] i. p. 475 *sq.*; Schubart, in Schubart and Walz's edition of Pausanias, vol. 2. pp. iv.-viii.; *id.*, in *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 9 (1851), No. 37, p. 292 *sq.*; W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 66.

[3] A namesake of our author composed a dictionary of Attic words which is highly praised by Photius (*Bibliotheca*, p. 99 *sq.*, ed. Bekker). The fragments of this work, which is often referred to by Eustathius, have been collected by E. Schwabe (*Aelii Dionysii et Pausaniae Atticistarum fragmenta*, Leipsic, 1890). But nothing is known of the date or life of the lexicographer Pausanias.

[4] v. 7. 4. [5] iv. 35. 9, 11. [6] viii. 16. 5.

[7] viii. 33. 3. For other allusions to Antioch see vi. 2. 7, viii. 20. 2, viii. 23. 5, viii. 29. 3 *sq.* For other references to Syria see i. 14. 7 (worship of Astarte at

he had seen the pyramids,[1] had beheld with wonder the colossal statue of Memnon at Thebes, and had heard the musical note, like the breaking of a lute-string, which the statue emitted at sunrise.[2] The statue still stands, and many inscriptions in Greek and Latin carved by ancient visitors on its huge legs and base confirm the testimony of Pausanias as to the mysterious sound. From Egypt our author seems to have journeyed across the desert to the oasis of Ammon, for he tells us that in his time the hymn which Pindar sent to Ammon was still to be seen there carved on a triangular slab beside the altar.[3] Nearer home he admired the splendid fortifications of Rhodes and Byzantium.[4] Though he does not describe northern Greece he had visited Thessaly[5] and had seen the blue steaming rivulet rushing along at the foot of the rugged forest-tufted mountains that hem in like a wall the pass of Thermopylae on the south.[6] He appears to have visited Macedonia,[7] and perhaps, too, Epirus; at least he speaks repeatedly of Dodona and its oracular oak,[8] and he mentions the sluggish melancholy rivers that wind through the dreary Thesprotian plain and that gave their names to the rivers in hell.[9] He had crossed to Italy and seen something of the cities of Campania[10] and the wonders of Rome. The great forum of Trajan with its bronze roof,[11] the Circus Maximus[12]—then probably the most magnificent building in the world—and the strange beasts gathered from far foreign lands[13] seem to have been the sights which most impressed him in the capital of the world. In the Imperial Gardens he observed with curiosity a tusk which the custodian assured him had belonged to the Calydonian boar;[14] and he noticed, doubtless with less pleasure, the great ivory image of Athena Alea which Augustus had carried off from the stately temple of the goddess at Tegea.[15] In the neighbourhood of Rome the bubbling milk-white water of Albula or *Solfatara*, as it is now called, on the road to Tibur, attracted his attention,[16] and beside the sylvan lake of Aricia he appears to have seen the grim priest pacing sword in hand, the warder of the

Ascalon), ii. 1. 8 (robe of Eriphyle at Gabala), vi. 24. 8 (tomb of Silenus in land of Hebrews), ix. 12. 2 (Phoenician title of Athena), ix. 28. 2 (vipers in Phoenician highlands), x. 12. 9 (prophetess Sabbe among the Hebrews), x. 29. 4 (rope of ivy and vine-twigs with which Dionysus spanned the Euphrates).

[1] ix. 36. 5. [2] i. 42. 3 note. [3] ix. 16. 1. [4] iv. 31. 5.
[5] ix. 30. 9; compare i. 13. 2 *sq.*, vi. 5. 2. [6] iv. 35. 9. [7] ix. 30. 7.
[8] i. 13. 3, i. 17. 5, vii. 21. 2, viii. 23. 5. [9] i. 17. 5.

[10] He saw an elephant's skull in a temple of Artemis or Diana near Capua (v. 12. 3); he mentions a hot spring of acid water which had been discovered in his time at Dicaearchia or Puteoli (iv. 35. 12), and he describes an artificial island built in the sea off the same place to utilise the water of a spring which rose in the sea (viii. 7. 3).

[11] v. 12. 6, x. 5. 11. [12] v. 12. 6.

[13] Amongst them he mentions rhinoceroses from Africa, camels from India, and elks from the Celtic lands of northern Europe. See viii. 17. 4, ix. 21. 1 *sqq.*

[14] viii. 46. 5. [15] viii. 46. 4. [16] iv. 35. 10.

Golden Bough.[1] The absurd description he gives of the beautiful and much-maligned Strait of Messina[2] would suffice to prove that he never sailed through it. Probably like most travellers coming from the East he reached Italy by way of Brundisium. Of Sardinia he has given a somewhat full description, but without implying that he had visited it.[3] Sicily, if we may judge by a grave blunder he makes in speaking of it, he never saw.[4]

Aim of Pausanias's work.

The aim that Pausanias had in writing his *Description of Greece* is nowhere very fully or clearly stated by him. His book has neither head nor tail, neither preface nor epilogue. At the beginning he plunges into the description of Attica without a word of introduction, and at the end he breaks off his account of Ozolian Locris with equal abruptness. There is reason to believe that the work is unfinished, for he seems to have intended to describe Opuntian Locris,[5] but this intention was never fulfilled. However, from occasional utterances as well as from the general scope and plan of the book we can gather a fairly accurate notion of the writer's purpose. Thus in the midst of his description of the Acropolis of Athens he suddenly interposes the remark, "But I must proceed, for I have to describe the whole of Greece,"[6] as if the thought of the wide field he had to traverse jogged him, as well it might, and bade him hasten. Again, after bringing his description of Athens and Attica to an end he adds: "Such are, in my opinion, the most famous of the Athenian traditions and sights: from the mass of materials I have aimed from the outset at selecting the really notable."[7] Later on, before addressing himself to the description of Sparta, he explains his purpose still more definitely and emphatically: "To prevent misconceptions, I stated in my *Attica* that I had not described everything, but only a selection of the most memorable objects. This principle I will now repeat before I proceed to describe Sparta. From the outset I aimed at sifting the most valuable traditions from out of the mass of insignificant stories which are current among every people. My plan was adopted after mature deliberation, and I will not depart from it."[8] Again, after briefly narrating the history of Phlius, he says: "I shall now add a notice of the most remarkable sights,"[9] and he concludes his description of Delphi with the words: "Such were the notable objects left at Delphi in my time."[10] In introducing his notice of the honorary statues at Olympia he is careful to explain that he does not intend to furnish a complete catalogue of them, but only to mention such as were of special interest either for their artistic merit or for the fame of the persons they represented.[11]

[1] ii. 27. 4. Compare Strabo, v. p. 239; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 136.
[2] v. 25. 3. [3] x. 17. [4] v. 25. 5 note.
[5] See ix. 23. 7, and compare ii. 19. 8. [6] i. 26. 4. [7] i. 39. 3.
[8] iii. 11. 1. [9] ii. 13. 3. [10] x. 32. 1. [11] vi. 1. 2.

From these and a few more passages of the same sort[1] it seems clear that Pausanias intended to describe all the most notable objects and to narrate all the most memorable traditions which he found existing or current in the Greece of his own time. It was a vast undertaking, and we need not wonder that at the outset he should have felt himself oppressed by the magnitude of it, and that consequently in the first book, dealing with Attica, his selection of notable objects should be scantier and his description of them slighter than in the later books. It was not only that he was bewildered by the multitude of things he had to say, but that he had not quite made up his mind how to say them. He was groping and fumbling after a method. As the work proceeded, he seems to have felt himself more at ease; the arrangement of the matter becomes more systematic, the range of his interests wider, the descriptions more detailed, his touch surer. Even the second book shows in all these respects a great advance on the first. To mention two conspicuous improvements, he has now definitely adopted the topographical order of description, and he prefaces his account of each considerable city with a sketch of its history. In the first book, on the other hand, an historical introduction is wholly wanting, and though Athens itself is on the whole described in topographical order, the rest of Attica is not.[2] Only with the description of the Sacred Way which led from Athens to Eleusis[3] does Pausanias once for all grasp firmly the topographical thread as the best clue to guide him and his readers through the labyrinth. Throughout the rest of his work the general principle on which he arranges his matter is this. After narrating in outline the history of the district he is about to describe he proceeds from the frontier to the capital by the nearest road, noting anything of interest that strikes him by the way. Arrived at the capital he goes straight to the centre of it, generally to the market-place, describes the chief buildings and monuments there, and then follows the streets, one after the other, that radiate from the centre in all directions, recording the most remarkable objects in each of them. Having finished his account of the capital he describes the surrounding district on the same principle. He follows the chief roads that lead from the capital to all parts of the territory, noting methodically the chief natural features and the most important towns, villages, and monuments that he meets with on the way. Having followed the road up

Method of the work.

[1] i. 23. 4, ii. 14. 4, ii. 29. 1, ii. 34. 11, v. 21. 1, vi. 17. 1, vi. 23. 1, vi. 24. 6, viii. 10. 1, viii. 54. 7, x. 9. 1 *sq.*

[2] Thus he interrupts his description of the Attic townships to describe the Attic mountains (i. 32. 1 *sq.*); and having finished his account of the townships he describes all the islands together (i. 35. 1-i. 36. 2). In the description of the townships themselves it is difficult to trace any topographical order. Mr. Gurlitt has attempted to show that Pausanias takes the townships in the order in which they occur on routes diverging from Athens as a centre (*Ueber Pausanias*, p. 286 *sqq.*).

[3] i. 36. 3-i. 38. 4.

till it brings him to the frontier, he retraces his steps to the capital, and sets off along another which he treats in the same way, until in this manner he has exhausted all the principal thoroughfares that branch from the city. On reaching the end of the last of them he does not return on his footsteps, but crosses the boundary into the next district, which he then proceeds to describe after the same fashion. This, roughly speaking, is the way in which he describes the cities and territories of Corinth, Argos, Sparta, Mantinea, Megalopolis, Tegea, and Thebes.

The work is a guide-book.

A better and clearer method of arranging matter so complex and varied it might be hard to devise. It possesses at least one obvious advantage—the routes do not cross each other, and thus a fruitful source of confusion is avoided. The reader, however, will easily perceive that the order of description can hardly have been the one in which Pausanias travelled or expected his readers to travel. The most patient and systematic of topographers and sightseers would hardly submit to the irksome drudgery of pursuing almost every road twice over, first in one direction and then in the other. Manifestly the order has been adopted only for the sake of lucidity, only because in no other way could the writer convey to his reader so clear a notion of the relative positions of the places and things described. Why was Pausanias at such pains to present everything to his readers in its exact position? The only probable answer is that he wished to help them to find their way from one object of interest to another; in other words that he intended his *Description of Greece* to serve as a guide-book to travellers. If his aim had been merely to amuse and entertain his readers at home, he could hardly have lighted on a worse method of doing so; for the persons who find topographical directions amusing and can extract entertainment from reading that "This place is so many furlongs from that, and this other so many more from that other," must be few in number and of an unusually cheerful disposition. The ordinary reader is more likely to yawn over such statements and shut up the book. We may take it, then, that in Pausanias's work we possess the ancient equivalent of our modern *Murrays* and *Baedekers*. The need for such a guide-book would be felt by the many travellers who visited Greece, and for whom the garrulous but ignorant ciceroni did not, as we know, always provide the desired information.[1] Yet with the innocent ambition of an author Pausanias may very well have hoped that his book might prove not wholly uninteresting to others than travellers. The digressions on historical subjects, on natural curiosities, on the strange creatures of different countries with which he so often breaks the thread of his description may be regarded as so many lures held out to the reader to beguile him on his weary way. Indeed in one

[1] See below, p. lxxvi.

passage he plainly intimates his wish not to be tedious to his readers.[1]

When we come to examine the substance of his book we quickly perceive that his interests were mainly antiquarian and religious, and that though he professes to describe the whole of Greece or, more literally, all things Greek,[2] what he does describe is little more than the antiquities of the country and the religious traditions and ritual of the people. He interested himself neither in the natural beauties of Greece nor in the ordinary life of his contemporaries. For all the notice he takes of the one or the other Greece might almost have been a wilderness and its cities uninhabited or peopled only at rare intervals by a motley throng who suddenly appeared as by magic, moved singing through the streets in gay procession with flaring torches and waving censers, dyed the marble pavements of the temples with the blood of victims, filled the air with the smoke and savour of their burning flesh, and then melted away as mysteriously as they had come, leaving the deserted streets and temples to echo only to the footstep of some solitary traveller who explored with awe and wonder the monuments of a vanished race. Yet as his work proceeded Pausanias seems to have wakened up now and then to a dim consciousness that men and women were still living and toiling around him, that fields were still ploughed and harvests reaped, that the vine and the olive still yielded their fruit, though Theseus and Agamemnon, Cimon and Pericles, Philip and Alexander were no more. To this awakening consciousness or, to speak more correctly, to this gradual widening of his interests, we owe the few peeps which in his later books Pausanias affords us at his contemporaries in their daily life. Thus he lets us see the tall and stalwart highlanders of Daulis;[3] the handsome and industrious women of Patrae weaving with deft fingers the fine flax of their native fields into head-dresses and other feminine finery;[4] the fishermen of Bulis putting out to fish the purple shell in the Gulf of Corinth;[5] the potters of Aulis turning their wheels in the little seaside town from which Agamemnon sailed for Troy;[6] and the apothecaries of Chaeronea distilling a fragrant and healing balm from roses and lilies, from irises and narcissuses culled in peaceful gardens on the battlefield where Athens and Thebes, side by side, had made the last stand for the freedom of Greece.[7]

Antiquarian and religious bias of Pausanias.

Contrast with these sketches, few and far between, the gallery of pictures he has painted of the religious life of his contemporaries. To mention only a few of them, we see sick people asleep and dreaming on the reeking skins of slaughtered rams or dropping gold

His descriptions of religious rites.

[1] iii. 18. 10. [2] i. 26. 4.
[3] x. 4. 7. [4] vii. 21. 14. [5] x. 37. 3.
[6] ix. 19. 8. [7] ix. 41. 7.

and silver coins as a thank-offering for recovered health into a sacred spring;[1] lepers praying to the nymphs in a cave, then swimming the river and leaving, like Naaman, their uncleanness behind them in the water;[2] holy men staggering along narrow paths under the burden of uprooted trees;[3] processions of priests and magistrates, of white-robed boys with garlands of hyacinths in their hair,[4] of children wreathed with corn and ivy,[5] of men holding aloft blazing torches and chanting as they march their native hymns;[6] women wailing for Achilles while the sun sinks low in the west;[7] Persians in tall caps droning their strange litany in an unknown tongue;[8] husbandmen sticking gold leaf on a bronze goat in a market-place to protect their vines from blight,[9] or running with the bleeding pieces of a white cock round the vineyards while the black squall comes crawling up across the bay.[10] We see the priest making rain by dipping an oak-branch in a spring on the holy mountain,[11] or mumbling his weird spells by night over four pits to soothe the fury of the winds that blow from the four quarters of the world.[12] We see men slaughtering beasts at a grave and pouring the warm blood down a hole into the tomb for the dead man to drink;[13] others casting cakes of meal and honey into the cleft down which the water of the Great Flood all ran away;[14] others trying their fortune by throwing dice in a cave,[15] or flinging barley-cakes into a pool and watching them sink or swim,[16] or letting down a mirror into a spring to know whether a sick friend will recover or die.[17] We see the bronze lamps lit at evening in front of the oracular image, the smoke of incense curling up from the hearth, the inquirer laying a copper coin on the altar, whispering his question into the ear of the image, then stealing out with his hands on his ears, ready to take as the divine answer the first words he may hear on quitting the sanctuary.[18] We see the nightly sky reddened by the fitful glow of the great bonfire on the top of Mount Cithaeron where the many images of oak-wood, arrayed as brides, are being consumed in the flames, after having been dragged in lumbering creaking waggons to the top of the mountain, each image with a bridesmaid standing by its side.[19] These and many more such scenes rise up before us in turning the pages of Pausanias.

His account of superstitious customs and beliefs.

Akin to his taste for religious ritual is his love of chronicling quaint customs, observances, and superstitions of all sorts. Thus he tells us how Troezenian maidens used to dedicate locks of their hair in the temple of the bachelor Hippolytus before marriage;[20] how on a like occasion Megarian girls laid their shorn tresses on

[1] i. 34. 4 *sq.* [2] v. 5. 11. [3] x. 32. 6. [4] ii. 35. 5.
[5] vii. 20. 1 *sq.* [6] ii. 7. 5. [7] vi. 23. 3. [8] v. 27. 5 *sq.*
[9] ii. 13. 6. [10] ii. 34. 2. [11] viii. 38. 4. [12] ii. 12. 1.
[13] x. 4. 10. [14] i. 18. 7. [15] vii. 25. 10. [16] iii. 23. 8.
[17] vii. 21. 12. [18] vii. 22. 2 *sq.* [19] ix. 3. 2-8. [20] ii. 32. 1.

the grave of the virgin Iphinoe;[1] how lads at Phigalia cropped their hair in honour of the river that flows in the deep glen below the town;[2] how the boy priests of Cranaean Athena bathed in tubs after the ancient fashion;[3] and how the priest and priestess of Artemis Hymnia must remain all their lives unmarried, must wash and live differently from common folk, and must never enter the house of a private person.[4] Amongst the curious observances which he notices at the various shrines are the rules that no birth or death might take place within the sacred grove of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, and that all sacrifices had to be consumed within the bounds;[5] that no broken bough might be removed from the grove of Hyrnetho near Epidaurus,[6] and no pomegranate brought into the precinct of the Mistress at Lycosura;[7] that at Pergamus the name of Eurypylus might not be pronounced in the sanctuary of Aesculapius,[8] and no one who had sacrificed to Telephus might enter that sanctuary till he had bathed;[9] that at Olympia no man who had eaten of the victim offered to Pelops might go into the temple of Zeus,[10] that women might not ascend above the first stage of the great altar,[11] that the paste of ashes which was smeared on the altar must be kneaded with the water of the Alpheus and no other,[12] and that the sacrifices offered to Zeus must be burnt with no wood but that of the white poplar.[13] Again, he likes to note, though he does not always believe, the local superstitions he met with or had read of, such as the belief that at the sacrifice to Zeus on Mount Lycaeus a man was always turned into a wolf, but could regain his human shape if as a wolf he abstained for nine years from preying on human flesh;[14] that within the precinct of the god on the same mountain neither men nor animals cast shadows, and that whoever entered it would die within the year;[15] that the trout in the river Aroanius sang like thrushes;[16] that whoever caught a fish in a certain lake would be turned into a fish himself;[17] that Tegea could never be taken because it possessed a lock of Medusa's hair;[18] that Hera recovered her virginity every year by bathing in a spring at Nauplia;[19] that the water of one spring was a cure for hydrophobia,[20] while the water of another drove mares mad;[21] that no snakes or wolves could live in Sardinia;[22] that when the sun was in a certain sign of the zodiac earth taken from the tomb of Amphion and Zethus at Thebes and carried to Tithorea in Phocis would draw away the fertility from the Theban land and transfer it to the Tithorean, whence at that season the Thebans kept watch and ward

[1] i. 43. 4.
[2] viii. 41. 3.
[3] x. 34. 8.
[4] viii. 13. 1.
[5] ii. 27. 1, 6.
[6] ii. 28. 7.
[7] viii. 37. 7.
[8] iii. 26. 10.
[9] v. 13. 3.
[10] *ib.*
[11] v. 13. 10.
[12] v. 13. 11.
[13] v. 13. 3, v. 14. 2.
[14] viii. 2. 6.
[15] viii. 38. 6.
[16] viii. 21. 2.
[17] iii. 21. 5.
[18] viii. 47. 5.
[19] ii. 38. 2.
[20] viii. 19. 3.
[21] ix. 8. 2.
[22] x. 17. 12.

over the tomb, lest the Tithoreans should come and filch the precious earth;[1] that at Marathon every night the dead warriors rose from their graves and fought the great battle over again, while belated wayfarers, hurrying by, heard with a shudder the hoarse cries of the combatants, the trampling of charging horses, and the clash of arms.[2]

His narratives.

In carrying out his design of recording Greek traditions, Pausanias has interwoven many narratives into his description of Greece. These are of various sorts, and were doubtless derived from various sources. Some are historical, and were taken avowedly or tacitly from books. Some are legends with perhaps a foundation in fact; others are myths pure and simple; others again are popular tales to which parallels may be found in the folk-lore of many lands. Narratives of these sorts Pausanias need not have learned from books. Some of them were doubtless commonplaces with which he had been familiar from childhood. Others he may have picked up on his travels. The spring of mythical fancy has not run dry among the mountains and islands of Greece at the present day;[3] it flowed, we may be sure, still more copiously in the days of Pausanias.

Folk-tales.

Amongst the popular tales which he tells or alludes to may be mentioned the story of the sleeper in the cave;[4] of the cunning masons who robbed the royal treasury they had built;[5] of the youth who slew the lion and married the princess;[6] of the kind serpent that saved a child from a wolf and was killed by the child's father by mistake;[7] of the king whose life was in a purple lock on his head;[8] of the witch who offered to make an old man young again by cutting him up and boiling him in a hellbroth, and who did in this way change a tough old tup into a tender young lamb.[9] It is characteristic of Greek popular tradition that these stories are not left floating vaguely in the cloudy region of fairyland; they are brought down to solid earth and given a local habitation and a name. The sleeper was Epimenides the Cretan; the masons were Trophonius and Agamedes, and the king for whom they built the treasury was Hyrieus of Orchomenus; the youth who won the hand of the princess was Alcathous of Megara; the king with the purple lock was Nisus, also of Megara; the witch was Medea, and the old man whom she mangled was Pelias; the place where the serpent saved the child from the wolf was Amphiclea in Phocis.

Myths.

Amongst the myths which crowd the pages of Pausanias we may note the

[1] ix. 17. 4 *sq.*, x. 32. 11.

[2] i. 32. 4.

[3] It is enough to refer to works such as C. Wachsmuth's *Das alte Griechenland im neuen* (Bonn, 1864); J. G. v. Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* (Leipsic, 1864); B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* (Leipsic, 1871); *id.*, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* (Leipsic, 1877); E. Legrand, *Contes Populaires Grecs* (Paris, 1881); J. T. Bent, *The Cyclades* (London, 1885).

[4] i. 14. 4.

[5] ix. 37. 5 *sq.*

[6] i. 41. 3.

[7] x. 33. 9 *sq.*

[8] i. 19. 4.

[9] viii. 11. 2 *sq.*

strangely savage tale of Attis and Agdistis,[1] the hardly less barbarous story of the loves of Poseidon and Demeter as horse and mare,[2] and the picturesque narratives of the finding of the forsaken babe Aesculapius by the goatherd,[3] and the coming of Castor and Pollux to Sparta in the guise of strangers from Cyrene.[4] Of the legends which he tells of the heroic age—that border-land between fable and history—some are his own in the sense that we do not find them recorded by any other ancient writer. Such are the stories how Theseus even as a child evinced undaunted courage by attacking the lion's skin of Hercules which he mistook for a living lion;[5] how the same hero in his youth proved his superhuman strength to the masons who had jeered at his girlish appearance;[6] how the crazed Orestes, dogged by the Furies of his murdered mother, bit off one of his fingers, and how on his doing so the aspect of the Furies at once changed from black to white, as if in token that they accepted the sacrifice as an atonement.[7] Such, too, is the graceful story of the parting of Penelope from her father,[8] and the tragic tale of the death of Hyrnetho;[9] in the latter we seem almost to catch the ring of a romantic ballad. Among the traditions told of historical personages by Pausanias but not peculiar to him are the legends of Pindar's dream,[10] of the escape of Aristomenes from the pit,[11] and of the wondrous cure of Leonymus, the Crotonian general, who, attacking the Locrian army at the point where the soul of the dead hero Ajax hovered in the van, received a hurt from a ghostly spear, but was afterwards healed by the same hand in the White Isle, where Ajax dwelt with other spirits of the famous dead.[12] To the same class belong a couple of anecdotes with which Pausanias has sought to enliven the dull catalogue of athletes in the sixth book. One tells how the boxer Euthymus thrashed the ghost of a tipsy sailor and won the hand of a fair maiden, who was on the point of being delivered over to the tender mercies of the deceased mariner.[13] The other relates how another noted boxer, by name Theagenes, departed this vale of tears after accumulating a prodigious number of prizes; how when he was no more a spiteful foe came and wreaked his spleen by whipping the bronze statue of the illustrious dead, till the statue, losing patience, checked his insolence by falling on him and crushing him to death; how the sons of this amiable man prosecuted the statue for murder; how the court, sitting in judgment, found the statue guilty and solemnly condemned it to be sunk in the sea; how, the sentence being rigorously executed, the land bore no fruit till the statue had been fished

Legends.

[1] vii. 17. 9-12.
[2] viii. 25. 5-10, viii. 42. 1-3.
[3] ii. 26. 4 *sq.*
[4] iii. 16. 2 *sq.*
[5] i. 27. 7.
[6] i. 19. 1.
[7] viii. 34. 2 *sq.*
[8] iii. 20. 10 *sq.*
[9] ii. 28. 3-7.
[10] ix. 23. 3 *sq.*
[11] iv. 18. 4-7.
[12] iii. 19. 12 *sq.*
[13] vi. 6. 7-11.

up again and set in its place; and how the people sacrificed to the boxer as to a god ever after.[1]

His description of the country.

The same antiquarian and religious tincture which appears in Pausanias's account of the Greek people colours his description of the country. The mountains which he climbs, the plains which he traverses, the rivers which he fords, the lakes and seas that he beholds shining in the distance, the very flowers that spring beside his path hardly exist for him but as they are sacred to some god or tenanted by some spirit of the elements, or because they call up some memory of the past, some old romantic story of unhappy love or death. Of one flower, white and tinged with red, he tells us that it first grew in Salamis when Ajax died;[2] of another, that chaplets of it are worn in their hair by white-robed boys when they walk in procession in honour of Demeter.[3] He notes the mournful letters on the hyacinth and tells the tale of the fair youth slain unwittingly by Apollo.[4] He points out the old plane-tree which Menelaus planted before he went away to the wars;[5] the great cedar with an image of Artemis hanging among its boughs;[6] the sacred cypresses called the Maidens, tall and dark and stately, in the bleak upland valley of Psophis;[7] the myrtle-tree whose pierced leaves still bore the print of hapless Phaedra's bodkin on that fair islanded coast of Troezen, where now the orange and the lemon bloom in winter;[8] the pomegranate with its blood-red fruit growing on the grave of the patriot Menoeceus who shed his blood for his country.[9] If he looks up at the mountains, it is not to mark the snowy peaks glistering in the sunlight against the blue, or the sombre pine-forests that fringe their crests and are mirrored in the dark lake below; it is to tell you that Zeus or Apollo or the Sun-god is worshipped on their tops,[10] that the Thyiad women rave on them above the clouds,[11] or that Pan has been heard piping in their lonely coombs.[12] The gloomy caverns, where the sunbeams hardly penetrate, with their fantastic stalactites and dripping roofs, are to him the haunts of Pan and the nymphs.[13] The awful precipices of the Aroanian mountains, in the sunless crevices of which the snow-drifts never melt, would have been passed by him in silence were it not that the water that trickles down their dark glistening face is the water of Styx.[14] If he describes the smooth glassy pool which, bordered by reeds and tall grasses, still sleeps under the shadow of the shivering poplars in the Lernaean swamp, it is because the way to hell goes

[1] vi. 11. 6-8.
[2] i. 35. 4.
[3] ii. 35. 5.
[4] i. 35. 4, ii. 35. 5, iii. 19. 5.
[5] viii. 23. 4.
[6] viii. 13. 2.
[7] viii. 24. 7.
[8] i. 22. 2, ii. 32. 3.
[9] ix. 25. 1.
[10] i. 32. 2, iii. 20. 4, viii. 38. 6 *sq.*, ix. 41. 6.
[11] x. 32. 7.
[12] viii. 36. 8.
[13] i. 32. 7, v. 5. 11, ix. 3. 9, x. 32. 7. For other deities to whom caves were sacred, see Index, *s.v.* "Cave."
[14] viii. 17. 6.

down through its black unfathomed water.[1] If he stops by murmuring stream or brimming river, it is to relate how from the banks of the Ilissus, where she was at play, the North Wind carried off Orithyia to be his bride;[2] how the Selemnus had been of old a shepherd who loved a sea-nymph and died forlorn;[3] how the amorous Alpheus still flows across the wide and stormy Adriatic to join his love at Syracuse.[4] If in summer he crosses a parched river-bed, where not a driblet of water is oozing, where the stones burn under foot and dazzle the eye by their white glare, he will tell you that this is the punishment the river suffers for having offended the sea-god.[5] Distant prospects, again, are hardly remarked by him except for the sake of some historical or legendary association. The high knoll which juts out from the rugged side of Mount Maenalus into the dead flat of the Mantinean plain was called the Look, he tells us, because here the dying Epaminondas, with his hand pressed hard on the wound from which his life was ebbing fast, took his long last look at the fight.[6] The view of the sea from the Acropolis at Athens is noticed by him, not for its gleam of molten sapphire, but because from this height the aged Aegeus scanned the blue expanse for the white sails of his returning son, then cast himself headlong from the rock when he descried the bark with sable sails steering for the port of Athens.[7]

The disinterested glimpses, as we may call them, of Greek scenery which we catch in the pages of Pausanias are brief and few. He tells us that there is no fairer river than the Ladon either in Greece or in foreign land,[8] and probably no one who has traversed the magnificent gorge through which the river bursts its way from the highlands of northern Arcadia to the lowlands on the borders of Elis will be inclined to dispute his opinion. Widely different scenes he puts in for us with a few touches—the Boeotian Asopus oozing sluggishly through its deep beds of reeds;[9] the sodden plain of Nestane with the rain-water pouring down into it from the misty mountains;[10] the road running through vineyards with mountains rising on either hand;[11] the spring gushing from the hollow trunk of a venerable plane;[12] the summer lounge in the shady walks of the grove beside the sea;[13] the sand and pine-trees of the low coast of Elis;[14] the oak-woods of Phelloe with stony soil where the deer ranged free and wild boars had their lair;[15] and the Boeotian forest with its giant oaks in whose branches the crows built their nests.[16]

His notices of the natural products of Greece.

It is one of the marks of a widening intellectual horizon that as his work goes on Pausanias takes more and more notice of the aspect and natural products of the country which he describes.

[1] ii. 37. 5 *sq.* [2] i. 19. 5. [3] vii. 23. 1 *sq.* [4] v. 7. 2 *sq.*, viii. 54. 3.
[5] ii. 15. 5. [6] viii. 11. 7. [7] i. 22. 4 *sq.* [8] viii. 25. 13.
[9] v. 14. 3. [10] viii. 7. 1. [11] x. 36. 1. [12] iv. 34. 4.
[13] vii. 21. 11. [14] v. 6. 4. [15] vii. 26. 10. [16] ix. 3. 4.

Such notices are least frequent in the first book and commonest in the last three. Thus he remarks the bareness of the Cirrhaean plain,[1] the fertility of the valley of the Phocian Cephisus,[2] the vineyards of Ambrosus,[3] the palms and dates of Aulis,[4] the olive oil of Tithorea that was sent to the emperor,[5] the dykes that dammed off the water from the fields in the marshy flats of Caphyae and Thisbe.[6] He mentions the various kinds of oaks that grew in the Arcadian woods,[7] the wild-strawberry bushes of Mount Helicon on which the goats browsed,[8] the hellebore, both black and white, of Anticyra,[9] and the berry of Ambrosus which yielded the crimson dye. He observed the flocks of bustards that haunted the banks of the Phocian Cephisus,[10] the huge tortoises that crawled in the forests of Arcadia,[11] the white blackbirds of Mount Cyllene,[12] the two sorts of poultry at Tanagra,[13] the purple shell fished in the sea at Bulis,[14] the trout of the Aroanius river,[15] and the eels of the Copaic Lake.[16] All these instances are taken from the last three books. In the earlier part of his work he condescended to mention the honey of Hymettus,[17] the old silver mines of Laurium,[18] the olives of Cynuria,[19] the fine flax of Elis,[20] the purple shell of the Laconian coast,[21] the marble of Pentelicus,[22] the mussel-stone of Megara,[23] and the green porphyry of Croceae.[24] But of the rich Messenian plain, known in antiquity as the Happy Land, where nowadays the traveller passes, almost as in a tropical region, between orange-groves and vineyards fenced by hedges of huge fantastic cactuses and sword-like aloes, Pausanias has nothing more to say than that "the Pamisus flows through tilled land."[25]

His account of the state of the roads.

On the state of the roads he is still more reticent than on that of the country. The dreadful Scironian road—the *Via Mala* of Greece—which ran along a perilous ledge of the Megarian sea-cliffs at a giddy height above the breakers, had lately been widened by Hadrian.[26] An excellent carriage-road, much frequented, led from Tegea to Argos.[27] Another road, traversable by vehicles, went over the pass of the Tretus, where the railway from Corinth to Argos now runs;[28] and we have the word of Pausanias for it that a driving-road crossed Parnassus from Delphi to Tithorea.[29] On the other hand the road from Sicyon to Titane was impassable for carriages;[30] a rough hill-track led from Chaeronea to Stiris;[31] the path along the rugged mountainous coast between Lerna and Thyrea was then, as it is now, narrow and difficult;[32] and the pass

[1] x. 37. 5. [2] x. 33. 7. [3] x. 36. 1. [4] ix. 19. 8.
[5] x. 32. 19. [6] viii. 23. 2, ix. 32. 3. [7] viii. 12. 1. [8] ix. 28. 1.
[9] x. 36. 7. [10] x. 34. 1. [11] viii. 23. 9. [12] viii. 17. 3.
[13] ix. 22. 4. [14] x. 37. 3. [15] viii. 21. 2. [16] ix. 24. 2.
[17] i. 32. 1. [18] i. 1. 1. [19] ii. 38. 4. [20] v. 5. 2.
[21] iii. 21. 6. [22] i. 32. 1. [23] i. 44. 6. [24] iii. 21. 4.
[25] iv. 34. 1. [26] i. 44. 6. [27] viii. 54. 5. [28] ii. 15. 2.
[29] x. 32. 8. [30] ii. 11. 3. [31] x. 35. 8. [32] ii. 38. 4.

of the Ladder over Mount Artemisius from Argos to Mantinea was so steep that in some places steps had to be cut in the rock to facilitate the descent.[1] Of the path up to the Corycian cave on Mount Parnassus our author truly observes that it is easier for a man on foot than for mules and horses.[2] Greek mules and horses can, indeed, do wonders in the way of scrambling up and down the most execrable mountain paths on slopes that resemble the roof of a house; but it would sorely tax even their energies to ascend to the Corycian cave.

His descriptions of the monuments.

The real interest of Pausanias, however, lay neither in the country nor in the people of his own age, but in those monuments of the past, which, though too often injured by time or defaced by violence, he still found scattered in profusion over Greece. It is to a description of them that the greater part of his work is devoted. He did not profess to catalogue, still less to describe, them all. To do so might well have exceeded the powers of any man, however great his patience and industry. All that a writer could reasonably hope to accomplish was to make a choice of the most interesting monuments, to describe them clearly, and to furnish such comments as were needful to understanding them properly. This is what Pausanias attempted to do and what, after every deduction has been made for omissions and mistakes, he may fairly be said to have done well. The choice of the monuments to be described necessarily rested with himself, and if his choice was sometimes different from what ours might have been, it would be unreasonable to blame him for it. He did not write for us. No man in his sober senses ever did write for readers who were to be born some seventeen hundred years after he was in his grave. In his wildest dreams of fame Pausanias can hardly have hoped, perhaps under all the circumstances we ought rather to say feared, that his book would be read, long after the Roman empire had passed away, by the people whom he calls the most numerous and warlike barbarians in Europe,[3] by the Britons in their distant isle, and by the inhabitants of a new world across the Atlantic.

His preference for the older over the later art.

When we examine Pausanias's choice of monuments we find that, like his account of the country and people, it was mainly determined by two leading principles, his antiquarian tastes and his religious curiosity. In the first place, the monuments described are generally ancient, not modern; in the second place, they are for the most part religious, not profane. His preference for old over modern art, for works of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. over those of the later period was well founded and has been shared by the best judges both in ancient and modern times. Cicero, Dionysius of Hali-

[1] viii. 6. 4. [2] x. 32. 2.

[3] "Antoninus the Second," he tells us (viii. 43. 6), "inflicted punishment on the Germans, the most numerous and warlike barbarians in Europe."

carnassus, Quintilian, and our author's own contemporary, Lucian, perhaps the most refined critic of art in antiquity, mention no artist of later date than the fourth century B.C.[1] The truth is, the subjugation of Greece by Macedonia struck a fatal blow at Greek art. No sculptor or painter of the first rank was born after the conquest. It seemed as if art were a flower that could only bloom in freedom; in the air of slavery it drooped and faded. Thus if Pausanias chose to chronicle the masterpieces of the great age of art rather than the feeble productions of the decadence, we can only applaud his taste. Yet we may surmise that his taste was here reinforced by his patriotism. For he was more than a mere antiquary and connoisseur. He was a patriot who warmly sympathised with the ancient glories of his country and deeply mourned its decline. He recognised Athens as the representative of all that was best in Greek life, and he can hardly find words strong enough to express his detestation of the men who by weakening her in the Peloponnesian war directly prepared for the conquest of Greece by Macedonia.[2] The battle of Chaeronea he describes repeatedly as a disaster for the whole of Greece,[3] and of the conqueror Philip himself he speaks in terms of the strongest reprobation.[4] The men who had repelled the Persians, put down the military despotism of Sparta, fought against the Macedonians, and delayed, if they could not avert, the final subjugation of Greece by Rome were for him the benefactors of their country. He gives a list of them, beginning with Miltiades and ending with Philopoemen, after whom, he says, Greece ceased to be the mother of the brave.[5] And as he mentions with pride and gratitude the men who had served the cause of freedom, so he expresses himself with disgust and abhorrence of the men who had worked for the enslavement of Greece to Persia, to Macedonia, and to Rome.[6] His style, generally cold and colourless, grows warm and animated when he tells of a struggle for freedom, whether waged by the Messenians against the Spartans, or by the Greeks against the Gauls, or by the Achaeans against the Romans. And when he has recorded the final catastrophe, the conquest of Greece by Rome, he remarks as with a sigh that the nation had now reached its lowest depth of weakness, and that when Nero afterwards

[1] As to Lucian, see H. Blümner, *Archaeologische Studien zu Lucian* (Breslau, 1867), pp. 5-52; as to the rest see the passages of their works collected by J. Brzoska in his dissertation *De canone decem oratorum Atticorum quaestiones* (Breslau, 1883), pp. 81-95. Compare H. Brunn, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 30 (1884), p. 27 *sq.* In the very valuable tract *De dea Syria* (ch. 26) which is printed among Lucian's works mention is made of a sculptor Hermocles of Rhodes, who must have lived shortly after 300 B.C. (H. Brunn, *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*, 1. p. 468). But this tract is commonly held not to be by Lucian, though the information which it contains is probably authentic.

[2] iii. 7. 11, viii. 52. 3. [3] i. 25. 3, ix. 6. 5. [4] viii. 7. 5 *sqq.*

[5] viii. 52. 1-5. [6] vii. 10. 1-5.

liberated it the boon came too late—the Greeks had forgotten what it was to be free.[1]

His preference for religious over profane art.

The preference which Pausanias exhibits for the art of the best period is not more marked than his preference for sacred over profane or merely decorative art, for buildings consecrated to religion over buildings devoted to the purposes of civic or private life. Rarely does he offer any general remarks on the aspect and architectural style of the cities he describes. At Tanagra he praises the complete separation of the houses of the people from the sanctuaries of the gods.[2] Amphissa, he tells us, was handsomely built,[3] and Lebadea could compare with the most flourishing cities of Greece in style and splendour.[4] On the other hand he viewed with unconcealed disdain the squalor and decay of the Phocian city of Panopeus, "if city it can be called that has no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water conducted to a fountain, and where the people live in hovels, just like highland shanties, perched on the edge of a ravine."[5] In the cities he visited he does indeed notice market-places, colonnades, courts of justice, government offices, fountains, baths, and the houses and statues of famous men, but the number of such buildings and monuments in his pages is small compared to the number of temples and precincts, images and votive offerings that he describes, and such notice as he takes of them seldom amounts to more than a bare mention. The civic buildings that he deigns to describe in any detail are very few. Amongst them we may note the Painted Colonnade at Athens with its famous pictures,[6] the spacious and splendid Persian Colonnade at Sparta with its columns of white marble carved in the shape of Persian captives,[7] the market-place at Elis,[8] and the Phocian parliament-house with its double row of columns running down the whole length of the hall and its seats rising in tiers from the columns up to the walls behind.[9]

His descriptions of religious monuments.

It is when he comes to religious art and architecture that Pausanias seems to have felt himself most at home. If in his notice of civic buildings and monuments he is chary of details, he is lavish of them in describing the temples and sanctuaries with their store of images, altars, and offerings. The most elaborate of his descriptions are those which he has given of the temple of Zeus at Olympia with the great image of the god by Phidias,[10] the scenes on the Chest of Cypselus in the Heraeum at Olympia,[11] the reliefs on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae,[12] and the paintings by Polygnotus in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi.[13] But, apart from these conspicuous examples, almost every page of his work bears witness to his interest

[1] vii. 17. 1-4. [2] ix. 22. 2. [3] x. 38. 5. [4] ix. 39. 2.
[5] x. 4. 1. [6] i. 15. [7] iii. 11. 3. [8] vi. 24. 2-10.
[9] x. 5. 1 *sq.* [10] v. 10. 2-v. 12. 8. [11] v. 17. 5-v. 19. 10.
[12] iii. 18. 9-iii. 19. 5. [13] x. 25-31.

in the monuments of religion, especially when they were more than usually old and quaint. Among the queer images he describes are the thirty square stones revered as gods at Pharae;[1] the rough stones worshipped as images of Love and Hercules and the Graces at Thespiae, Hyettus, and Orchomenus;[2] the pyramidal stone which represented Apollo at Megara;[3] the ancient wooden image of Zeus with three eyes on the acropolis of Argos;[4] the old idol of Demeter as a woman with a horse's head holding a dove in one hand and a dolphin in the other;[5] the figure of a mermaid bound fast with golden chains in a wild wood at the meeting of two glens;[6] the image of the War God at Sparta in fetters to hinder him from running away;[7] the bronze likeness of an unquiet ghost clamped with iron to a rock to keep him still;[8] an image of Athena with a purple bandage on her wounded thigh;[9] a pair of wooden idols of Dionysus with shining gilt bodies and red faces;[10] and tiny bronze images of Castor and Pollux, a foot high, on a rocky islet over which the sea broke foaming in winter, but could not wash them away.[11] Some of the images he describes as tricked out with offerings of devout worshippers. Such were an image of Pasiphae covered with garlands;[12] a figure of Hermes swathed in myrtle boughs;[13] a crimson-painted idol of Dionysus emerging from a heap of laurel leaves and ivy;[14] and a statue of Health almost hidden under tresses of women's hair and strips of Babylonish raiment in the shade of ancient cypresses at Titane.[15] Among the appointments of the sanctuaries he mentions, for example, altars made of the ashes or blood of the victims,[16] perpetual fires,[17] a golden lamp that burned day and night in the Erechtheum,[18] a gilt head of the Gorgon on the wall of the Acropolis,[19] a purple curtain in the temple of Zeus,[20] a golden and jewelled peacock dedicated by Hadrian to Hera,[21] the iron stand of Alyattes's bowl,[22] chains of liberated prisoners, hanging from the cypresses in the grove of Hebe,[23] and bronze railings round the shaft down which a man, clad in a peculiar costume, descended by a ladder to consult the oracle of Trophonius.[24]

His interest in relics.

Again, Pausanias loves to notice the things, whether worshipped or not, which were treasured as relics of a mythical or legendary past. Such were the remains of the clay out of which Prometheus had moulded the first man and woman;[25] the stone that Cronus had swallowed instead of his infant son;[26] the remains of the wild-straw-

[1] vii. 22. 4. [2] ix. 24. 3, ix. 27. 1, ix. 38. 1. [3] i. 44. 2. [4] ii. 24. 3.
[5] viii. 42. 4. [6] viii. 41. 6. [7] iii. 15. 7. [8] ix. 38. 5.
[9] viii. 28. 6. [10] ii. 2. 6. [11] iii. 26. 3. [12] iii. 26. 1.
[13] i. 27. 1. [14] viii. 39. 6. [15] ii. 11. 6.
[16] v. 13. 8, 11, v. 14. 8, 10, v. 15. 9, ix. 11. 7.
[17] ii. 19. 5, v. 15. 9, viii. 9. 2, viii. 37. 11. [18] i. 26. 6 *sq.*
[19] i. 21. 3, v. 12. 4. [20] v. 12. 4. [21] ii. 17. 6. [22] x. 16. 1 *sq.*
[23] ii. 13. 3 *sq.* [24] ix. 39. 8-10. [25] x. 4. 4. [26] x. 24. 6.

berry tree under which Hermes had been nourished ;[1] the egg which the lovely Leda had laid and out of which Castor and Pollux had been hatched ;[2] the ruins of the bridal chamber where Zeus had dallied with Semele ;[3] the mouldering hide of the Calydonian boar ;[4] and the old wooden pillar, held together by bands and protected from the weather by a shed, which had stood in the house of Oenomaus.[5] In the temple of Artemis at Aulis, now represented by a ruined Byzantine chapel in a bare stony field, the traveller was shown the remains of the plane-tree under which the Greeks had sacrificed before setting sail for Troy,[6] and on a neighbouring hill the guides pointed out the bronze threshold of Agamemnon's hut.[7] But the most revered of all the relics described by Pausanias seems to have been the sceptre which Hephaestus was said to have made and Agamemnon to have wielded. It was kept and worshipped at Chaeronea. A priest who held office for a year guarded the precious relic in his house and offered sacrifices to it daily, while a table covered with flesh and cakes stood constantly beside it.[8] A ruder conception of religion than is revealed by this practice of adoring and feeding a staff it might be hard to discover amongst the lowest fetish-worshippers of Western Africa. And this practice was carried on in the native city and in the lifetime of the enlightened Plutarch ! Truly the extremes of human nature sometimes jostle each other in the street.

His notices of historic monuments.

But his religious bias by no means so warped the mind of Pausanias as to render him indifferent to the historic ground which he trod and to those monuments of great men and memorable events on which his eye must have fallen at almost every turn. As a scholar he was versed in, and as a patriot he was proud of, the memories which these monuments were destined to perpetuate and which in the genius of the Greek people have found a monument more lasting than any of bronze or marble. He visited the battlefields of Marathon and Plataea and beheld the trophies of victory and the graves of the victors.[9] At Salamis he saw the trophy of the great sea-fight, but he mentions no graves.[10] Doubtless the bones of many victors and vanquished lay together fathoms deep in the bay. At Chaeronea he saw a sadder monument, the colossal stone lion on the grave of the Thebans who had fallen in the cause of freedom.[11] On the battlefield of Mantinea he found the grave of Epaminondas,[12] at Sparta the grave of Leonidas,[13] and among the pinewoods of the sacred isle that looks across the blue Saronic gulf to Attica the grave of the banished Demosthenes.[14] At Thebes he saw the ruins of Pindar's house,[15] the shields of the

[1] ix. 22. 2.
[2] iii. 16. 1.
[3] ix. 12. 3.
[4] viii. 47. 2.
[5] v. 20. 6 *sq.*
[6] ix. 19. 7.
[7] *Ib.*
[8] ix. 40. 11 *sq.*
[9] i. 32. 3-5, ix. 2. 5 *sq.*
[10] i. 36. 1.
[11] ix. 40. 10.
[12] viii. 11. 7 *sq.*
[13] iii. 14. 1.
[14] ii. 33. 3.
[15] ix. 25. 3.

Lacedaemonian officers who fell at Leuctra,[1] and the figures of white marble which Thrasybulus and his comrades in exile and in arms had dedicated out of gratitude for Theban hospitality.[2] In the Grove of the Muses on Helicon he beheld the statues of renowned poets and musicians—Hesiod with his lute, Arion on his dolphin, blind Thamyris, Orpheus holding the beasts spellbound as he sang.[3] At Tanagra he observed the portrait and the tomb of the poetess Corinna, the rival of Pindar;[4] and in several cities of Arcadia he remarked portraits of the Arcadian historian Polybius.[5]

Nowhere, however, did he find historical monuments crowded so closely together as at Athens, Olympia, and Delphi. The great sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi served in a manner as the national museums and record-offices of Greece. In them the various Greek cities not only of the mother-country but of Italy, Sicily, Gaul, and the East set up the trophies of their victories and deposited copies of treaties and other important documents. They offered a neutral ground where natives of jealous or hostile states could meet in peace, and where they could survey, with hearts that swelled with various emotions, the records of their country's triumphs and defeats. At Olympia our author mentions a tablet inscribed with a treaty of alliance for a hundred years between Elis, Athens, Argos, and Mantinea;[6] another tablet recording a treaty of peace for thirty years between Athens and Sparta;[7] and the quoit of Iphitus inscribed with the terms of the truce of God which was proclaimed at the Olympic festival.[8] Amongst the many trophies of war which he enumerates the most memorable was the image of Zeus dedicated in common by the Greeks who had fought at Plataea,[9] and the most conspicuous, unless we except the figure of Victory on the pillar dedicated by the Messenians of Naupactus,[10] must have been the colossal bronze statue of Zeus, no less than twenty-seven feet high, which the Eleans set up for a victory over the Arcadians.[11] A golden shield, hung high on the eastern gable of the temple of Zeus, proclaimed the triumph of the Lacedaemonian arms at Tanagra.[12] The sight of one-and-twenty gilded shields that glittered on the eastern and southern sides of the temple must have cost Pausanias a pang, for they had been dedicated by the Roman general Mummius to commemorate the conquest of Greece.[13] Another monument that doubtless vexed the patriotic heart of Pausanias was an elegant rotunda with slim Ionic columns resting on marble steps and supporting a marble roof; for the statues which it enclosed, resplendent

Historic monuments at Olympia.

[1] ix. 16. 5. [2] ix. 11. 6. [3] ix. 30. 2-4.
[4] ix. 22. 3. [5] viii. 9. 2, viii. 30. 8, viii. 37. 2, viii. 44. 5, viii. 48. 8.
[6] v. 12. 8. [7] v. 23. 4. [8] v. 20. 1.
[9] v. 23. 1 *sq.* [10] v. 26. 1. [11] v. 24. 4.
[12] v. 10. 4. [13] v. 10. 5.

in gold and ivory, were those of Philip and Alexander, and the building stood as a memorial of the battle of Chaeronea.[1]

Historic monuments at Delphi.

At Delphi the road which wound up the steep slope to the temple of Apollo was lined on both sides with an unbroken succession of monuments which illustrated some of the brightest triumphs and darkest tragedies in Greek history. Here the proud trophy of the Lacedaemonian victory at Aegospotami, with its rows of statues rising in tiers, confronted the more modest trophy erected by the Athenians for the victory of Marathon.[2] Here were statues set up by the Argives for the share they had taken with the Thebans in founding Messene.[3] Here was a treasury dedicated by the Athenians out of the spoils of Marathon,[4] and another dedicated by the Thebans out of the spoils of Leuctra.[5] Here another treasury, built by the Syracusans, commemorated the disastrous defeat of the Athenians in Sicily.[6] A bronze palm-tree and a gilded image of Athena stood here as memorials of Athenian valour by sea and land at the Eurymedon.[7] Here, above all, were monuments of the victories achieved by the united Greeks over the Persians at Artemisium, Salamis, and Plataea.[8] The golden tripod, indeed, which formed the trophy of Plataea, had disappeared long before Pausanias passed up the Sacred Way, its empty place testifying silently to the rapacity of the Phocian leaders; but the bronze serpent which had supported it still stood erect, with the names of the states that had taken part in the battle inscribed on its coils. A prodigious image of Apollo, five-and-thirty ells high, towering above the other monuments, proclaimed at once the enormity of the crime which the Phocians had committed and the magnitude of the fine by which they had expiated it.[9] High and conspicuous too, on the architrave of the temple, hung the shields which told of one of the latest triumphs of the Greek arms, the repulse and defeat of the Gauls.[10] All these and many more historical monuments Pausanias saw and described at Delphi.

Historic monuments at Athens.

At Athens among the portraits of famous men that attracted his attention were statues of the statesmen Solon, Pericles, and Lycurgus, the generals Conon, Timotheus, and Iphicrates, the orators Demosthenes and Isocrates, the philosopher Chrysippus, and the poets Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Menander.[11] In the Prytaneum were preserved copies of the laws of Solon.[12] The colonnades that flanked the market-place were adorned with pictures of the battles of Marathon, Oenoe, and Mantinea, and in one of them—the celebrated Painted Colonnade—our

[1] v. 20. 9 *sq.* [2] x. 9. 7-10, x. 10. 1 *sq.* [3] x. 10. 5.
[4] x. 11. 5. [5] *Ib.* [6] *Ib.* [7] x. 15. 4.
[8] x. 13. 9, x. 14. 5. [9] x. 15. 1 *sq.* [10] x. 19. 4.
[11] i. 3. 2, i. 8. 2, i. 16. 1, i. 17. 2, i. 18. 8, i. 21. 1 *sq.*, i. 24. 3, 7, i. 25. 1.
[12] i. 18. 3.

author observed bronze shields, smeared with pitch to preserve them from rust, which had been taken from the Spartans at Sphacteria.[1] On the Acropolis stood, as a trophy of the Persian wars, the immense bronze statue of Athena, of which the blade of the spear and the crest of the helmet could be seen far off at sea.[2] Close at hand in the Erechtheum the traveller was shown the sword of Mardonius and the corselet of Masistius, who had fallen while leading the Persian cavalry to the charge at Plataea.[3] In Piraeus he saw the sanctuary of Aphrodite which Conon had built after vanquishing the Lacedaemonian fleet off Cnidus,[4] and at the entrance to the great harbour, in view of the ships sailing out and in, the grave of Themistocles who had won for Athens the empire of the sea.[5] But no place in Greece was richer in monuments of the historic past, none seems to have stirred Pausanias more deeply than that memorable spot outside the walls of Athens where, within the narrow compass of a single graveyard, were gathered the mortal remains of so much valour and genius. Here lay not a few of the illustrious men who by their counsels, their swords, or their pens had made Athens great and famous, and hither the ashes of humbler citizens, who had died for their country, were brought from distant battlefields to rest in Attic earth. His description of this the national burying-ground of Athens[6] has not, indeed, the pensive grace of Addison's essay on the tombs in the Abbey. It is little more than a bare list of the names he read on the monuments, but there almost every name was a history as full of proud or mournful memories as the names carved on the tombs in Westminster and St. Paul's or stitched on the tattered and blackened banners that droop from the walls of our churches. The annals of Athens were written on these stones —the story of her restless and aspiring activity, her triumphs in art, in eloquence, in arms, her brief noon of glory, and her long twilight of decrepitude and decay. No wonder that our traveller paused amid monuments which seemed, in the gathering night of barbarism, to catch and reflect some beams of the bright day that was over, like the purple light that lingers on the slopes of Hymettus when the sun has set on Athens.

His digressions on natural curiosities.

To relieve the tedium of the topographical part of his work Pausanias has introduced digressions on the wonders of nature and of foreign lands. Thus, for example, having mentioned the destruction of Helice by an earthquake, he describes the ominous signs which herald the approach of a great earthquake—the heavy rains or long droughts, in winter the sultry weather, in summer the haze through which the sun's disc looms red and lurid, the sudden gusts, the springs of water drying up, the rumbling noises under-

[1] i. 3. 4, i. 15.
[2] i. 28. 2.
[3] i. 27. 1.
[4] i. 1. 3.
[5] i. 1. 2.
[6] i. 29. 2-16.

ground. Further, he analyses the different kinds of shocks, determines the nature of the one which destroyed Helice, and describes the immense wave which simultaneously advanced on the doomed city from the sea.[1] He refers to the ebb and flow of the ocean,[2] to the ice-bound sea and frozen deserts of the north,[3] to the southern land where the sun casts no shadow at midsummer.[4] He tells how the Chinese rear the silkworm, and describes both silk and the silkworm more correctly than any writer who preceded and than some who followed him.[5] It has been suggested that he derived his information, directly or indirectly, from a member of the Roman embassy which appears from the evidence of Chinese historians to have been sent by the emperor Marcus Antoninus to the far East and to have reached the court of China in October 166 A.D. Again, he describes the Sarmatians of northern Europe leading a nomadic life in the depths of their virgin forests, subsisting by their mares, ignorant of iron, clad in corselets made of horse-hoofs, shooting arrows barbed with bone from bows of the cornel-tree, and entangling their foes in the coils of their lassoes.[6]

Among the curiosities which seem to have especially interested him were the huge bones he met with in various places.[7] Generally he took them to be bones of giants, but one of them he described more happily as that of a sea-monster.[8] Probably they were all bones of mammoths or other large extinct animals, such as have been found plentifully in modern times in various parts of Greece, for example near Megalopolis,[9] where he saw some of them. Again, he is particularly fond of describing or alluding to strange birds and beasts, whether native to Greece or imported from distant countries. Thus he mentions a reported variety of white blackbirds on Mount Cyllene which had attracted the attention of Aristotle,[10] and he describes almost with the exactitude of a naturalist a small venomous viper of northern Arcadia which is still dreaded by the inhabitants.[11] He refers to the parrots and camels and huge serpents of India,[12] and he describes briefly but correctly the ostrich and the rhinoceros.[13] He gives a full and sober account of the method of capturing the bison,[14] and another of the mode of catching the elk[15] which contrasts very favourably with the absurd account of it given by Caesar.[16] At Tanagra he saw the stuffed or pickled Triton,[17] or what passed for such, of which the Tanagraeans were so proud that they put a figure of a Triton on the coins which they minted in the lifetime of Pausanias. In the island of Poroselene he enjoyed, he assures us, the

[1] vii. 24. 7-13. [2] i. 4. 1. [3] i. 4. 1, i. 9. 5, i. 35. 5.
[4] viii. 38. 6. [5] vi. 26. 6-8 note.
[6] i. 21. 5 *sq.* [7] i. 35. 5-8, ii. 10. 2, iii. 22. 9, viii. 32. 5.
[8] ii. 10. 2. [9] See vol. 2. p. 483, and vol. 4. pp. 315, 352.
[10] viii. 17. 3 note. [11] viii. 4. 7 note. [12] ii. 28. 1, ix. 21. 2.
[13] v. 12. 1, ix. 21. 2, ix. 31. 1. [14] x. 13. 1-3.
[15] ix. 21. 3. [16] *Bellum Gallicum*, vi. 27. [17] ix. 20. 4 *sq.*

spectacle of a tame dolphin that came at a boy's call and allowed him to ride on its back.[1]

His report of this last spectacle, though it is confirmed by another witness,[2] may raise a doubt as to his credibility.[3] Professor Alfred Newton, whom I have consulted on the subject, kindly informs me that he knows of no modern evidence to bear Pausanias out, but that considering the widespread belief of the ancients in the familiarity of dolphins he does not think it inconceivable that in those days the creatures lived in little fear of mankind. We cannot judge, he says, by the behaviour of animals at the present day of what they might or did do before persecution began. "When the Russians," he continues, "discovered Bering's Island in 1741, they found its shores thronged by a big sea-beast (the *Rhytina gigas* of naturalists), which, never having seen men before, had no fear of them, and the Russians (shipwrecked as they were) used to wade in the water and *milk* the 'cows.' The confidence was misplaced, and within thirty years or so every one of the animals had been destroyed, and the species extirpated." Thus it seems not impossible that dolphins may have been tamer in antiquity than they are now, and that Pausanias may really have seen what he tells us he saw. But perhaps the exhibition at Poroselene was a hoax.[4]

Description of Greece by the pseudo-Dicaearchus.

So much for the contents of Pausanias's book. Before we enquire into the character of the writer and the sources from which he drew his materials it may be instructive to compare his work with the fragments of another ancient description of Greece which have come down to us. The comparison will help us to understand better both what we have gained and what we have lost by the

[1] iii. 25. 7.

[2] Leonidas of Byzantium, reported by Aelian (*De natura animalium*, ii. 6). The story is told also by Oppian (*Halieutica*, v. 458 *sqq.*). Compare W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 169 *sq.*

[3] See O. Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums* (Innsbruck, 1887), p. 212 *sqq.*

[4] We may suspect that Pausanias was sometimes duped by priestly trickery. See ix. 18. 3 *sq.* The mystery of the wood apparently kindling of itself on the altar of the Persian fire-worshippers (v. 27. 5 *sq.*) is explained simply and doubtless correctly by Thomas Hyde, who points out that the perpetual fire, kept smouldering unseen among the ashes of the altar, could easily have been made to burst into a bright blaze by stirring the embers or fanning them with a blast of air through a hidden tube (*Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia*, Oxford, 1760, p. 361). Compare C. de Harlez, *Avesta* (Paris, 1881), p. xcvi. That Pausanias was not above being gulled is shown by the stories he tells at second hand of the Isles of the Satyrs (i. 23. 5 *sq.*), the deadly vipers of the Phoenician highlands (ix. 22. 2), and the fierce birds of the Arabian desert (ix. 22. 4 *sq.*). Whether the story of the burning giant which he had from Cleon of Magnesia (x. 4. 6) was a hoax or not is much more doubtful. More probably, perhaps, the smouldering giant was a huge effigy of Melcart or Hercules such as was periodically burnt at Tarsus in Cilicia (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxiii. vol. 2. p. 16 ed. Dindorf). I was mistaken in affirming (note on iii. 25. 7) that the parents of the boy who rode the dolphin at Poroselene made money by the exhibition. What Aelian (*De nat. anim.* ii. 6) says is merely that the dolphin was a source of gain to the family by catching fish for them.

idiosyncrasies of Pausanias. The fragments commonly pass under the name of the eminent Messenian writer Dicaearchus, a pupil of Aristotle; but from internal evidence we may conclude that the work of which they formed part was written by a later writer at some time between 164 B.C. and 86 B.C.[1] The nature of the work may be gathered from the following free translation or paraphrase, which is also slightly abridged.

"The road to Athens is a pleasant one, running between cultivated fields the whole way. The city itself is dry and ill supplied with water. The streets are nothing but miserable old lanes, the houses mean, with a few better ones among them. On his first arrival a stranger could hardly believe that this is the Athens of which he has heard so much. Yet he will soon come to believe that it is Athens indeed. A Music Hall, the most beautiful in the world, a large and stately theatre, a costly, remarkable, and far-seen temple of Athena called the Parthenon rising above the theatre, strike the beholder with admiration. A temple of Olympian Zeus, unfinished but planned on an astonishing scale; three gymnasiums, the Academy, Lyceum, and Cynosarges, shaded with trees that spring from greensward; verdant gardens of philosophers; amusements and recreations; many holidays and a constant succession of spectacles;—all these the visitor will find in Athens.

"The products of the country are priceless in quality but not too plentiful. However, the frequency of the spectacles and holidays makes up for the scarcity to the poorer sort, who forget the pangs of hunger in gazing at the shows and pageants. Every artist is sure of being welcomed with applause and of making a name; hence the city is crowded with statues.

"Of the inhabitants some are Attic and some are Athenian. The former are gossiping, slanderous, given to prying into the business of strangers, fair and false. The Athenians are high-minded, straightforward, and staunch in friendship. The city is infested by a set of scribblers who worry visitors and rich strangers. When the people catches the rascals, it makes an example of them. The true-born Athenians are keen and critical auditors, constant in their attendance at plays and spectacles. In short, Athens as far

[1] The fragments are printed in C. Müller's *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. 1. p. 97 *sqq.*, and in his *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. 2. p. 254 *sqq.* That the author wrote after 164 B.C. and before 86 B.C. is proved by his mention of the half-finished Olympieum and his description of Thebes. For the Olympieum was left half finished by Antiochus Epiphanes (Strabo, ix. p. 396; see vol. 2. p. 178 *sq.*), who died in 164 B.C.; and the prosperous condition of Thebes which the writer depicts came to an end after Sulla's rigorous treatment of the city in 86 B.C. (Pausanias ix. 7. 5 *sq.*). The Music Hall at Athens which the writer admired was burnt in 86 B.C., but was afterwards restored (Pausanias i. 20. 4 note). See W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 186 *sq.* The view which in the commentary (vol. 5. p. 27) I have adopted as to the date when this description of Greece was composed should be corrected accordingly.

surpasses all other cities in the pleasures and conveniences of life as they surpass the country. But a man must beware of the courtesans, lest they lure him to ruin. The verses of Lysippus run thus:

'If you have not seen Athens, you're a stock;
If you have seen it and are not taken with it, you're an ass;
If you are glad to leave it, you're a pack-ass.'

"Thence to Oropus by Psaphides and the sanctuary of Zeus Amphiaraus is a day's journey for a good walker. It is all up-hill,[1] but the abundance and good cheer of the inns prevent the traveller from feeling the fatigue. Oropus is a nest of hucksters. The greed of the custom-house officers here is unsurpassed, their roguery inveterate and bred in the bone. Most of the people are coarse and truculent in their manners, for they have knocked the decent members of the community on the head. They deny they are Boeotians, standing out for it that they are Athenians living in Boeotia. To quote the poet Xeno:

'All are custom-house officers, all are robbers.
A plague on the Oropians!'

"Thence to Tanagra is a hundred and thirty furlongs. The road runs through olive-groves and woodlands: fear of highwaymen there is none at all. The city stands on high and rugged ground. Its aspect is white and chalky; but the houses with their porches and encaustic paintings give it a very pretty appearance. The corn of the district is not very plentiful, but the wine is the best in Boeotia. The people are well-to-do, but simple in their way of life. All are farmers, not artisans. They practise justice, good faith, and hospitality. To needy fellow-townsmen and to vagabonds they give freely of their substance, for meanness and covetousness are unknown to them. It is the safest city in all Boeotia for strangers to stay in; for the independent and industrious habits of the people have bred a sturdy downright hatred of knavery. In this city I observed as little as might be of those unbridled impulses which are commonly the source of the greatest crimes. For where people have enough to live on, they do not hanker after lucre, so roguery can hardly show face among them.

"Thence to Plataea is two hundred furlongs. The road is somewhat desolate and stony, and it rises up the slopes of Cithaeron, but it is not very unsafe. In the city, to quote the poet Posidippus,

[1] This is an odd mistake. In point of fact half of the way is up hill and the other half is down hill. The road rises first gently and then steeply to the summit of the pass over Mount Parnes not far from the ancient Decelea; thence it descends, at first rapidly in sharp serpentine curves, then gradually through a rolling woodland country, to the sea at Oropus.

'Two temples there are, a colonnade and old renown,
And the baths, and Sarabus's famous inn.
A desert most of the year, it is peopled at the time of the games.'

The inhabitants have nothing to say for themselves except that they are Athenian colonists, and that the battle between the Greeks and the Persians was fought in their country.

"Thence to Thebes is eighty furlongs. The road is through a flat the whole way. The city stands in the middle of Boeotia. Its circumference is seventy furlongs, its shape circular. The soil is dark. In spite of its antiquity the streets are new, because, as the histories tell us, the city has been thrice razed to the ground on account of the morose and overbearing character of the inhabitants. It is excellent for the breeding of horses; it is all well-watered and green, and has more gardens than any other city in Greece. For two rivers flow through it, irrigating the plain below the city; and water is brought from the Cadmea in underground conduits which were made of old, they say, by Cadmus. So much for the city. The inhabitants are high-spirited and wonderfully sanguine, but rash, insolent, and overbearing, ready to come to blows with any man, be he citizen or stranger. As for justice they set their face against it. Business disputes are settled not by reason but by fisticuffs, and the methods of the prize-ring are transferred to courts of justice. Hence lawsuits here last thirty years at the very least. For if a man opens his lips in public on the law's delay and does not thereupon take hasty leave of Boeotia, he is waylaid by night and murdered by the persons who have no wish that lawsuits should come to an end. Murders are perpetrated on the most trifling pretexts. Such are the men as a whole, though some worthy, high-minded, respectable persons are also to be found among them. The women are the tallest, prettiest, and most graceful in all Greece. Their faces are so muffled up that only the eyes are seen. All of them dress in white and wear low purple shoes laced so as to show the bare feet. Their yellow hair is tied up in a knot on the top of the head. In society their manners are Sicyonian rather than Boeotian. They have pleasing voices, while the voices of the men are harsh and deep. The city is one of the best places to pass the summer in, for it has gardens and plenty of cool water. Besides it is breezy, its aspect is verdant, and fruit and flowers abound. But it lacks timber, and is one of the worst places to winter in by reason of the rivers and the winds; for snow falls and there is much mud. The poet Laon writes in praise of the Boeotians, but he does not speak the truth, the fact being that he was caught in adultery and let off lightly by the injured husband. He says:

'Love the Boeotian, and fly not Boeotia;
For the man is a good fellow, and the land is delightful.'

"Thence to Anthedon is one hundred and sixty furlongs. The road runs aslant through fields. Carriages can drive on it. The city, which is not large, stands on the shore of the Euboean sea. The market-place is all planted with trees and flanked by colonnades. Wine and fish abound, but corn is scarce, for the soil is poor. The inhabitants are almost all fishermen living by their hooks, by the purple shell, and by sponges, growing old on the beach among the seaweed and in their huts. They are all of a ruddy countenance and a spare form; the tips of their nails are worn away by reason of working constantly in the sea. Most of them are ferrymen or boat-builders. Far from tilling the ground they do not even own it, alleging that they are descendants of the marine Glaucus, who was confessedly a fisherman.

"So much for Boeotia. As for Thespiae, it contains ambition and fine statues, nothing else. The Boeotians have a saying about their national faults to the effect that greed lives in Oropus, envy in Tanagra, quarrelsomeness in Thespiae, insolence in Thebes, covetousness in Anthedon, curiosity in Coronea, braggery in Plataea, fever in Onchestus, and stupidity in Haliartus. These are the faults that have drained down into Boeotia as into a sink from the rest of Greece. To quote the verse of Pherecrates:

'If you have any sense, shun Boeotia.'

So much for the land of the Boeotians.

"From Anthedon to Chalcis is seventy furlongs. As far as Salgoneus the road is level and easy, running between the sea on the one hand and a wooded and well-watered mountain of no great height on the other. The city of Chalcis measures seventy furlongs in circumference. It is all hilly and shaded with trees. Most of the springs are salt, but there is one called Arethusa of which the water, though brackish, is wholesome, cool, and so abundant that it suffices for the whole city. With public buildings such as gymnasiums, colonnades, sanctuaries, and theatres, besides paintings and statues, the city is excellently provided, and the situation of the market-place for purposes of commerce is unsurpassed. For the currents that meet in the Euripus flow past the very walls of the harbour, and here there is a gate which leads straight into the market-place, a spacious area enclosed by colonnades. This proximity of the market-place to the harbour, and the ease with which cargoes can be unloaded, attract many ships to the port. Indeed the Euripus itself, with its double entrance, draws merchants to the city. The whole district is planted with olives, and the fisheries are productive. The people are Greek in speech as well as by birth. Devoted to learning, with a taste for travel and books, they bear their country's misfortunes with a noble fortitude. A long course of political servitude has not

extinguished that inborn freedom of nature which has taught them to submit to the inevitable. To quote a verse of Philiscus:

'Chalcis is a city of most worthy Greeks.'"

These passages, which I have perhaps quoted at too great length, may suffice. I will spare the reader a long description of Mount Pelion, its pinewoods, its wild flowers, and its simples, which seems to be a fragment of the same work. Two points only in the description of the mountain may be mentioned. The writer tells us that the knowledge of certain simples was hereditary in a single family, who kept it a profound secret, though they refused to accept any money from the sick people whom they tended, deeming it would be impious to do so. These herbalists claimed to be descended from the centaur Chiron.[1] Again, we learn from the writer how in the greatest heat of summer, when the Dog Star rose, a procession of men of good birth and in the prime of life, all chosen by the priest and all clad in sheepskins, ascended through the pinewoods to the cave of Chiron and a sanctuary of Zeus on the top of the mountain. He mentions the sheepskins as a proof of the great height of Mount Pelion, as if without them the men would have shivered on the mountain even while the plains below were sweltering and baking in the heat. But it is more probable that the sheepskins had some religious significance.

The pseudo-Dicaearchus and Pausanias compared.

This account of the procession of skin-clad men to the cave and sanctuary on the top of the high mountain reads not unlike a passage in Pausanias. But how different is almost all the rest of this writer's description of Greece from that of Pausanias! Instead of a dull patient enumeration of monuments, arranged in topographical order and seldom enlivened even by a descriptive epithet, we have slight highly-coloured sketches of the general appearance of the towns—the white city of Tanagra on the hill with the pretty painted porches of the houses; Chalcis with its handsome buildings, its shady trees, its flowing springs, its spacious market beside the narrows where the tide runs fast and the porters are busy unlading the ships in the harbour; Thebes in summer with its fine new streets, its verdure, its fruit and flowers, and the balmy freshness of the perfumed air blowing over gardens; Thebes in winter, swept by bitter cutting winds, the streets deep in mud and whitened by the falling snow; Athens with its old narrow lanes and mean houses, and now and then a glimpse between them of the resplendent Parthenon, like a sun-burst, high up against the sky. Then again

[1] Chiron's skill in simples is alluded to by Homer (*Il.* iv. 218 *sq.*, xi. 830 *sqq.*). The herbalists of Magnesia in Thessaly offered to Chiron the first-fruits of the roots they dug and the herbs they gathered (Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* iii. 1. 3). See W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 46 *sqq.*

as to the people, what a contrast between the grave Pausanias, who hardly allows us to see them except at their devotions, and the sparkling writer who so often lifts the veil of the past and lets us catch a glimpse of the bustling motley crowd and hear the hum of their voices—the crowd that ceased to bustle and the voices that fell silent so long ago. We see the hungry populace at Athens forgetting their empty stomachs in the joys of the theatre and pageant; the frail beauties ogling; the literary pests scribbling lampoons in their garrets or wriggling in the grasp of the law. On the highroads we behold the travellers walking in fear of robbers or taking their ease at their inn. At Oropus we watch the custom-house officers diving into the baggage of exasperated travellers, who mutter curses. At Tanagra we shake hands with the bluff well-to-do farmer, comfortable, kindly, and contented, who has a hearty welcome for the stranger and a bit and a sup for the beggar who knocks at his door. In the streets of Thebes we jostle with your ruffling swaggering blades, your bullies and swashbucklers, who will knock you down for a word and cut your throat in a dark lane if you dare to whisper a word that reflects on the course of justice, or rather of injustice, in their native city. And moving amongst these ruffians are tall graceful women, muffled up to their eyes, their yellow hair gathered in knots on the top of their heads, their purple shoes peeping from under their white dresses, their soft voices contrasting with the gruff deep bass of the men. Again the scene shifts. We are no longer among the streets and gardens of Thebes, but on the beach at Anthedon with the salt smell of the sea in our nostrils and the cool sea-breeze fanning our brow. We see the fisher-folk, with their ruddy weather-beaten faces and their finger-nails eaten away by the brine, baiting their hooks among the sea-weed on the shore, or hammering away at a new fishing-boat, or ferrying travellers across the beautiful strait to Euboea.

These pictures of a vanished world are worth something. They have life, warmth, and colour; but the colours, we can hardly doubt, are heightened unduly. The lights are too high, the shadows too deep. We cannot believe that the population of Oropus consisted exclusively of cut-throats and custom-house officers; that the farmers of Tanagra were all bluff and virtuous; that none but good men struggling nobly with adversity resided at Chalcis; that no lawsuit at Thebes ever lasted less than thirty years. The writer, it is plain, has exaggerated for the sake of literary effect. And he has a strong leaning to gossip and scandal. He extenuates the praise of Boeotia in the mouth of a poet on the ground of a painful episode in the bard's private history, and he retails with evident relish the current tattle as to the characteristic vices of the various Boeotian towns. On the whole this lively, superficial, gossipy work, with its showy slap-dash sketches of life

and scenery, cannot compare in solid worth with the dry and colourless, but in general minute and accurate description of Greece which Pausanias has given us. In the writings of Pausanias we certainly miss the warmth and animation of the other, the pictures of contemporary life and character, the little touches that bring the past and the distant vividly before us. His book is too much a mere catalogue of antiquities, the dry bones of knowledge unquickened by the breath of imagination. Yet his very defects have their compensating advantages. If he lacked imagination he was the less likely to yield to that temptation of distorting and discolouring the facts to which men of bright fancy are peculiarly exposed, of whom it has been well said that they are like the angels who veil their faces with their wings.

Character of Pausanias.

His political opinions.

In truth Pausanias was a man made of common stuff and cast in a common mould. His intelligence and abilities seem to have been little above the average, his opinions not very different from those of his contemporaries. While he looked back with regret to the great age of Greek freedom, he appears to have acquiesced in the Roman dominion as inevitable, acknowledging the incapacity of the degenerate Greeks to govern themselves, the general clemency of the Roman rule, and especially the wisdom and beneficence of the good emperors under whom it was his happiness to live.[1] Of democracy he had no admiration. He thought the Athenians the only people who ever throve under it,[2] and on observing that the slaves who fought and died for Athens were buried with their masters, he remarks with apparent surprise that even a democracy can occasionally be just.[3] With his turn for study and for brooding over the past, it was natural that he should prefer a life of privacy to the cares and turmoils of a public career. Accordingly we find that he admired the prudence of Isocrates who lived placidly to old age in the shade and tranquillity of retirement,[4] and that he censured implicitly the imprudence of Demosthenes, whose fiery genius hurried him through the storm and sunshine of public life to exile and a violent death.[5]

Such a preference, implied rather than expressed, says much for the decay of public spirit in Greece. Our author himself was conscious that his lot had fallen on evil days. He speaks sorrowfully of the olden time when the gods openly visited the good with honour, and the bad with their displeasure; when the benefactors of man-

[1] As to Roman clemency, see i. 20. 7, vii. 16. 10, ix. 33. 6, x. 34. 2, x. 35. 2; as to the incapacity of the Greeks for self-government, see vii. 17. 4. For the praise of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius see i. 3. 2, i. 5. 5, viii. 43. 3-6. The passages of Pausanias which illustrate the author's personal opinions on life, religion, and art are collected and arranged by Dr. O. Pfundtner (*Des Reisebeschreibers Pausanias Lebens- und Glaubensanschauungen*, Königsberg, 1868). The tracts of F. S. C. Koenig (*De Pausaniae fide et auctoritate*, Berlin, 1832) and G. Krueger (*Theologumena Pausaniae*, Leipsic, 1860) also deserve to be consulted.

[2] iv. 35. 5. [3] i. 29. 7. [4] i. 18. 8. [5] i. 8. 3, ii. 33. 3.

kind were raised to the rank of divinities, and evil-doers were degraded into wild beasts and stones. "But in the present age," he adds mournfully, "when wickedness is growing to such a height, and spreading over every land and city, men are changed into gods no more, save in the hollow rhetoric which flattery addresses to power; and the wrath of the gods at the wicked is reserved for a distant future when they shall have gone hence."[1] We cannot doubt that here he glances covertly at the practice of deifying the Roman emperors, which seems to have stirred his honest indignation as a mark of the supple servility and political degeneracy of the age. Nor was he a stranger to those graver thoughts on the vaster issues of life and history which the aspect of Greece in its decline was fitted to awake. The sight of the great city of Megalopolis lying in ruins brings to his mind the high hopes with which it had been founded, and that again ushers in a train of melancholy reflexions on the instability of human affairs. He thinks how from so many golden cities of the ancient world—from Nineveh and Babylon, from Thebes and Mycenae—the glory had passed away; how nature itself, which seems so stable, is subject to great mutations; how transitory, then, is earthly glory, how brief and frail the life of man![2]

His ethical views.

On the passions which move men and make history he seems to have thought much like other people. He knew that avarice is the cause of many crimes,[3] and that love is the source both of great happiness and of great misery.[4] Yet he appears to have held that the mischief wrought by the passion of love outweighs the good it brings; for after telling how, by washing in the river Selemnus, men and women were supposed to forget their love, he adds that if there is any truth in this story great riches are less precious to mankind than the water of the Selemnus.[5] Again, he has a sincere admiration for the heroic virtues, and a genuine detestation of baseness and depravity of all sorts. Treason he stigmatises as the foulest of crimes.[6] He considers that the bold and disinterested patriot Thrasybulus, who freed his country and healed her dissensions, was the best of all the famous men of Athens,[7] and that the deed of Leonidas and his Spartans at Thermopylae was the most splendid feat of arms in Grecian history.[8] He praises his Spartan namesake for his courteous treatment of the captive Coan lady and for rejecting the base proposal of the wretch who would have had him mutilate the corpse of the gallant Mardonius.[9] He speaks with sympathy of the brave men worthy of a happier fate who fell on the tyrant Lachares, of those who would have wrested Piraeus from the Macedonians had they not been done by their confederates to death,

[1] viii. 2. 4 *sq.*
[2] viii. 33.
[3] iii. 23. 4, iv. 4. 7, ix. 32. 10.
[4] i. 10. 3, iv. 20. 5, vii. 19. 5.
[5] vii. 23. 3.
[6] vii. 10. 1.
[7] i. 29. 3.
[8] iii. 4. 7 *sq.*
[9] iii. 4. 9 *sq.*

and of those others whom on the great day Cimon led to victory by sea and land.[1] He tells how in the last fight with the Romans, before the day was lost, the Achaean general fled, leaving his men to shift for themselves, and he contrasts his selfish cowardice with the soldierly devotion of an Athenian cavalry officer who on the disastrous retreat from Syracuse brought off his regiment safe, then wheeled about and, riding back alone, found the death he sought in the midst of the enemy.[2]

His religious opinions. Belief in the gods.

In religion as in morals Pausanias seems to have occupied a position not unlike that of his contemporaries. That it did not occur to him to doubt the existence of the gods and heroes of Greek mythology is clear from the tenour of his work as well as from many observations which he lets fall. Thus, for example, he tells us that to see the gods in bodily shape was perilous;[3] that Pan possessed, equally with the greatest of the gods, the power of answering prayer and requiting the wicked;[4] and that down to his own time there was preserved at a city on the Euphrates the very rope, plaited of vine and ivy branches, with which Dionysus had spanned the river on his march to India.[5] Even the criticisms which he sometimes offers on myths and legends prove that in the act of rejecting them wholly or in part he does not dream of questioning the reality of the divine or heroic personages of whom they were told. Thus, to give instances, while he examines and rejects the claims set up on behalf of various objects to be works of Hephaestus, he admits the genuineness of one of the objects, thereby clearly taking for granted the existence of the smith-god himself.[6] Again, observing an image of Aphrodite with fetters on her feet he tells how, according to one tradition, Tyndareus had put this indignity on the goddess to punish her for bringing his daughters to shame. "This explanation," declares Pausanias with decision, "I cannot accept for a moment. It would have been too silly to imagine that by making a cedar-wood doll and dubbing it Aphrodite he could punish the goddess."[7] Obviously our author, if he has small reverence for the image and none at all for the tradition of its origin, cherishes an unfaltering faith in the reality of the goddess. Again, he denies that Semele was ever, as Greek tradition would have it, rescued from hell by Dionysus, and the reason he gives for his incredulity is that Semele was the wife of Zeus and therefore could not die.[8] Yet again, after telling the legend of Eurypylus and the wonderful chest in which he kept a portable god, he mentions only to reject the tradition that Eurypylus received the chest from Hercules. "Sure am I," says he, "that Hercules knew all about the chest, if it really was such a wonderful chest, and I do not believe that knowing about it he would

[1] i. 29. 10, 14. [2] vii. 16. 4-6. [3] x. 32. 18. [4] viii. 37. 11.
[5] x. 29. 4. [6] ix. 41. 1-5. [7] iii. 15. 11. [8] ii. 31. 2.

ever have given it away to a comrade in arms."[1] Once more, Pausanias cannot bring himself to believe that Hercules ever carried his anger at a friend's daughter so far as to condemn her to remain a spinster for the rest of her days and to serve him in that capacity as his priestess. He opines that while Hercules was still among men, "punishing other people for presumption and especially for impiety, it is not likely that he would have established a temple with a priestess all for himself, just as if he were a god."[2]

His scepticism as to hell.

There is one side, however, of Greek religion as to which Pausanias shows himself consistently sceptical, if not incredulous. He had serious doubts as to the existence of a subterranean hell. "It is not easy," he says, "to believe that gods have an underground abode in which the souls of the dead assemble."[3] He speaks of the "supposed subterranean realm" of Pluto,[4] and in the cave at Taenarum, which was thought to be one of the mouths of hell, he looked in vain for any passage leading down to the nether world.[5] Cerberus in particular, the hound of hell, is roughly handled by Pausanias, who ruthlessly strips him of his superfluous heads, reduces him to a commonplace serpent,[6] and seems to take a malicious pleasure in enumerating all the places where the animal was said to have been haled up by Hercules.[7] But though Pausanias had his doubts as to hell, he seems to have believed in the existence of the soul after death; for in a passage which has been already quoted he speaks of the punishment that awaits the wicked in another life.[8] At the same time his belief in the doctrine was apparently not very firm; at least he refers to it somewhat hesitatingly in mentioning the Messenian tradition that the soul of the dead hero Aristomenes had fought against his old foes the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra. "The first people," he there tells us, "who asserted that the soul of man is immortal were the Chaldeans and the Indian magicians; and some of the Greeks believed them, especially Plato, the son of Aristo. If everybody accepts this tenet, there can be no gainsaying the view that hatred of the Lacedaemonians has rankled in the heart of Aristomenes through all the ages."[9]

His attitude to various deities.

Amongst the gods Pausanias assigns the first place to Zeus.[10] He alone is superior to Destiny, to which all the other gods must submit;[11] he is the ruler and guide of the Fates, and knows all that they have in store for man.[12] Of the Fates themselves Fortune is, in our author's opinion, the most powerful;[13] she it is whose resistless might sweeps all things along at her will, determining the growth

[1] vii. 19. 6-10. [2] ix. 27. 7. [3] iii. 25. 5.
[4] ii. 36. 7. [5] iii. 25. 5. [6] iii. 25. 5 *sq.*
[7] ii. 35. 10, iii. 25. 5, ix. 34. 5. For other hints of scepticism on the subject of hell, see ii. 5. 1, ii. 24. 4, ii. 31. 2, ii. 35. 9, v. 20. 3, viii. 32. 4, viii. 37. 5.
[8] viii. 2. 5. [9] iv. 32. 4. [10] viii. 36. 5.
[11] i. 40. 4. [12] v. 15. 5. [13] vii. 26. 8.

and decay of cities, the revolutions of nature, and the destiny of man.[1] Yet Pausanias's own devotions seem to have been paid rather to Demeter than to Zeus or the Fates. He visited Phigalia chiefly for the sake of the Black Demeter to whom he sacrificed at the mouth of the cave;[2] he relates at length the history of her image;[3] and he describes in unusual detail the sanctuary and images of Demeter and Proserpine at Lycosura.[4] Again, he had been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries;[5] he loves to trace their diffusion from Eleusis over the rest of Greece;[6] he speaks of the Andanian mysteries as second in point of sanctity to the Eleusinian alone;[7] he tells us that the Greeks of an earlier age esteemed the latter as far above all other religious exercises as the gods were above heroes;[8] and he expresses his own conviction that there was nothing on which the blessing of God rested in so full a measure as on the rites of Eleusis and the Olympic games.[9] His religious awe of the mysteries, silencing his antiquarian garrulity, forbade him to describe not only the rites but the sacred precincts in which they were celebrated.[10] Once more, on Mount Panhellenius in Aegina he sacrificed to the images of the kindred deities Damia and Auxesia according to the ritual observed in sacrificing at Eleusis.[11] Another deity in whom Pausanias seems to have been especially interested was Aesculapius. He examines the legends of the god's parentage,[12] discusses his nature,[13] and traces the spread of his worship from Epidaurus.[14] Along with his belief in the gods and in the resistless power of Fate our author apparently cherished a dim faith in a divine providence which watches over the affairs of man. In speaking of the exploits of Theseus in Crete he remarks that "nothing less than the hand of Providence could reasonably be supposed to have brought him and his comrades safe back, guiding him through all the mazy intricacies of the labyrinth, and leading him unseen, when his work was done, through the midst of his enemies."[15]

His belief in the active interference of the gods in human affairs.

The gods, in the opinion of Pausanias, were neither cold abstractions nor blessed beings who, lapped in the joys of heaven, took no thought for the affairs of earth. They actively interfered in the course of events, rewarding the virtuous and punishing the wicked. They were the givers of good things to men;[16] and if their rewards had been more open and manifest in days of old,[17] the prosperity of the pious Athenians was a standing proof that even in later times the gods had not forgotten to recompense their worshippers.[18] Yet, like most people who lay themselves out to justify the ways of God to man, Pausanias was readier to detect

[1] viii. 33. 1 *sqq.* [2] viii. 42. 11. [3] viii. 42. 3-13. [4] viii. 37. 1-10.
[5] i. 37. 4, i. 38. 7. [6] ii. 14, iv. 1. 5, viii. 15. 1, viii. 31. 7. [7] iv. 33. 5.
[8] x. 31. 11. [9] v. 10. 1. [10] i. 14. 3, i. 38. 7, iv. 33. 5. [11] ii. 30. 4.
[12] ii. 26. 3-7, iv. 3. 2, iv. 31. 12. [13] vii. 23. 7 *sq.*
[14] ii. 10. 3, ii. 26. 8 *sq.*, iii. 23. 6 *sq.* [15] ii. 31. 1. Compare v. 13. 6.
[16] viii. 36. 5. [17] viii. 2. 4. [18] i. 17. 1.

the hand of the deity in the miseries and misfortunes of his fellow-creatures than in their joys and blessings. The confidence with which he lays his finger on the precise misdeed which drew down on a malefactor the wrath of a justly offended god implies an astonishing familiarity with the counsels of the Almighty. He knew that the Persians were defeated at Marathon because they had angered Nemesis by bringing, in the pride of their hearts, a block of marble which they proposed to set up as a trophy of their expected victory;[1] that the destruction of Sparta and Helice by earthquakes was due to the wrath of Poseidon at the violation of his sanctuaries;[2] that the ruin and death of Mithridates had been brought to pass by Apollo, whose sacred island had been sacked by the king's general;[3] that Sulla's miserable end was a direct consequence of his guilt in tearing Aristion from the sanctuary of Athena;[4] and that the wrath of the Eleusinian goddesses abode on the Megarians for ever because they had encroached on the sacred land and murdered a herald who warned them to desist.[5] Again, he shrewdly suspects that the long misfortunes of the Messenians flowed directly from the anger of the Dioscuri at the impious presumption of two Messenian youths;[6] and he surmises that gods and heroes combined to wreak their displeasure on the devoted head of Cleomenes, who had tampered with the Delphic oracle, ravaged the sacred Eleusinian land, and burned the grove of the hero Argus.[7] The Delphic Apollo was quick and powerful, according to Pausanias, to defend his honour and to visit with vengeance the sacrilegious persons who dared to assail his sanctuary or rifle his treasures. King Archidamus, who had fingered the sacred moneys, fell in battle in a foreign land and his corpse weltered unburied;[8] the Phlegyans, who made a raid on Delphi, perished by thunderbolts and earthquakes;[9] and it was in all the majesty of thunder, lightning, and earthquake that at a later time the god stood forth to repel the Gauls.[10] Amongst the punishments with which the gods were thought to visit unwarranted intrusions into their sanctuaries, blindness and madness had a special place. King Aepytus, on forcing his way into the shrine of Poseidon at Mantinea, which none might enter, was instantly struck blind and died soon afterwards;[11] some Persian soldiers who ventured into the sanctuary of the Cabiri near Thebes became crazed and in that state put an end to themselves;[12] and it was believed that if any defiled or impious person entered the sanctuary of the Eumenides at Cerynea he would go mad on the spot.[13]

[1] i. 33. 2. [2] iv. 24. 5 *sq.*, vii. 24. 6, vii. 25. 3. [3] iii. 23. 3-5.
[4] i. 20. 7. Or perhaps it was because he carried off an image of Athena (ix. 33. 6).
[5] i. 36. 3, iii. 4. 6. [6] iv. 27. 1-3. [7] iii. 4. 1-6.
[8] iii. 10. 3-5. [9] ix. 36. 2 *sq.* [10] x. 23. 1 *sq.*
[11] viii. 5. 5, viii. 10. 3. [12] ix. 25. 9. [13] vii. 25. 7.

His belief in oracles.

Believing in the gods, Pausanias naturally believed in their official utterances, the oracles. The Delphic oracle, he thinks, foretold the battle of Leuctra[1] and various episodes in the Messenian wars;[2] and he appeals to one of its answers as conclusive evidence that the mother of Aesculapius was Coronis.[3] He relates how the accidental exposure of the bones of Orpheus was followed by the destruction of the city of Libethra in accordance with a prediction of Dionysus in Thrace,[4] and he narrates the fatal disasters which Epaminondas, Hannibal, and the Athenians incurred by misunderstanding oracular answers sent them from Delphi, Ammon, and Dodona.[5] The history of Macedonia, its rise and its fall, had been predicted by the Sibyl, if we may believe Pausanias, who quotes her prophecy;[6] and he assures us that the inroad of the Gauls into Asia had been foretold by Phaennis a generation before the event took place.[7] He had himself consulted the oracle of Trophonius, and has left us a curious account of the ceremonies observed by enquirers at the shrine.[8] In his day, he informs us, the most infallible oracle was that of Amphilochus at Mallus in Cilicia.[9]

His criticism of myths.

Yet while Pausanias accepted on the whole the religion of his country, he was by no means blind to the discrepancies and improbabilities of many Greek myths and legends, and he speaks somewhat disdainfully of the unquestioning faith of the multitude in the stories they had heard from childhood. "Falsehood in general," he says, "passes current among the multitude because they are ignorant of history and believe all that they have heard from childhood in choirs and tragedies."[10] And again he observes that "it is not easy to persuade the vulgar to change their opinions."[11] From the former of these passages it appears that Pausanias was little disposed to place implicit faith in the utterances of the poets on matters of tradition. Elsewhere he intimates his doubts still more plainly. Speaking of the hydra, which he maintains had not more than one head, he says that the poet Pisander multiplied the creature's heads "to make the monster more terrific, and to add to the dignity of his own verses."[12] Again, he mentions that the poets have declared certain objects of art to be works of Hephaestus, and that obsequious public opinion has chimed in with them, but he for his part rejects all such relics as spurious save one.[13] The only poet to whose authority he inclined to bow was Homer, whose testimony he often appeals to with respect.[14] He held that many old stories were true enough in their origin but had fallen into discredit by

[1] iv. 12. 7, iv. 26. 4. [2] iv. 12, iv. 13. 3. [3] ii. 26. 7.
[4] ix. 30. 9-11. [5] viii. 11. 10-12. [6] vii. 8. 8 *sq.*
[7] x. 15. 2 *sq.* [8] ix. 39. 5-14. [9] i. 34. 3.
[10] i. 3. 3. [11] ii. 23. 6. [12] ii. 37. 4. [13] ix. 41. 1.
[14] i. 28. 7, ii. 21. 9, iv. 28. 7 *sq.*, vii. 21. 8, vii. 25. 12, ix. 41. 3-5, x. 25. 1, etc.

reason of the distortions and exaggerations to which they had been subjected by the narrators. The particular story which suggests this remark is the legend that Lycaon had been turned into a wolf on sacrificing a babe to Lycaean Zeus. Pausanias believes the legend, but he rejects as incredible the assertion that at every subsequent sacrifice to Zeus on Mount Lycaeus a man had been turned into a wolf,[1] and he does not stick to brand as humbugs the persons who gave out that the Arcadian boxer Damarchus had been so transformed.[2] "Lovers of the marvellous," he observes, "are too prone to heighten the marvels they hear tell of by adding touches of their own; and thus they debase truth by alloying it with fiction."[3]

His disbelief of certain myths.

The attitude of incredulity which Pausanias maintained towards many of the current legends is declared by him in the most unequivocal manner. He speaks of "the many falsehoods believed by the Greeks,"[4] and reminds us that though he is bound to record Greek stories he is not bound to believe them,[5] and that as a matter of fact he does not believe them all.[6] The myths of the transformations of gods and men into animals and plants seem especially to have stuck in his throat. He does not believe that Zeus changed himself into a cuckoo to win the love of Hera,[7] and as to the story of the transformation of Cycnus into a swan, he says roundly: "That a man should be turned into a bird is to me incredible."[8] Nor will he hear of Narcissus's love for his own reflexion in the glassy pool and his wondrous change into the flower that bore his name. "It is sheer folly," he remarks, "to suppose that a person who has reached the age of falling in love should be unable to distinguish between a man and his reflexion," and as for the flower in question he has chapter and verse for it to prove that it grew before Narcissus was born.[9] The companion story of the transformation of Hyacinth into the flower he does not treat quite so cavalierly. "It may not be literally true," he tells us, "but let it pass."[10] Further, he cannot believe that the beasts followed Orpheus as he sang, and that the minstrel journeyed down to hell to win back his lost Eurydice.[11] Again, while he believes in giants, he rejects as a silly story the notion that they had serpents instead of feet, and he supports his scepticism by referring to the corpse of one of these monstrous beings which had been found in the bed of the river Orontes enclosed in a coffin eleven ells long.[12] Often, without formally refusing his assent to some tale of wonder, he quietly hints his incredulity by indicating that he leaves his readers to believe it or not as they feel inclined. Thus after telling how pigs thrown into the halls of Demeter at Potniae were supposed to

[1] viii. 2. 3 *sq.*, 6. [2] vi. 8. 2. [3] viii. 2. 7. [4] ix. 30. 4.
[5] vi. 3. 8. There is here a reminiscence of Herodotus (vii. 152). [6] ix. 31. 7-9.
[7] ii. 17. 4. [7] *Ib.* [8] i. 30. 3.
[10] iii. 19. 5. [11] ix. 30. 4. [12] viii. 29. 3 *sq.*

re-appear next year at Dodona, he adds, almost sarcastically: "The tale may possibly find credence with some people."[1] Other marvels which he dismisses with a sneer are the sowing of the dragon's teeth by Cadmus and the springing up of armed men;[2] the sprouting of Hercules's club into a tree when he set it on the ground;[3] the wonderful vision of Lynceus who could see through the trunk of an oak-tree;[4] and the story that at a certain rock in Megara the sad Demeter stood and called back her daughter from the darkling road down which she had vanished.[5]

His rationalistic interpretation of some myths.

It is not always, however, that Pausanias meets seemingly miraculous stories with a blank negation. He had too much good sense to do that. He knew that our experience does not exhaust the possibilities of nature, and he endeavoured accordingly to trim the balance of his judgment between hasty credulity on the one side and rash disbelief on the other. Thus after pointing out that, if the descriptions of the strange creatures of distant lands are false in some particulars, they are true or at least not improbable in others, he concludes: "So careful should we be to avoid hasty judgments on the one hand, and incredulity in matters of rare occurrence on the other."[6] In his endeavour to winnow the true from the false, to disentangle the ravelled skein of tradition, he has often recourse to that convenient and flexible instrument—rationalistic or allegorical interpretation. We have seen with what ease he thus disencumbered himself of Cerberus's superfluous heads and reduced that animal from a very extraordinary dog to a very ordinary serpent. The miraculous story of the death of Actaeon, rent in pieces by his hounds at the instigation of Artemis, gives him no trouble: it was a simple case of hydrophobia.[7] Medusa was a beautiful African queen who met Perseus at the head of her troops.[8] Titan was an early astronomer who resided near Sicyon and passed for a brother of the sun for no other reason than that he made observations on that luminary.[9] The fable that Procne and Philomela were turned into a nightingale and a swallow arose merely from a comparison of their mournful cries to the plaintive notes of these birds.[10] In one passage, indeed, under the fierce light of criticism the gods themselves seem on the point of melting away like mist before the sun, leaving behind them nothing but the clear hard face of nature, over which for a while the gorgeous pageantry of their shifting iridescent shapes had floated in a golden haze. The passage occurs in the description of Aegium, where our author fell in with a Phoenician of Sidon with whom he discussed the philosophic basis of the belief in Aesculapius, coming to the conclusion that the god was nothing but the air and his father Apollo nothing but the sun.[11] Had Pausanias

[1] ix. 8. 1. [2] ix. 10. 1. [3] ii. 31. 10. [4] iv. 2. 7.
[5] i. 43. 2. [6] ix. 21. 4-6. [7] ix. 2. 3 *sq.* [8] ii. 21. 5.
[9] ii. 11. 5. [10] i. 41. 9. [11] vii. 23. 7 *sq.*

followed up this line of thought he might, like Schiller, have seen as in a vision the bright procession of the gods winding up the long slope of Olympus, sometimes pausing to look back sadly at a world where they were needed no more. But the whole tenour of his work goes to show that, if here he had a glimpse of a higher truth, it was only a flash-light that went out leaving him in darkness.

His change of view as to myths.

In a later passage he makes a confession of his faith in matters of mythology. After telling the barbarous tale how the cannibal Cronus, intending to devour his infant son Poseidon, had been cozened by Rhea into swallowing a foal, he goes on: "When I began this work I used to look on these Greek stories as little better than foolishness; but now that I have got as far as Arcadia my opinion about them is this: I believe that the Greeks who were accounted wise spoke of old in riddles, and not straight out; and, accordingly, I conjecture that this story about Cronus is a bit of Greek philosophy. In matters of religion I will follow tradition."[1] This seems to be practically a recantation of earlier, perhaps youthful scepticism. The tales which he had once ridiculed as absurd he now finds to be full of deep, if hidden, wisdom. Meditation and perhaps still more the creeping paralysis of age, which brings so many men to a dull acquiescence in beliefs and practices which they had spurned in youth, appear to have wrought a mental revolution in Pausanias. The scoffer had become devout.

His treatment of discrepant traditions.

Yet to a pious believer the discrepancy between Greek traditions must have been a sore stumbling-block. Pausanias tripped over it again and again. "Greek traditions," says he, "are generally discrepant."[2] "The legends of the Greeks differ from each other on most points, especially in the genealogies."[3] "The old legends, being unencumbered by genealogies, left free scope for fiction, especially in the pedigrees of heroes."[4] "Most things in Greece are subjects of dispute."[5] In face of such differences Pausanias, when he does not content himself with simply enumerating the various traditions, chooses to follow either the most generally received version[6] or the one which on any ground appears to him the most probable. With his sober unimaginative temperament and bias to rationalism, it was natural that between conflicting versions of the same tradition he should choose the one which clashed least with experience. Thus he relates the two stories told of the way in which the people of Tanagra acquired the Triton whose stuffed carcase was the glory of the town. One story ran that the creature had been slain by Dionysus himself in single combat; according to the other, a common mortal had found the Triton lying drunk on

[1] viii. 8. 3. [2] ix. 16. 7. [3] viii. 53. 5.
[4] i. 38. 7. [5] iv. 2. 3. [6] ii. 12. 3.

the beach and had chopped off his head with an axe. The latter version of the tale is described by Pausanias as "less dignified but more probable."[1] Tritons, it is true, whether drunk or sober, are not common objects of the sea-shore; but there was no need to heighten the marvel by lugging in Dionysus. Again, the death of Aristodemus, the ancestor of the two royal houses of Sparta, was variously narrated. "Those who wish to invest him with a halo of glory," writes Pausanias, "say that he was shot by Apollo"; but the truer story was that he had been knocked on the head by the children of Pylades.[2] Again, he regards with suspicion the claims of men and women to be the husbands and wives, the sons and daughters of gods and goddesses. "The Moon, they say, loved Endymion, and he had fifty daughters by the goddess. Others, with more probability, say that Endymion married a wife."[3] "Cadmus made a distinguished marriage if he really married, as the Greeks say he did, a daughter of Aphrodite and Ares."[4] Then as to reputed sons of gods. "That Corinthus was a son of Zeus has never yet, so far as I know, been seriously asserted by anybody except by a majority of the Corinthians themselves."[5] Oenomaus was a son of Alexion, "though the poets have given out that he was a son of Ares."[6] The father of Augeas was Eleus, "though those who magnify his history give the name of Eleus a twist, and affirm that Augeas was a son of the sun."[7] The crafty Autolycus "was reputed to be a son of Hermes, though in truth his father was Daedalion."[8] The story that Orpheus had the Muse Calliope for his mother is stigmatised by our author as a falsehood.[9] Rivers that appeared in the character of fathers were also viewed by Pausanias with distrust. He held that the father of Eteocles was Andreus, not the river Cephisus;[10] and he believed that the father of Plataea was not the river Asopus but a king of the same name.[11] Other instances of his hesitation to accept legends of divine parentage might be cited.[12]

His application of historical methods to Greek traditions.

But in his criticism of Greek legends Pausanias did not confine himself to the simple test of experience. He did not merely ask whether a story agreed more or less with the laws of nature, and accept or reject it accordingly. In historical enquiries the application of such a criterion obviously cannot carry the enquirer beyond the first step. Pausanias went much further. He introduced considerations drawn from general probability, from chronology, from the monuments, from a comparison with other traditions, from the relative weight to be attached to the authorities by which each version of a legend was supported. In fact, far from being

[1] ix. 20. 4 *sq.* [2] iii. 1. 6. [3] v. 1. 4. [4] ix. 5. 2.
[5] ii. 1. 1. [6] v. 1. 6. [7] v. 1. 9. [8] viii. 4. 6.
[9] ix. 30. 4. [10] ix. 34. 9. [11] ix. 1. 2.
[12] See ii. 29. 9, ii. 34. 5, iii. 1. 2, iii. 18. 6, iv. 2. 2, v. 1. 8, x. 6. 1.

hide-bound in the trammels of tradition, he moved freely among the materials at his disposal, accepting this and rejecting that in obedience to the dictates of a reasonable and fairly enlightened criticism. Thus, he rejects the Sophoclean version of the death of Oedipus because it conflicts with the Homeric.[1] He will not allow that a bronze image of Athena at Amphissa can have formed part of the Trojan spoils, and that a bronze image of Poseidon at Pheneus can have been dedicated by Ulysses, because at the time of the Trojan war and in the lifetime of Ulysses the art of casting in bronze had not yet been invented.[2] He refuses to believe that the grave of Dejanira was at Argos, because she was known to have died at Trachis and her grave to be not far from Heraclea.[3] Among the several places in Greece that set up claims to be the Oechalia of Homer, our author decides in favour of Carnasium in Messenia, because the bones of Eurytus were there.[4] The tradition that the mysteries at Celeae had been founded by a man of Eleusis named Dysaules who had been driven into exile after a battle between the Eleusinians and Athenians, is rejected by Pausanias on the grounds that no such battle took place and that no such person is mentioned by Homer.[5] The legend that Daedalus joined Aristaeus in colonising Sardinia is set aside by him for the reason that Daedalus lived several generations after Aristaeus and therefore could not possibly have shared with him in a colony or in anything else.[6] Similarly he argues on chronological grounds against the traditions that Achilles had been a suitor of Helen;[7] that Timalcus went to Aphidna with the Dioscuri;[8] and that the Telamon and Chalcodon who marched with Hercules against Elis were the well-known Telamon of Aegina and Chalcodon of Euboea.[9] The Spartan tradition as to the image of Brauronian Artemis is preferred by Pausanias to the Athenian, and that for a variety of reasons which he sets forth in detail.[10]

Thus Pausanias criticised Greek myths and legends according to his lights, and if his lights did not shine very brilliantly the fault was not his.

His taste in art.

Of his taste in painting and sculpture we are scarcely able to judge, partly because he is chary of his praise, generally confining himself to a simple mention or description of the work before him, partly because so few of the works described by him have survived to our time. The paintings are all gone. A little blue pigment on a ruined wall at Delphi is all that remains of those frescoes of Polygnotus which excited the admiration of antiquity. That Pausanias himself admired them is clear, both from the length of

His taste in painting.

[1] i. 28. 7. [2] viii. 14. 7, x. 38. 5-7. [3] ii. 23. 5.
[4] iv. 2. 2 *sq.*, iv. 33. 5. [5] ii. 14. 2 *sq.*
[6] x. 17. 4. The generations between Cadmus and Daedalus are represented by Polydorus, Labdacus, and Laius (ix. 5. 3-10).
[7] iii. 24. 10 *sq.* [8] i. 41. 4 *sq.* [9] viii. 15. 6 *sq.* [10] iii. 16. 7-10.

his description and from the words with which he brings it to a close: "So varied and beautiful is the painting of the Thasian artist."[1] Elsewhere he seems to have lost no opportunity of describing extant pictures of Polygnotus, though he does not always mention his name.[2] A painting of Drunkenness by Pausias apparently struck Pausanias especially, for he tells us that "in the picture you can see the crystal goblet and the woman's face through it."[3] But the only pictures, besides those of Polygnotus at Delphi, on which he deigns to bestow a dry word of commendation are a couple of paintings on tombstones,[4] one of them by Nicias, as to whom Pausanias tells us elsewhere that he had been the greatest painter of animals of his time.[5]

His taste in sculpture.

In sculpture the taste of Pausanias was apparently austere. He decidedly preferred the earlier to the later art. Of the archaic works attributed to Daedalus he says that they "are somewhat uncouth to the eye, but there is a touch of the divine in them for all that."[6] He praises Bupalus, an artist of the sixth century B.C., as "a clever architect and sculptor."[7] But on the whole it was for the sculptors of the fifth century B.C. that he chiefly reserved his scanty praise, and amongst them he seemingly preferred the masters of the older manner who immediately preceded Phidias. Thus, with regard to Pythagoras of Rhegium, who flourished about 480 B.C., he says that he was "a good sculptor, if ever there was one,"[8] and in speaking of the boxer Euthymus he remarks that "his statue is by Pythagoras, and most well worth seeing it is."[9] Of Onatas, who was at work about 467 B.C., he expresses a high opinion: "I am inclined to regard Onatas, though he belongs to the Aeginetan school of sculpture, as second to none of the successors of Daedalus and the Attic school."[10] This criticism indicates that Pausanias preferred in general the Attic school of sculpture to the Aeginetan, though he considered one master of the latter school as the peer of the greatest Attic sculptors. At Pergamus there was a bronze image of Apollo by this same Onatas which Pausanias describes as "one of the greatest marvels both for size and workmanship."[11] It is a proof of the independence of Pausanias's judgment in art that this early sculptor, whom he ranked with Phidias and Praxiteles, is not even mentioned by any other ancient writer except in a single epigram of the Anthology.[12] Another old master of the fifth century whose statues Pausanias often notices is Calamis;[13] on one of them he

Predecessors of Phidias.

[1] x. 31. 12.

[2] i. 15, i. 18. 1, i. 22. 6, ix. 4. 2. The paintings in the Theseum at Athens, which Pausanias describes (i. 17. 2), were by some attributed to Polygnotus. See vol. 2. p. 156.

[3] ii. 27. 3. [4] ii. 7. 3, vii. 22. 6 *sq.* [5] i. 29. 15.

[6] ii. 4. 5. [7] iv. 30. 6. [8] vi. 4. 4. [9] iv. 6. 6.

[10] v. 25. 13. [11] viii. 42. 7.

[12] *Anthologia Palatina*, ix. 238. [13] See Index, *s.v.* "Calamis."

bestows a word of commendation.[1] A statue by this artist was much admired by Lucian.[2] The great sculptor Myron, a contemporary of Phidias, seems also to have found favour in the eyes of Pausanias, for he mentions that the image of Dionysus on Mount Helicon was the finest of all the artist's works, next to the statue of Erechtheus at Athens.[3] That Pausanias appreciated the greatness of Phidias is clear from the way in which he speaks of him[4] and from the detail in which he describes the sculptor's two most famous works, the image of the Virgin Athena at Athens[5] and the image of Zeus at Olympia.[6] Of the latter he observes that the mere measurements of the image could convey no idea of the impression which the image itself made on the beholder.[7] Yet he did not consider it the sculptor's masterpiece, for as to the image of the Lemnian Athena at Athens he remarks that it is "the best worth seeing of all the works of Phidias."[8] The preference thus given to this comparatively obscure statue over the image of Zeus which the ancient world agreed in extolling as little less than divine is another proof of the independence of Pausanias's judgment in artistic matters; and that his taste here was good is attested by the very high place which his contemporary Lucian, one of the best critics of antiquity, assigns to the same statue.[9] Of Alcamenes our author observes that as a sculptor he was second only to his contemporary Phidias,[10] and with regard to the statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens by this artist he says that "few things at Athens are so well worth seeing as this."[11] Here, again, our author's judgment is confirmed by that of Lucian, who describes this image as the most beautiful work of Alcamenes, and draws from it not a few traits for his imaginary statue of ideal beauty which was to combine all the most perfect features of the most celebrated statues.[12] Another sculptor whose style seems to have pleased Pausanias was Naucydes, a brother of the famous Polyclitus, who worked at the end of the fifth or at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.[13] A bronze image of Athena by Hypatodorus at Aliphera is declared by Pausanias to be worth seeing both for its size and its workmanship;[14] but the date of this sculptor is somewhat uncertain.[15] Strongylion, whom Pausanias describes as unrivalled in his representations of oxen and horses,[16] seems to have flourished toward the end of the fifth century B.C. Among the sculptors of the following century Pausanias praises Cephisodotus for the conception of his statue representing the infant Wealth in

Phidias.

Sculptors of the fourth century B.C.

[1] ix. 20. 4.
[2] *Imagines*, 6. See H. Blümner, *Archäologische Studien zu Lucian*, p. 7 *sqq.*
[3] ix. 30. 1. [4] v. 10. 8, vi. 4. 5. [5] i. 24. 5-7. [6] v. 11. 1-9.
[7] v. 11. 9. [8] i. 28. 2. [9] *Imagines*, 4 and 6. [10] v. 10. 8.
[11] i. 19. 2. [12] *Imagines*, 4 and 6. [13] vi. 9. 3. [14] viii. 26. 7.
[15] See note on x. 10. 4. [16] ix. 30. 1.

the arms of Peace, and the sculptors Xenophon and Callistratus for a similar allegorical work representing Wealth in the arms of Fortune.[1] Further, he commends some of the sculptures of Damophon at Messene,[2] and he has a few words of approbation for several works of Praxiteles,[3] but not one for any work of the other two great masters of the fourth century, Scopas[4] and Lysippus, though he mentions many statues by them. A critic of a taste so severe that he could pass by the works of Scopas and the Hermes of Praxiteles without uttering a syllable of admiration was not likely to take much pleasure in the productions of the decadence. Pausanias notices few and praises none of the successors of Praxiteles. Of the colossal image of Olympian Zeus at Athens, which must have been executed in his own lifetime, he says condescendingly that it was good for its size.[5]

It may be noted as significant of Pausanias's interest in the older sculpture, that the only artists with whose styles he shows himself so familiar as to recognise them at sight are Calamis, Canachus, Endoeus, and Laphaes,[6] of whom Calamis and Canachus flourished in the early part of the fifth century B.C., and Endoeus in the last part of the sixth century B.C. The date of Laphaes is unknown, but as the two images by this artist were both made of wood and are expressly declared by Pausanias to be ancient,[7] we can hardly suppose that the sculptor flourished later than the sixth century B.C.

His taste in architecture.

Walls of Tiryns.

Of Pausanias's taste in architecture we are much better able to judge, for many of the buildings described by him exist, and by a most fortunate coincidence amongst them are some of which he expressed his admiration in unusually strong language. To begin with the relics of the prehistoric age, the walls of Tiryns and the beehive tomb of Orchomenus, which he calls the Treasury of Minyas, raised his wonder to such a pitch that he compares them to the Egyptian pyramids and animadverts on the perversity of the Greeks, who admired and described only the marvels they saw abroad, while they entirely neglected the marvels no less great which they had at home.[8] The walls of Tiryns he describes with amazement as "made of unwrought stones, each stone so large that a pair of mules could not even stir the smallest of them."[9] No modern reader who has

[1] ix. 16. 2. Compare i. 8. 2.

[2] iv. 31. 6, 7, 10. The date of Damophon is uncertain, but on the whole the evidence seems to point to his having been at work in the first half of the fourth century B.C. See vol. 4. p. 378 *sq.*, vol. 5. p. 625. Pausanias's appreciation of Damophon is one more proof of the independence of his judgment in matters of art; for Damophon is mentioned by no other writer of antiquity.

[3] i. 20. 1, ix. 2. 7, ix. 39. 4.

[4] However, he admired Scopas as an architect if not as a sculptor (viii. 45. 5). The same may be said of Polyclitus (ii. 27. 5), though the building which Pausanias admired turns out to be by the younger and less distinguished artist of that name.

[5] i. 18. 6.

[6] v. 25. 5, vii. 5. 9, vii. 26. 6, ix. 10. 2.

[7] ii. 10. 1, vii. 26. 6.

[8] ix. 36. 5.

[9] ii. 25. 8.

seen the walls of Tiryns as they still stand, built of enormous stones and resembling a work of giants rather than of men, will be likely to regard Pausanias's admiration of them as misplaced, whatever may be thought of the comparison of them to the pyramids. Amongst the prehistoric remains of Greece they are certainly unmatched. The walls of Mycenae and of the great prehistoric fortress of *Gla* or *Goulas* in Boeotia surpass them, indeed, in extent, but fall far short of them in the size of the blocks of which they are composed. As to the beehive tomb at Orchomenus, of which Pausanias says that there was no greater marvel either in Greece or elsewhere,[1] it is now sadly ruinous, but we can judge of its original effect by the great beehive tomb at Mycenae known as the Treasury of Atreus, which agrees with the tomb at Orchomenus very closely in dimensions and exists almost intact. To stand within the great circular chamber and look up at the domed roof, with its rings of regularly hewn stones diminishing one above the other till they are lost in the darkness overhead is an impressive experience. Those who have enjoyed it will be disposed to think that Pausanias was right in regarding the similar edifice at Orchomenus as a very wonderful structure.

Beehive tomb at Orchomenus.

To come down to buildings of the historical age, Pausanias admired the Propylaea or grand portal of the Acropolis at Athens, which "for the beauty and size of the blocks," he says, "has never yet been matched."[2] It is probably not too much to say that even in its ruins this magnificent portal is still the highest triumph of the mason's craft. The exquisite fitting of the massive cleanly-cut blocks of white marble is a pleasure to behold. Again, the sight of the theatre in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Epidaurus moves the sober Pausanias to an extraordinary, almost unparalleled burst of admiration. "In the Epidaurian sanctuary," he says, "there is a theatre which in my opinion is most especially worth seeing. It is true that in size the theatre at Megalopolis in Arcadia surpasses it, and that in splendour the Roman theatres far transcend all the theatres in the world; but for symmetry and beauty what architect could vie with Polyclitus? For it was Polyclitus who made this theatre."[3] Here again modern taste confirms the judgment of Pausanias. Neither the Dionysiac theatre at Athens, nor the great theatre at Megalopolis, nor the well-preserved theatre at Delphi, nor any other existing Greek theatre, so far at least as my experience goes, can vie for a moment in beauty and symmetry with the exquisite theatre at Epidaurus.

The Propylaea.

Theatre at Epidaurus.

Again, in regard to the temple of Apollo at Bassae our author says that "of all the temples in Peloponnese, next to the one at Tegea, this may be placed first for the beauty of the stone and the

Temples at Bassae and Tegea.

[1] ix. 38. 2. [2] i. 22. 4. [3] ii. 27. 5.

symmetry of its proportions,"[1] and as to the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, to which he here refers, he says elsewhere, "The present temple far surpasses all other temples in Peloponnese both in size and style."[2] So far as the size of the temple at Tegea goes, Pausanias is wrong. The temple of Zeus at Olympia was nearly twice as large. But in regard to style modern taste merely echoes the opinion of Pausanias. The scanty remains of the temple at Tegea are now mostly buried underground, but the admirable design and workmanship of the architectural fragments, and the beauty of the shattered sculptures, justify the praise which Pausanias bestows on it as the finest temple in Peloponnese in respect of artistic style. No person of taste but will set the pathetic force and beauty of the two battered heads from this temple above all the coarse vigour of the Phigalian frieze and the ungraceful, almost repulsive hardness of the groups from the gables of the Olympian temple. And that in architectural style the temple at Bassae came next to the one at Tegea is an opinion that will hardly be disputed by any one who has seen the beautiful temple at Bassae with its long rows of grey columns standing solitary among the barren mountains. That Pausanias was right in preferring it to the temple of Zeus at Olympia both for the beauty of the stone and the symmetry of its proportions is hardly open to question. The temple of Zeus must have been imposing from its size, but its proportions, so far as we can judge from the ruins, do not strike an observer as especially harmonious; and as to the materials, the rough conglomerate of Olympia cannot be compared for beauty with the fine hard limestone of Bassae.

Walls of Messene.

Further, Pausanias describes the walls of Messene with their towers and battlements, and declares them to be stronger than the finest fortifications he had seen elsewhere.[3] The remains of these superb fortifications bear him out. For the scale on which they are planned and for the solidity and perfection of the masonry they are without a rival in Greece. In other places, as at Asea in Arcadia, at Aegosthena in Megaris, and at Lilaea and Drymaea in Phocis, circuits of walls with their flanking towers exist in better preservation, but none of them can vie in style and splendour with the fortifications of Messene. Here again we must pronounce unhesitatingly that so far as our knowledge goes Pausanias was in the right.

Music Halls at Athens and Patrae.

To come down to buildings of a later age, Pausanias tells us that the Music Hall at Patrae was the grandest in Greece except the one built by Herodes Atticus at Athens, which excelled it both in size and style.[4] Here we are in the fortunate position of being able to compare for ourselves the two buildings which Pausanias ranks together as the finest of their kind in Greece, for both of

[1] viii. 41. 8. [2] viii. 45. 5. [3] iv. 31. 5. [4] vii. 20. 6.

them exist in comparatively good preservation to the present day. That the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus excels in size the one at Patrae, as Pausanias says it did, is obvious at a glance. The former is in fact a spacious theatre, the latter is a tiny one. But both, as appears from the remains, were originally cased with marble and probably presented a splendid appearance. The lions' paws of white marble which adorn the seats in the Music Hall at Patrae, together with the mosaic pavement of black and white in the adjoining chamber, enable us to form some slight idea of the elegance of those appointments which excited the admiration of Pausanias.

Stadium at Athens.

Lastly, our author observes that the stadium at Athens, built of white marble by Herodes Atticus, was "wonderful to see, though not so impressive to hear of," and that the greater part of the Pentelic quarries had been exhausted in its construction.[1] The latter statement is, of course, an exaggeration. Mount Pentelicus is made of white marble, and there is a good deal of it left to this day, though the great white blotches on its sides, visible even from the coast of Epidaurus, tell plainly where the quarrymen have been at work. But we may easily believe Pausanias that the stadium was a wonderful sight when tiers of white marble benches, glistening in the strong sunshine, rose steeply above each other all along both sides of the valley. For a valley it is still, and a valley lined with white marble it must have been in the days of Pausanias. Those who have seen the stadium since it was partially refitted with white marble benches for the games of 1896 can better picture to themselves what its aspect must have been when the benches were complete.. Before the time of Herodes Atticus the spectators may have sat either on the earthen slopes, as at Olympia, or on benches of common stone, as at Epidaurus and Delphi.

On the whole, then, so far as we can judge from the existing monuments and the testimony of ancient writers, especially of Lucian, the artistic taste of Pausanias was sound and good, if somewhat austere.

Intrinsic evidence of Pausanias's truthfulness.

The manner in which he has described the monuments is plain and appropriate, entirely free from those vague rhetorical flourishes, literary graces, and affected prettinesses with which, for example, Philostratus tricks out his descriptions of pictures, and which have consequently left it a matter of dispute to this day whether the pictures he describes existed anywhere but in his own imagination. No one is ever likely seriously to enquire whether the temples and theatres, the statues and paintings described by Pausanias ever existed or not. His descriptions carry the imprint of reality on them to every mind that is capable of distinguishing between the true and the false; and even if they did not, their

[1] i. 19. 6.

truthfulness would still be vouched for by their conformity with the remains of the monuments themselves. Evidence of this conformity will be found in abundance in the commentary. Here we are concerned with that internal evidence of the author's honesty and candour which the writings themselves supply. Evidence of this sort can never, indeed, amount to demonstration. Candour and honesty are not qualities that can be brought to the test of the senses; they cannot be weighed in a balance or seen under a microscope. A man who is neither candid nor honest himself will probably never sincerely believe in the existence of these qualities in others, and there is no means of convincing him. It is always open to him to find a sinister motive for the simplest act, a covert meaning under the plainest words. In the case of Pausanias the internal evidence of good faith seems amply sufficient to convince a fair-minded enquirer. It consists in the whole cast and tenour of his writings; in the naturalness and credibility of all that he affirms of his own knowledge, with the exception of two or three cases in which he seems to have been duped by mercenary or priestly trickery; it consists in the plainness and directness of the descriptions; in their freedom from any tinge of rhetoric or sophistry; in the modesty with which the author generally keeps himself in the background; and finally in occasional confessions of ignorance which only malignity could interpret as artifices resorted to for the purpose of supporting an assumed air of ingenuous simplicity. This last feature of the work it is desirable to illustrate by instances. The others, pervading as they do the whole book, hardly admit of exemplification.

His confessions of ignorance.

Repeatedly, then, Pausanias owns that he had not been present at certain festivals, and consequently had not seen certain images which were only exhibited on these occasions. Thus with regard to the very curious image of Eurynome, which would have especially interested him as an antiquary, he tells us that the sanctuary in which it stood was opened only on one day in the year, and that as he did not happen to arrive on that day he had not seen the image, and therefore could only describe it from hearsay.[1] Similarly he says that he cannot describe the image of Artemis at Hyampolis because it was the custom to open the sanctuary only twice a year.[2] He tells at second hand of a festival of Dionysus at Elis in which empty kettles were said to be found miraculously filled with wine; but he informs us that he was not himself at Elis at the time of the festival, and from expressions which he uses in regard to the marvel we may infer that he had his doubts about it.[3] No one presumably will dispute these statements of Pausanias and maintain that he arrived in time for those festivals and saw those images although he assures

[1] viii. 41. 5 *sq.* [2] x. 35. 7. [3] vi. 26. 1 *sq.*

us that he did not. We are bound, therefore, in fairness to believe him when he tells us with regard to the sanctuary of Mother Dindymene at Thebes that "it is the custom to open the sanctuary on a single day each year, not more. I was fortunate enough to arrive on that very day, and I saw the image."[1] As other instances of his candour may be cited his acknowledgment that he had not witnessed the ceremonies performed at the tombs of Eteocles and Polynices at Thebes,[2] nor beheld the secret object revered in the worship of Demeter at Hermion;[3] that he could describe the sanctuary of Poseidon at Mantinea only from hearsay;[4] that he had neither seen the walls of Babylon and Susa nor conversed with any one who had;[5] that he never saw Antinous in life, though he had seen statues and paintings of him;[6] and that he had not heard the trout sing like thrushes in the river Aroanius, though he tarried by the river until sunset, when they were said to sing loudest.[7] These are the confessions of an honest man, inclined perhaps to credulity, but yet who will not deceive others by professing to have seen sights, whether marvellous or otherwise, which he has not seen. Again, when he quotes a book at second hand he is careful to tell us so. Thus, after citing some lines from the *Atthis* of Hegesinus, he goes on: "This poem of Hegesinus I have not read: it was lost before my time; but the verses are quoted as evidence by Callippus of Corinth in his history of Orchomenus, and I have profited by his information to do the same."[8] Again, after quoting a couple of verses of an Orchomenian poet Chersias, he adds: "The poetry of Chersias is now lost, but these verses also are quoted by Callippus in the same work of his on Orchomenus."[9] These statements, like the foregoing, will hardly be disputed even by the most sceptical. No one will be likely to insist that Pausanias read books which he tells us he did not. Therefore in fairness we are bound to believe him when he says that he did read certain other works, such as the memoirs of some obscure historians,[10] a treatise on rhetoric purporting to be by Pittheus,[11] the epics *Eoeae* and *Naupactia*,[12] a poem attributed to Linus,[13] verses of Erato,[14] a poem on soothsaying which passed under the name of Hesiod,[15] and the oracles of Euclus, Musaeus, and Bacis.[16] If we take the word of Pausanias for what he tells us he did not see and did not read, we must take it also for what he tells us he did see and did read. At least if we are to accept as true all those statements of an author which tell against himself and to reject as false all those which tell in his favour, there is an end of even the pretence of fair and rational criticism.

[1] ix. 25. 3. [2] ix. 18. 3. [3] ii. 35. 8. [4] viii. 10. 2.
[5] iv. 31. 5. [6] viii. 9. 7. [7] viii. 21. 2. [8] ix. 29. 2.
[9] ix. 38. 10. [10] i. 12. 2. [11] ii. 31. 3. [12] iv. 2. 1.
[13] viii. 18. 1. [14] viii. 37. 12. [15] ix. 31. 5. [16] x. 12. 11.

Literary style of Pausanias

The literary style of Pausanias is no exception to the rule that the style of a writer reflects the character of the man. Pausanias was neither a great man nor a great writer. He was an honest, laborious, plodding man of plain good sense, without either genius or imagination, and his style is a faithful mirror of his character. It is plain and unadorned, yet heavy and laboured, as if the writer had had to cast about for the proper words and then fit them painfully together like the pieces in a Chinese puzzle. There is a sense of strain and effort about it. The sentences are devoid of rhythm and harmony. They do not march, but hobble and shamble and shuffle along. At the end of one of them the reader is not let down easily by a graceful cadence, a dying fall; he is tripped up suddenly and left sprawling, till he can pull himself together, take breath, and grapple with the next. It is a loose, clumsy, ill-jointed, ill-compacted, rickety, ramshackle style, without ease or grace or elegance of any sort. Yet Pausanias had studied good models. He knew Thucydides and his writings abound with echoes of Herodotus. But a style that has less of the unruffled flow, the limpid clearness, the exquisite grace, the sweet simplicity of the Herodotean prose it might be hard to discover. The sound of the one is like the chiming of a silver bell; that of the other like the creaking of a corn-crake. With all its defects, however, the style of Pausanias is not careless and slovenly. The author bestrides his high-horse; he bobs up and down and clumps about on it with great solemnity; it is not his fault if his Pegasus is a wooden hobby-horse instead of a winged charger.

He perhaps modelled his style on that of Hegesias.

This union of seemingly opposite faults, this plainness without simplicity, this elaboration without richness, may perhaps be best explained by Boeckh's hypothesis,[1] that he modelled his style on that of his countryman Hegesias of Magnesia, a leader of the Asiatic school of rhetoric, who, aping the unadorned simplicity of Lysias's manner, fell into an abrupt and jerky, yet affected and mincing style, laboriously chopping and dislocating his sentences so that they never ran smooth, never by any chance slid into a rounded period with an easy cadence.[2] Dionysius of Halicarnassus declares peevishly that in all the voluminous works of Hegesias there was not a single well-written page, and that the man must have gone wrong not from stupidity but of set purpose and malice prepense, otherwise he could not have helped writing a good sentence now and then by accident.[3] Frigid conceits and a puerile play upon words were mistaken by this perverse writer for literary beauties, and in the effort to stud his

[1] "De Pausaniae stilo Asiano," *Gesammelte kleine Schriften*, 4. pp. 208-212.

[2] See Cicero, *Orator*, lxvii. 226; *id.*, *Brutus*, lxxxiii. 286 *sq.*; *id.*, *Ad Atticum*, xii. 6. 1; Strabo, ix. p. 396, xiv. p. 648; Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *De compositione verborum*, 4 and 18, pp. 27 *sq.*, 122 *sqq.* ed. Reiske; Theo, in *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Walz, 1. p. 168 *sq.*

[3] *De compositione verborum*, 18, vol. 5. p. 122 *sq.* ed. Reiske.

pages with these false jewels he sacrificed both pathos and truth.[1] In this respect, indeed, Pausanias happily did not follow the bad example of his predecessor. His writings are entirely free from paltry conceits and verbal quibbles. The thought is always manly and direct, however tortuous may be the sentence in which he seeks to express it. If he imitated Hegesias, it was apparently in the arrangement of the words and sentences alone.

Whatever may be thought of this theory, the attention which Pausanias obviously bestowed on literary style is in itself wholly laudable. Such attention is a simple duty which every author owes to his readers. Pausanias cannot be blamed for trying to write well; the pity is that with all his pains he did not write better. He was anxious not to be needlessly tedious, not to inflict on the reader mere bald lists of monuments strung together on a topographical thread. He aimed at varying the phraseology, at shunning the eternal repetition of the same words in the same order. Yet he steered clear of one shoal only to run aground on another. If to some extent he avoided monotony and attained variety of expression, it was too often at the cost of simplicity and clearness. The natural order of the words was sacrificed and a crabbed contorted one substituted for it merely in order to vary the run of the sentences. For the same reason a direct statement was often discarded in favour of an indirect one, with the result that a reader who happens to be unfamiliar with the author's manner is sometimes at a loss as to his meaning. For example, it has been questioned whether he means that there was a statue of Aeschylus in the theatre at Athens[2] and one of Oenobius on the Acropolis.[3] Yet any person conversant with his style must feel sure that in both these cases Pausanias intends to intimate the existence of the statue, and that if he does not affirm it in so many words this is due to no other cause than a wish to turn the sentence in another way. Similar instances could easily be multiplied. The ambiguity which so often arises from this indirect mode of statement is one of the many blots on the style of Pausanias. Such as it is, his style is seen at its best in some of the longer historical passages, notably in the spirited narratives of the Messenian wars and the Gallic invasion. Here he occasionally rises to a fair level of literary merit, as for example in describing the evil omens that preceded and hastened the death of the patriot king Aristodemus,[4] and again in relating the impious attack of the Gauls on Delphi and their overwhelming repulse.[5] Through the latter narrative

[1] This appears from the criticism of Hegesias in the treatise *De sublimitate*, p. 12 *sq.* ed. O. Jahn, and still more from the remarks of Agatharchides and the samples of Hegesias's works which he has given us (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 446 *sq.* ed. Bekker). Cicero says that the matter of these works was as bad as the manner, and that whoever knew Hegesias knew an ass (*Orator*, lxvii. 226).

[2] i. 21. 2. [3] i. 23. 9. [4] iv. 13. 1-3. [5] x. 23. 1-13.

there runs, like a strain of solemn music, an undertone of religious faith and fervour which greatly heightens the effect.

Pausanias's use of previous writers.

In these and similar historical episodes we must allow something for the influence on Pausanias's style of the literary authorities whom he followed. The warmer tinge of the descriptions, the easier flow of the sentences may not be wholly due to the ardour of the writer's piety, to the swell of his patriotic feelings. Something of the movement, the glow, the solemn strain, the martial fire may have been caught by him from better models. This brings us to the enquiry, What books did Pausanias use in writing his own? and how did he use them? Unfortunately we are not and probably never shall be in a position to answer these questions fully. Like most ancient writers Pausanias is sparing in the citation of his authorities, and it is clear that he must have consulted books of which he makes no mention. And when to this we add that the works of most of the writers whom he does cite have perished or survive only in a few disjointed fragments, it becomes clear that any hope of acquiring a complete knowledge of his literary sources and mode of using them must be abandoned. Many attempts have been made of late years to identify the lost books consulted by Pausanias; but from the nature of the case it is plain that such attempts must be fruitless. One of them will be noticed presently. Meantime all that I propose to do is to indicate some of the chief literary and documentary sources which Pausanias expressly cites and to illustrate by examples his method of dealing with them.

Distinction between the historical and descriptive parts of Pausanias's work.

Before doing so it is desirable to point out explicitly a distinction which, though obvious in itself, has apparently been overlooked or slurred over by some of Pausanias's critics. The matter of his work is of two sorts, historical and descriptive: the one deals with events in the past, the other with things existing in the present. For his knowledge of past events, except in so far as they fell within his own lifetime and observation, Pausanias was necessarily dependent either on written documents or on oral testimony, in short on the evidence of others; no other source of information was open to him. For his knowledge of things existing in the present, on the other hand, he need not have been indebted to the evidence of others, he may have seen them for himself. It does not, of course, follow that what he may have seen he did actually see. His descriptions of places and things, like his narratives of events that happened before his time, may all have been taken from books or from the mouths of other people; only it is not, as in the case of the historical narratives, absolutely necessary that they should be so derived. This distinction is so elementary and obvious that to call attention to it may be deemed superfluous. Yet some of the critics appear to labour under an impression that if they can show the historical parts

of Pausanias's work to have been taken from books they have raised a presumption that the descriptive or topographical parts were also so taken. They do not, indeed, put so crass a misapprehension into words, but they seem to be influenced by it. To brush away these mental cobwebs it is only needful to realise clearly that, though Pausanias certainly could not have witnessed events which happened before he was born, he was not therefore necessarily debarred from seeing things which existed in his own lifetime. In investigating the sources of his information it is desirable to keep the historical and the descriptive parts of his work quite distinct from each other and to enquire into each of them separately.

Poets used by Pausanias.

To begin with the historical, in the widest sense of the word, we find that Pausanias drew his accounts of the mythical and heroic ages in large measure from the poets. Homer is his chief poetical authority, but he also makes use of the later epics such as the *Cypria*,[1] the *Eoeae*,[2] the *Little Iliad*,[3] the *Minyad*,[4] the *Naupactia*,[5] the *Oedipodia*,[6] the *Returns* (*Nostoi*),[7] the *Sack of Ilium* by Lesches,[8] the *Thebaid*,[9] and the *Thesprotis*.[10] Of these the *Thebaid* was esteemed by him next to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[11] On questions of genealogy he often cites the early poets Asius[12] and Cinaethon.[13] Among the works attributed to Hesiod he frequently refers to the *Theogony*[14] and the *Catalogue of Women*,[15] and he once quotes the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius.[16] That he knew the Alexandrian poet Euphorion of Chalcis is shown by two references to his writings.[17] The most ancient Greek hymns in his opinion were those of Olen;[18] he cites several of them.[19] Again, the testimony of Pamphos, author of the oldest Athenian hymns, is often appealed to by Pausanias.[20] Among the lyric poets whose works he knew, such as Alcaeus,[21] Alcman,[22] Archilochus,[23] Pindar,[24] Sappho,[25] and Stesichorus,[26] he appears to have ranked Pindar first; at least he refers to his poems far oftener than to those

[1] iii. 16. 1, iv. 2. 7, x. 26. 1, 4, x. 31. 2.
[2] ii. 2. 3, ii. 16. 4, iv. 2. 1, vi. 21. 10, ix. 36. 7, ix. 40. 5 *sq.*, x. 31. 3.
[3] iii. 26. 9, x. 26. 2.
[4] iv. 33. 7, ix. 5. 9, x. 28. 2, 7, x. 31. 3.
[5] ii. 3. 9, iv. 2. 1, x. 38. 11.
[6] ix. 5. 11.
[7] x. 28. 7, x. 29. 6, x. 30. 5.
[8] x. 25. 5.
[9] viii. 25. 8, ix. 9. 5, ix. 18. 6.
[10] viii. 12. 5.
[11] ix. 9. 5.
[12] ii. 6. 4, 5, ii. 29. 4, iv. 2. 1, v. 17. 8, vii. 4. 1, viii. 1. 4, ix. 23. 6.
[13] ii. 3. 9, ii. 18. 6, iv. 2. 1, viii. 53. 5.
[14] viii. 18. 1, ix. 27. 2, ix. 31. 5, ix. 35. 5.
[15] i. 3. 1, i. 43. 1, iii. 24. 10.
[16] ii. 12. 6.
[17] ii. 22. 7, x. 26. 8.
[18] ix. 27. 2.
[19] i. 18. 5, ii. 13. 3, v. 7. 8, viii. 21. 3, ix. 27. 2.
[20] i. 38. 3, i. 39. 1, vii. 21. 9, viii. 35. 8, viii. 37. 9, ix. 27. 2, ix. 29. 8, ix. 31. 9, ix. 35. 4.
[21] vii. 20. 4, x. 8. 10.
[22] i. 41. 4, iii. 15. 2, iii. 18. 6, iii. 26. 2.
[23] vii. 10. 6, x. 31. 12.
[24] See Index, *s.v.* "Pindar."
[25] i. 25. 1, i. 29. 2, viii. 18. 5, ix. 27. 3, ix. 29. 8.
[26] ii. 22. 7, iii. 19. 13, viii. 3. 2, ix. 2. 3, ix. 11. 2, x. 26. 1, x. 27. 2.

of the others. Among the elegiac poets he quotes Tyrtaeus[1] and Simonides.[2] With the great tragic and comic poets he shows but little acquaintance; Aeschylus is the only one whose authority he appeals to repeatedly.[3] He refers once to the testimony of Sophocles,[4] but only to reject it; once to that of Aristophanes;[5] never to that of Euripides. On the other hand, he seems to have devoted a good deal of attention to the critical study of the older poets. He had investigated the dates of Homer and Hesiod[6] and the question of Homer's native country.[7] Nor did he neglect to enquire into the genuineness of many poems that passed under famous names. He tells admiringly how a contemporary of his own, Arrhiphon of Triconium, detected the spuriousness of certain verses attributed to an old Argive poet Philammon by pointing out that the verses were in the Doric dialect which had not yet been introduced into Argolis in Philammon's time.[8] Among the works ascribed to Musaeus he held that nothing was genuine except the hymn to Demeter composed for the Lycomids; some of the verses which passed under the name of Musaeus he set down as forgeries of Onomacritus.[9] The hymns of Orpheus were ranked by him next to those of Homer for poetical beauty,[10] but he saw that some of the verses attributed to Orpheus were spurious.[11] He had grave doubts as to the *Theogony* being a genuine work of Hesiod;[12] and he informs us that the reading of a poem fathered on Linus sufficed to convince him of its spuriousness.[13] Of the works which circulated under the name of the early Corinthian poet Eumelus one only, he tells us, was held to be genuine.[14] He could not believe that Anaximenes had written a certain epic on Alexander the Great.[15] As to the epic called the *Thebaid*, which he admired, he reports the view of Callinus that the author was Homer, adding that "many respectable persons have shared his opinion."[16]

Historians used by Pausanias.

The historian whom Pausanias seems to have studied most carefully and whom he cites most frequently is Herodotus.[17] Though he only once refers to the history of Thucydides[18] and once to that of Xenophon[19] it is probable that he used both authors in several passages where he does not mention their names.[20] Other historians

[1] iv. 6. 5, iv. 13. 6, iv. 14. 5, iv. 15. 2.
[2] iii. 8. 2, ix. 2. 5, x. 27. 4.
[3] See Index, *s.v.* "Aeschylus."
[4] i. 28. 7
[5] v. 5. 3.
[6] ix. 30. 3.
[7] x. 24. 3.
[8] ii. 37. 3.
[9] i. 22. 7. Compare i. 14. 3.
[10] ix. 30. 12.
[11] i. 14. 3.
[12] viii. 18. 1, ix. 27. 2, ix. 31. 4, ix. 35. 5.
[13] viii. 18. 1.
[14] iv. 4. 1. Compare ii. 1. 1.
[15] vi. 18. 6.
[16] ix. 9. 5.
[17] See Index, *s.v.* "Herodotus." The use made of Herodotus by Pausanias has been examined by J. O. Pfundtner (*Pausanias Periegeta imitator Herodoti*, Königsberg, 1866) and C. Wernicke (*De Pausaniae Periegetae studiis Herodoteis*, Berlin, 1884), the former dealing chiefly with the language, the latter with the substance.
[18] vi. 19. 5.
[19] i. 3. 4.
[20] See O. Fischbach, 'Die Benutzung des thukydideischen Geschichtswerkes durch den Periegeten Pausanias,' *Wiener Studien*, 15 (1893), pp. 161-191. He compares

whom he refers to are Anaximenes,[1] Antiochus of Syracuse,[2] Charon of Lampsacus,[3] Ctesias,[4] Hecataeus,[5] Hellanicus,[6] Hieronymus of Cardia,[7] Myron of Priene,[8] Philistus,[9] Polybius,[10] and Theopompus.[11] Besides these he cites several local histories, such as the histories of Attica by Androtion[12] and Clitodemus,[13] a history of Corinth attributed to Eumelus,[14] a history of Orchomenus by Callippus,[15] and what seems to have been a versified history of Argos by Lyceas.[16] Further, he had read the memoirs of certain obscure historians whose names he does not mention.[17] In his use of the historical materials at his disposal Pausanias appears to have done his best to follow the same critical principles which he applied to the mythical and legendary lore of Greece. When the accounts conflicted he weighed them one against the other and accepted that which on the whole seemed to him to be the more probable or the better authenticated. Thus before proceeding to narrate the history of the Messenian wars he mentions his two chief authorities, namely a prose history of the first war by Myron of Priene and a versified history of the second war by Rhianus of Bene; then he points out a glaring discrepancy between the two in regard to the date of Aristomenes—the William Tell or Sir William Wallace of Messenia—and gives his reasons for accepting the testimony of Rhianus and rejecting that of Myron, whose writings, according to him, revealed an indifference to truth and probability of which he gives a striking instance.[18] Again, Pausanias was able to allow for the bias of prejudice in an historian. Thus he points out that the history of Hieronymus the Cardian was coloured by a partiality for Antigonus and a dislike of Lysimachus, of whom the latter had destroyed the historian's native city;[19] that the historian Philistus concealed the worst excesses of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, because he hoped to be allowed by the tyrant to return to that city;[20] and that Androtion, the historian of Attica, had apparently introduced a certain narrative for the sole purpose of casting reproach on the Lacedaemonians.[21]

The Elean register.

An historical document of which Pausanias made much use was the Elean register of Olympic victors. He often refers to it.[22] We need not suppose that he consulted the original documents in the

Pausanias i. 23. 3 with Thucydides vii. 29; Paus. v. 1. 1 with Thuc. i. 10. 1; Paus. v. 12. 8 with Thuc. v. 46 *sq.*, etc. Passages in which Pausanias may have drawn on the writings of Xenophon are iii. 9. 1-iii. 10. 2 and v. 6. 5.

[1] vi. 18. 2. [2] x. 11. 3. [3] x. 38. 11.
[4] ix. 21. 4. [5] iii. 25. 5, iv. 2. 3, viii. 4. 9, viii. 47. 4.
[6] ii. 3. 8, ii. 16. 7. [7] i. 9. 8, i. 13. 9. [8] iv. 6. 1-4.
[9] i. 13. 9, i. 29. 12, v. 23. 6. [10] viii. 30. 8.
[11] iii. 10. 3. Compare vi. 18. 5. [12] vi. 7. 6, 7, x. 8. 1.
[13] x. 15. 5. [14] ii. 1. 1, ii. 2. 2, ii. 3. 10. [15] ix. 29. 2, ix. 38. 10.
[16] i. 13. 8 *sq.*, ii. 19. 5, ii. 22. 2, ii. 23. 8. [17] i. 12. 2.
[18] iv. 6. 1-5. [19] i. 9. 8, i. 13. 9. [20] i. 13. 9.
[21] vi. 7. 7.
[22] iii. 21. 1, v. 21. 9, vi. 2. 3, vi. 13. 10, x. 36. 9. Compare vi. 6. 3, vi. 8. 1.

archives at Elis. The register had been published many centuries before by Hippias of Elis,[1] and copies may have been in common circulation. Wherever he may have seen it, Pausanias appears to have studied it carefully, and sometimes he turns the information thus acquired to good account. Thus he points out that a statement of the Elean guides was at variance with an entry in the register,[2] and that the runner Oebotas could not possibly have fought at the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C. since his Olympic victory was won in Ol. 6 (756 B.C.).[3]

Another trustworthy source from which Pausanias derived many of his historical facts was inscriptions. What copious use he made of them may be gathered from a glance at the entry "Inscriptions" — probably far from complete — in the Index, and that on the whole he read them correctly is proved by inscriptions still extant of which he has given us either the text or the general purport.[4] Yet he did not accept their testimony blindfold. In some of his references to them we can perceive the same discrimination, the same desire to sift and weigh the evidence which we have found to characterise his procedure in other enquiries. Thus in an old gymnasium at Anticyra he saw the bronze statue of a native athlete Xenodamus with an inscription setting forth that the man had won the prize in the pancratium at Olympia. Pausanias accordingly consulted the Olympic register and finding no such victor mentioned in it came to the conclusion that, if the inscription were not lying, the victory of Xenodamus must have fallen in Ol. 211 (65 A.D.), the only Olympiad which had been struck out of the register.[5] Again, at Olympia he saw a tablet inscribed with the victories of Chionis, a Lacedaemonian runner, who lived in the first half of the seventh century B.C. In the inscription it was mentioned that the race in armour had not yet been instituted in the time of Chionis; indeed we know from Pausanias[6] that more than a century elapsed after the time of Chionis before the race in armour was introduced. Hence Pausanias concludes very sensibly that the inscription could not, as some people supposed, have been set up by the runner himself, for how could he have foreseen that the race in armour ever would be instituted long after he was dead and buried?[7] Again, he infers that the Gelo who dedicated a chariot at Olympia cannot have been, as was commonly assumed, the tyrant Gelo, because in the inscription on the pedestal Gelo described himself as a citizen of Gela, whereas, according to Pausanias, at the time when the chariot was dedicated Gelo had already made himself master of Syracuse and would therefore have described himself as a Syracusan, not as a

Inscriptions.

[1] Plutarch, *Numa*, 1. See note on v. 4. 6. [2] v. 21. 9. [3] vi. 3. 8.
[4] See the notes on ii. 27. 3, v. 10. 4, v. 24. 3, v. 26. 1, v. 27. 8, and the notes on Book vi. *passim*.
[5] x. 36. 9. [6] v. 8. 10. [7] vi. 13. 2.

native of Gela.[1] The argument falls to the ground because Pausanias mistook the date of Gelo's subjugation of Syracuse by several years; none the less his criticism of the current view testifies to the attention he bestowed on inscriptions.[2]

Writers on art.

The image of Zeus which the united Greeks dedicated at Olympia as a trophy of the battle of Plataea was made, Pausanias tells us, by a sculptor of Aegina named Anaxagoras, as to whom he remarks that "the name of this sculptor is omitted by the historians of sculpture."[3] This passage proves that Pausanias consulted, as might have been anticipated, some of the many ancient works on the history of art, but what they were he has not told us and it would be vain to guess. He alludes to them elsewhere.[4]

The local guides.

Yet another source which furnished Pausanias with information, more or less trustworthy, on matters of history and tradition was the discourse of the local guides whom he encountered at many or all of the chief places of interest. We know from other ancient writers that in antiquity, as at the present day, towns of any note were infested by persons of this class who lay in wait for and pounced on the stranger as their natural prey, wrangled over his body, and having secured their victim led him about from place to place, pointing out the chief sights to him and pouring into his ear a stream of anecdotes and explanations, indifferent to his anguish and deaf to his entreaties to stop, until having exhausted their learning and his patience they pocketed their fee and took their leave.[5] An educated traveller could often have dispensed with their explanations,[6] but if he were good-natured he would sometimes let them run on, while he listened with seeming deference to the rigmarole by which the poor men earned their daily bread.[7] A question interposed in the torrent of their glib discourse was too apt to bring them to a dead stand.[8] Outside the beaten round of their narrow circle they were helpless. That Pausanias should have fallen into their clutches was inevitable. He seems to have submitted to his fate with a good grace, was led about by them to see the usual sights,[9] heard the

[1] vi. 9. 4 *sq.*

[2] Another instance of this attention occurs in v. 25. 11. Here Pausanias, observing at Olympia a statue made by a Cydonian sculptor Aristocles and dedicated by Evagoras of Zancle, infers quite correctly that Aristocles must have flourished before Zancle took its later name of Messene, and therefore that he must have been one of the oldest of Greek sculptors. Pausanias does not, it is true, mention the inscription, but his inference is clearly based on it.

[3] v. 23. 3.

[4] v. 11. 9.

[5] See Cicero, *In Verrem*, iv. 58; Varro, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, p. 419 (p. 488 ed. L. Quicherat); Ambrose, *Hexaemeron*, vi. 1; Strabo, xvii. p. 806; Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 2, 5, 7, 8, 14, 16; Lucian, *Amores*, 8; *id.*, *Philopseudes*, 4. On this subject see also Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 30 *sq.*; L. Preller, in his edition of Polemo, p. 161 *sqq.*; S. Reinach, article 'Exegetae,' in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, vol. 2. p. 885 *sq.*

[6] Lucian, *Amores*, 8.

[7] Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 7, 8.

[8] Plutarch, *op. cit*, 13.

[9] i. 41. 2.

usual stories,[1] argued with them about some,[2] and posed them with questions which they could not answer about others.[3] Often no doubt their services were useful and the information they gave both true and interesting. Among the many traditions which Pausanias has embodied in his work there may be not a few which he picked up from the guides. We may conjecture, too, that the measurements of buildings and images which he occasionally records were, at least in some cases, derived by him from the same source.[4]

So much for the sources of historical and traditionary lore on which Pausanias drew. That he always used them correctly cannot be maintained. We can show that he sometimes mistook the purport of inscriptions[5] and blundered as to historical events and personages,[6] but these mistakes are not more numerous than can be reasonably allowed for in a work embracing so great and multifarious a collection of facts.

Did Pausanias describe Greece from books or from personal observation?

Coming now to the descriptive or topographical part, which forms the staple of Pausanias's work, we have to ask, Whence did he derive his knowledge of the places and monuments he describes? from observation? or from books? or from both? To these questions Pausanias himself gives no full and direct answer. He neither professes to have seen everything that he describes nor does he acknowledge to have borrowed any of his descriptions from previous writers, whom he barely alludes to[7] and never mentions by name. On the other hand he sometimes affirms in the most unambiguous language that he saw the things which he describes, and as there is no reason to doubt his word we may accept these affirmations unconditionally, and believe that he describes some things at least as an eye-witness. But such assertions of personal knowledge are only incidental, and the total number of them is exceedingly small[8] in comparison with the number of places and things which he describes without saying whether he saw them or not. Thus in regard to the vast majority of Pausanias's descriptions we have still to ask, Are they based on personal observation or taken from books?

He affirms that he saw many things which he describes.

[1] iv. 33. 6, v. 6. 6, v. 10. 7, v. 18. 6, v. 20. 4, v. 21. 9, vii. 6. 5, ix. 3. 3.

[2] i. 35. 8, ii. 23. 6.

[3] i. 31. 5, i. 42. 4, ii. 9. 7, ii. 31. 4, v. 21. 8. Compare v. 18. 6 *sq.*, ix. 3. 3.

[4] Measurements of buildings, v. 10. 3, v. 16. 1; of images, iii. 19. 2, iii. 26. 3, v. 22. 1, v. 22. 7, v. 23. 7, v. 24. 3, 4, viii. 25. 3, viii. 30. 3, 6, viii. 31. 2, 3, 5, 8, viii. 32. 5, x. 15. 2. Rough measurements Pausanias may have estimated by the eye; see especially iii. 19. 2, v. 23. 7.

[5] See the notes on i. 22. 4, i. 44. 1, vi. 16. 8, x. 9. 5.

[6] For examples see the notes on i. 2. 2 (the Long Walls of Athens), iv. 23. 6 (the date of Anaxilas), vi. 9. 2 (the date of Gelo's occupation of Syracuse), vi. 12. 4 (the assassination of Hiero), vi. 19. 6 (Miltiades, tyrant of the Chersonese), ix. 32. 5 (the sack of Haliartus).

[7] v. 11. 9, viii. 41. 10.

[8] After a diligent search Mr. Heberdey has been able to collect no more than fifty-five, and even of these some are only indirect, while others refer not to Greece but to other parts of the world in which Pausanias had travelled. See R. Heberdey, *Die Reisen des Pausanias in Griechenland*, pp. 11-18.

In endeavouring to answer this question we must first of all bear in mind that if Pausanias saw all that he professes to have seen it is inevitable that he should have seen a great deal more. For example, he could not have seen, as he professes to have done, certain statues on the Acropolis of Athens[1] without also seeing the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, and the Propylaea, which he does not expressly say that he saw. He could not have seen, as he says he did, the statue of Anaximenes and the Sicyonian treasury at Olympia[2] without also seeing the temples of Zeus and Hera and a multitude of buildings and statues besides. In short, in all the places which he appears on his own showing to have visited, we may and must assume that he saw much more than he claims in so many words to have seen. Further, since he was not transported from one place to another by magic, he must have travelled over the roads which joined the various places that he visited. Thus by plotting out on the map the places which he saw and joining them by the routes he describes, we can form some general notion of the extent of Pausanias's travels in Greece.[3] Yet the notion thus formed must necessarily be very rough and imperfect. For, in the first place, we cannot always be sure of the route which he took from one town or village to another. Thus, for example, he describes two roads from Argos over Mount Artemisius to Mantinea;[4] but there is nothing to show which he took or even that he took either. He may, like most travellers, have reached Mantinea from Argos by neither of the direct passes over the mountains, but by the circuitous route that goes by Lerna and Tegea. In the second place, it would be very rash to assume that he visited only those places where he is proved by some incidental assertion of personal knowledge to have been. Possibly or rather probably he visited many more. If he did not think it worth while to assure us that he saw the Parthenon and the Erechtheum at Athens, and the temples of Zeus and Hera at Olympia, he need not have thought it worth while to depose to having seen every insignificant shrine and image that he describes in the petty towns and obscure villages through which he passed. Thus the indications which he has given us are far too meagre to permit us to make out his itinerary in Greece with any approach to certainty.

Descriptions which he may have taken from books.

But if we cannot be sure that many of his descriptions are based on personal knowledge, have we any grounds for supposing that they are borrowed, without acknowledgment, from books? Such a supposition would be, on the face of it, neither unreasonable nor improbable. In the historical parts of his work Pausanias must

[1] i. 23. 7, i. 24. 7.
[2] vi. 18. 2, vi. 19. 2.
[3] This has been done by Mr. R. Heberdey in his work, *Die Reisen des Pausanias in Griechenland* (Vienna, 1894).
[4] viii. 6. 4-6.

have used many books which he does not mention, and he may have done the same thing in the topographical or descriptive parts. The grounds on which it could be proved or made probable that he borrowed his descriptions from books are various. The most obvious and certain would be the existence in an older writer of a description agreeing in form as well as in substance so closely with a description in Pausanias that no alternative would be left us but to suppose either that Pausanias copied from this older writer or that both of them copied from some common original. Or again it might be that the descriptions of Pausanias contained information which he could hardly have ascertained for himself or mistakes into which he could scarcely have fallen if he had seen the things for himself. In regard to the first of these grounds it may be said at once that in the extant literature of antiquity, so far as the present writer is aware, there is no description of any place or monument agreeing in form and substance so closely with a description in Pausanias as to make it probable that he copied it. The slight and superficial resemblances which have been traced between passages of Strabo and passages of Pausanias[1] are no more than such as may easily or necessarily arise when two writers are describing independently the same places.

Measurements of monuments and of distances.

When we ask whether the descriptions of Pausanias contain matter which he could not easily have ascertained for himself, we are reminded first of his measurements of temples and images,[2] and second of his estimates of the exact distances in furlongs between one place and another. The measurements of temples and images were probably derived either from the local guides or from books. Some of them he may perhaps have taken for himself; but that he should, for example, have measured for himself the height of the temple of Zeus at Olympia[3] is highly improbable. The distances by land, estimated in furlongs, may have been drawn by Pausanias from Roman milestones[4] or from books or from a map like the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Distances by sea[5] he can hardly have measured for himself; if he did not borrow them from a book or a map, he may have had them from the sailors with whom he voyaged. In all these cases it is possible, perhaps probable, that Pausanias drew his information from literary sources; but what particular books or maps he used, if he used any, we do not know, and it would be vain to guess.

[1] See A. Enmann, 'Geographische Homerstudien im Pausanias,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 30 (1884), pp. 497-520; L. von Sybel, 'Pausanias und Strabon,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 31 (1885), pp. 177-185.

[2] See above, p. lxxvii.

[3] v. 10. 3.

[4] His estimate of the distance of Olympia from Sparta (vi. 16. 8) was taken avowedly from an inscription which is still extant (Dittenberger und Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 171).

[5] iii. 23. 1, iii. 24. 3, iii. 25. 9, vii. 22. 10.

Description of the coast of Hermionis.

When we next enquire whether the descriptions of Pausanias contain errors into which he could scarcely have fallen if he had seen the places and things which he describes, a student of Pausanias is at once reminded of the author's description of the coast of Hermionis,[1] which it is difficult or impossible to reconcile with the actual features of the coast. That the description contains grave errors is almost certain. How these errors are to be explained is much more doubtful. It is easy to suggest, as has been done, that Pausanias did not himself sail along the coast, but borrowed his description from one of those *Periploi* or *Coasting Voyages*, which enumerated the places on a coast in topographical order and recorded the distances between them. Yet this supposition by itself would hardly explain the confusion into which Pausanias has fallen. Specimens of these *Coasting Voyages* have come down to us,[2] and they are so exceedingly clear, concise, and business-like, that it is difficult to understand how any one who simply set himself to copy from them could have blundered so egregiously as Pausanias appears to have done. More plausible is the suggestion that, while Pausanias was obliged by the plan of his itinerary to describe the coast in one direction, the *Coasting Voyage* which lay before him described it in the reverse direction, and that in his effort to throw the information supplied by the *Voyage* into the form that suited his itinerary Pausanias made the jumble which has caused his critics so much trouble. This may be the true explanation. It would have the further advantage of helping us to understand how Pausanias obtained his knowledge of the exact distances between places on various parts of the coasts of Greece, notably on the coast of Achaia and on the wild inhospitable coast of Laconia. The *Coasting Voyage* which he used may, like the extant *Coasting Voyage* of Scylax, have comprised a description of the whole coast of Greece, and from it Pausanias may have borrowed his estimates of distances and perhaps other features of his description as well. This is Mr. Heberdey's theory,[3] and it is a perfectly tenable one, though in the absence of direct evidence it must remain only a more or less probable hypothesis. Yet when we remember that Pausanias's topographical indications are nowhere more full and exact than in Arcadia, where by the nature of the case he cannot have used a *Coasting Voyage*, the hypothesis that he used one in other parts of his work seems superfluous, if not improbable. It is quite possible that he described the coast of

[1] ii. 34. 8 *sq.* See vol. 3. pp. 290-292; R. Heberdey, *Die Reisen des Pausanias in Griechenland*, pp. 46-48.

[2] For example the *Periplus of Europe, Asia, and Africa*, by Scylax, and the *Periplus of the Euxine* by Arrian, printed with similar works in C. Müller's *Geographi Graeci Minores*.

[3] *Die Reisen des Pausanias in Griechenland*, pp. 46-48, 51, 59-63, 66 *sq.*, 72-74, 76 *sq.*, 78 *sq.*, 102, 104, 109 *sq.*

Hermionis from notes he had made for himself in sailing along it, and that either he failed at the time to take in the natural features correctly or that afterwards in redacting his notes at home he misunderstood what he had written on the spot. Perhaps I may be allowed to say that having repeatedly sailed along the coast in question I can testify from personal experience how difficult it is to identify by sight the places from a ship, so bewildering is the moving panorama of capes, islands, bays, and mountains. It would be no great wonder if Pausanias's head swam a little in this geographical maze.

Roads from Lepreus.

Another passage where error and confusion of some sort seem to have crept in is the mention of the three roads that led from Lepreus to Samicum, Olympia, and Elis.[1] Here, again, Pausanias may have used and misunderstood some literary source, or he may have blundered on the spot, or his notes may have been lost, or his memory may have played him false. Any of these explanations is possible. To attempt to decide between them in the absence of any positive evidence would be fruitless.

The Enneacrunus episode.

More famous than either of these difficulties is one which occurs in Pausanias's account of Athens. Here in the middle of describing the market-place, which lay to the north-west of the Acropolis, he suddenly without a word of warning transports the reader to the Enneacrunus fountain, which lay in the bed of the Ilissus at the opposite extremity of the city; then, having despatched the fountain and some buildings in its neighbourhood, he whirls the reader back to the market-place, and proceeds with his description of it as if nothing had happened.[2] Of the many attempts to clear up this mystery, as by supposing either a dislocation of the text or a confusion in the author's notes or the existence of another fountain near the market-place which may have been shown to him as the Enneacrunus, none is free from serious difficulties. That he fell into error through copying blindly and unintelligently from a book is possible but very improbable. As it is practically certain that he visited Athens and saw both the market-place and the Olympieum, the chances that he should not have seen the Enneacrunus and should therefore have been driven to borrow his description of it from a book are so small that they may be neglected.

Law-courts at Athens and altars at Olympia.

Other passages which Pausanias may perhaps have taken either wholly or in part from books are his account of the Athenian law-courts[3] and his list of the altars at Olympia.[4] Neither of these passages, it is true, is demonstrably infected by error or confusion, though there is some ground for suspecting the existence of

[1] v. 5. 3. Compare R. Heberdey, *op. cit.* p. 68.
[2] i. 8. 6, i. 14. 1-6. See vol. 2. p. 112 *sq.*, vol. 5. p. 483 *sqq.*
[3] i. 28. 8-11.
[4] v. 13. 8-v. 15. 12.

confusion in the enumeration of the altars.[1] But in both of them the author departs from the topographical order of description, which is so characteristic of his method, and arranges the monuments together simply on the ground of their belonging to the same class. These departures from his usual principle of order suggest that in both cases Pausanias may have borrowed from written documents in which the monuments were grouped together according to kind rather than in topographical order. Another set of monuments which Pausanias links together by a chain other than the topographical are the buildings erected by Hadrian in Athens.[2] It is possible that he may have taken his list of them from the inscription in the Athenian Pantheon which recorded them all.[3]

These are perhaps the most notable passages in Pausanias, which might be thought to bear traces of having been derived either wholly or in part from written documents rather than from personal observation. In none of them are the indications so clear as to amount to a proof of borrowing. At most they raise a probability of it, nothing more.

Predecessors of Pausanias.

It would be neither surprising nor unnatural if in writing his *Description of Greece* Pausanias not only consulted, as we know he did, but borrowed from the works of previous writers on the same subject. Any one who undertakes to write a guide-book to a country may legitimately borrow from his predecessors provided he has taken the trouble to ascertain for himself that their descriptions are still applicable to the country at the time he is writing. Pausanias in his character of the Camden of ancient Greece had many predecessors whose writings he may and indeed ought to have consulted. But of their works only the titles and a few fragments have come down to us, and these contain nothing to show that Pausanias copied or had even read them. The most considerable of the fragments—those which pass under the name of Dicaearchus the Messenian—have been already examined, and we have seen how different in scope and style was the work to which they belonged from that which Pausanias has left us. No one would dream of maintaining that Pausanias copied his description of Greece from the pseudo-Dicaearchus. The most famous of the antiquaries who preceded Pausanias seem to have been Diodorus, Polemo, and Heliodorus, all of whom earned by their writings the title of *The Periegete* or *Cicerone*.[4] Of these the earliest was Diodorus, who is not to be confounded with the Sicilian historian of that name. He published works on the tombs and

Diodorus.

[1] See R. Heberdey, 'Die olympische Altarperiegese des Pausanias,' in *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Vienna, 1893), pp. 34-47; and vol. 3. pp. 568, 570-572 of this work.

[2] i. 18. 9. [3] i. 5. 5.

[4] On these and other ancient writers of the same class see especially the dissertation of L. Preller, *De historia atque arte Periegetaram* appended to his edition of the fragments of Polemo (Leipsic, 1838), p. 155 *sqq.*; M. Bencker, *Der Anteil der Periegese an der Kunstschriftstellerei der Alten* (Munich, 1890).

townships of Attica, of which a few fragments survive.[1] They seem to have been composed before 308 B.C. Heliodorus lived in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes and wrote a work on the Acropolis of Athens in no less than fifteen books, of which only a few brief fragments have come down to us.[2] There is some reason to think that Pausanias cannot have consulted it.[3] Polemo of Ilium flourished in the first part of the second century B.C.,[4] and was the author of many special treatises on the monuments of Greece. Amongst them were works on the Acropolis of Athens, on the eponymous heroes of the Attic townships and tribes, on the Sacred Way, on the Painted Colonnade at Sicyon, on the votive offerings at Lacedaemon, on the founding of the cities of Phocis, on the treasuries at Delphi, and many more.[5] More than a hundred extracts from or references to his works have come down to us; and if we may judge from them, from the number and variety of the treatises he published, and from the praise of Plutarch[6] we shall be inclined to pronounce Polemo the most learned of all Greek antiquaries. His acquaintance both with the monuments and with the literature seems to have been extensive and profound. The attention which he bestowed on inscriptions earned for him the nickname of the 'monument-tapper.'[7] His works were certainly extant later than the time of Pausanias, since they are freely quoted by Athenaeus. It would, therefore, be strange if Pausanias did not study them, dealing as many of them did with the same subjects on which he touched in his *Description of Greece*. Yet the existing fragments of Polemo hardly justify us in supposing that Pausanias was acquainted with the writings of his learned predecessor.

Heliodorus.

Polemo.

[1] *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, 2. pp. 353-359.

[2] Athenaeus, vi. p. 229 e; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, 4. p. 425 *sq.*

[3] Pausanias tells the story of the death of Leaena and adds that it had never been put on record before (i. 23. 1 *sq.*). In this he was mistaken. The story had already been told by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 72) and Plutarch (*De garrulitate*, 8), and Pliny may very well have had it from Heliodorus, since Heliodorus is one of the authors from whom Pliny avowedly drew the materials for his thirty-fourth book. Compare W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 96 *sq.*

[4] According to Suidas (*s.v.* Πολέμων) he was a contemporary of Ptolemy Epiphanes (who reigned 204-180 B.C.) and of the grammarian Aristophanes (born about 260 B.C., died 185 B.C.). See C. Müller, in *Frag. Histor. Graec.* 3. p. 108 *sq.* From a Delphic inscription (Wescher et Foucart, *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*, No. 18, line 260; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 198) we learn that a certain Polemo of Ilium, son of Milesius, was made a public friend of Delphi in the year 177-6 B.C. This Polemo was probably the antiquary, though the father of the antiquary, according to Suidas, was named Euegetes, not Milesius. See W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 154 *sq.* Polemo may have won the esteem of the Delphians by his work on the treasuries at Delphi.

[5] *Polemonis periegetae fragmenta*, collegit, digessit, notis auxit L. Preller (Leipsic, 1838); *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, 3. pp. 108-148.

[6] *Quaestiones conviviales*, v. 2. 9.

[7] Στηλοκόπας (Athenaeus, vi. p. 234 d). As to the nickname see L. Preller in his edition of Polemo, p. 12 *sqq.*

Certainly they lend no countenance to the view that he borrowed descriptions of places and monuments from them. This will appear from an examination of those fragments of Polemo which deal with subjects falling within the scope of Pausanias's work. We shall look, first, at the things mentioned by both writers, and, second, at the things mentioned by Polemo alone. The fragments are numbered as in the editions of L. Preller and Ch. Müller, to which the reader is referred for the Greek text.[1]

First, then, let us take the things mentioned by both Polemo and Pausanias.

Polemo and Pausanias compared.

Fragment ii. In his description of the Acropolis at Athens, Polemo mentioned a sculptor Lycius, son of Myron. So does Pausanias in his description of the Acropolis.[2]

Fragment iii. In his description of the Acropolis, Polemo mentioned a decree forbidding women of loose character to take the names of any of the great quadriennial festivals. Pausanias mentions no such decree, but among the paintings which he describes in the Propylaea is one of Alcibiades "containing emblems of the victory won by his team at Nemea."[3] Now we know from other writers that in this picture Alcibiades was portrayed reclining in the lap of Nemea.[4] The model who sat for the personification of Nemea was probably a woman of the sort who were forbidden by the decree to take the name of a quadriennial festival, and the sight of the picture may have led Polemo to mention the decree. If this was so—and the reasoning though a little circuitous is plausible—it becomes probable that Polemo saw and described the picture of Alcibiades to which Pausanias refers. The probability is strengthened, almost to the point of certainty, by our knowledge that Polemo did describe the paintings in the Propylaea, though no details of his description have survived.

Fragment iv. In his description of the Acropolis, Polemo mentioned that Thucydides was buried at the Melitian gate. So does Pausanias in his description of the Acropolis.[5]

Fragment vi. In his description of the pictures in the Propylaea, which probably formed part of his treatise in four books on the Acropolis, Polemo mentioned three Athenian festivals at which torch-races were held, namely the Panathenian festival, the festival of Hephaestus, and the festival of Prometheus. Pausanias in his description of the Academy mentions that torch-races were run from an altar of Prometheus in the Academy to the city.[6]

Fragment x. Polemo told the story of the capture of Aphidna

[1] A comparison between the fragments of Polemo and the work of Pausanias has been instituted by Mr. M. Bencker (*Der Anteil der Periegese an der Kunstschriftstellerei der Alten*, pp. 61-68). His conclusion is in substantial agreement with mine.

[2] i. 23. 7. [3] i. 22. 7. [4] See vol. 2. p. 266 *sq.*

[5] i. 23. 9. [6] i. 30. 2.

in Attica by the Dioscuri, and mentioned that in the affair Castor was wounded by king Aphidnus in the right thigh. Pausanias repeatedly refers to the capture of Aphidna by the Dioscuri,[1] but he expresses a belief that the place was taken without fighting and he gives reasons for thinking so.[2]

Fragment xi. In one of his works which is cited as *The Greek History* Polemo mentioned that Poseidon contended with Hera for the possession of Argos and was worsted, and that the two deities did not exhibit tokens in support of their claims as they did at Athens. Pausanias in his description of Argolis twice mentions the defeat of Poseidon in his dispute with Hera for the possession of the land,[3] but he says nothing about the absence of tokens.

Fragment xii. According to Polemo, the Argives related how the first corn sown in Argolis had been fetched by Argus from Libya. According to Pausanias, they asserted that they had received the first corn from Demeter.[4]

Fragment xviii. In his work on the votive offerings at Lacedaemon, Polemo mentioned "a chapel of Cottina, close to Colone, where is the sanctuary of Dionysus, a splendid edifice known to many in the city." Pausanias in his description of Sparta mentions "the place named Colona, and a temple of Dionysus Colonatas."[5]

Fragment xxii. Polemo mentioned at Olympia the old temple of Hera, the temple of the Metapontines, and the temple of the Byzantines. Pausanias described all three buildings,[6] but he designates the two latter correctly as treasuries, not temples.

Fragment xxiii. Polemo related that for a time a race had been run at Olympia between carts drawn by mules, but that after thirteen victories had been won the race was abolished in Ol. 84. He further said that the name for a mule-cart (*apene*) was a Tegean word. Pausanias mentions that the race between mule-carts at Olympia was instituted in Ol. 70 and abolished in Ol. 84.[7] He says nothing about the name for a mule-cart being Tegean.

Fragment xxiv. Polemo said that Athena was wounded by Ornytus. Pausanias says that she was wounded by Teuthis, but that some people called her assailant Ornytus.[8]

Fragment xxvii. In his work on the treasuries at Delphi, Polemo mentioned the Sicyonian treasury. So does Pausanias in his description of Delphi.[9]

Fragment xxix. Polemo told how the Delphians honoured the wolf because a wolf had discovered a sacred jewel of gold that had

[1] i. 17. 5, i. 41. 3, ii. 22. 6, iii. 18. 4, 5.
[2] iii. 18. 5.
[3] ii. 15. 5, ii. 22. 4.
[4] i. 14. 2.
[5] iii. 13. 7.
[6] v. 16. 1-v. 20. 5, vi. 19. 8, 11. The description of the Byzantine treasury seems to have dropped out of the text (vi. 19. 8), but the building is mentioned (vi. 19. 9).
[7] v. 9. 1.
[8] viii. 28. 4-6.
[9] x. 11. 1.

been stolen from Delphi and buried on Mount Parnassus. Pausanias says that the Delphians dedicated a bronze figure of a wolf in the sanctuary of Apollo, because a man who had stolen some sacred treasures and hidden them in the forest on Parnassus was killed by a wolf, which then went daily to the city and howled, till people followed it and so found the stolen treasure.[1]

Fragment xxxii. Polemo told how Palamedes invented dice to amuse the Greek army before Troy when they were distressed by famine. Pausanias says simply that dice were an invention of Palamedes.[2]

Fragment xli. Polemo said that at Athens there were three images of the Furies, two made by Scopas out of the stone called *luchneus* (probably Parian marble), and the middle one made by Calamis. Pausanias notices the images of the Furies without mentioning their number, their material, or the artists who made them.[3]

Fragment xlii. In speaking of wineless libations Polemo remarked on the scrupulousness of the Athenians in matters of ritual. Pausanias observed, in different connexions, that the Athenians were more pious and more zealous in religious matters than other people.[4]

Fragment xliv. Polemo said that Lais was born at Hyccara in Sicily and was murdered in Thessaly, whither she had gone for love of a Thessalian named Pausanias; and he described her grave beside the Peneus with the epitaph and the urn on the tombstone. Pausanias says that Lais was a native of Hycara (*sic*) in Sicily and that her grave was at Corinth, where it was surmounted by the figure of a lion holding a ram in its paws. He adds that in Thessaly, whither she had gone for the love of a certain Hippostratus, there was another tomb which claimed to be hers.[5]

Fragment xlviii. Polemo said that copies of the laws of Solon were kept in the Prytaneum engraved on square wooden tablets which revolved on pivots in such a way that when the tablets were turned at an angle they seemed to be triangular. Pausanias says briefly that the laws of Solon were inscribed in the Prytaneum.[6]

Fragment lv. Polemo said that wrestling was invented by Phorbas. Pausanias says that it was invented by Theseus.[7]

Fragment lxxviii. Polemo mentioned the sanctuary of Hercules at Cynosarges. So does Pausanias.[8]

Fragment lxxxiii. Polemo described two pools in Sicily, beside which the Sicilians took their most solemn oaths, perjury being followed by death. Pausanias describes how people threw offerings into the craters of Etna and watched whether the offerings sank

[1] x. 14. 7.
[2] ii. 20. 3, x. 31. 1.
[3] i. 28. 6.
[4] i. 17. 1, i. 24. 3.
[5] ii. 2. 4 *sq.*
[6] i. 18. 3.
[7] i. 39. 3.
[8] i. 19. 3.

or were ejected by the volcanic fires.[1] Some modern writers have supposed that Pausanias meant to describe the place and the oath described by Polemo, but that he mistook the water for fire and the offering for an oath. The supposition is very unlikely.

Fragment lxxxvi. Polemo mentions the Tiasa, a river near Sparta. So does Pausanias.[2]

No evidence that Pausanias copied Polemo.

These are, I believe, all the existing fragments of Polemo in which he mentions the same things as Pausanias. Not one of them supports the theory that Pausanias copied from Polemo. In some of them[3] the writer mentions the same places, buildings, and works of art that are mentioned by Pausanias. But this was almost inevitable. When two men describe the same places correctly they can hardly help mentioning some of the same things. In no case does the coincidence go beyond a bare mention. Again, Polemo sometimes referred to the same myth or legend as Pausanias;[4] but this is no proof that Pausanias copied from Polemo. A multitude of myths and legends were the commonplaces of every educated Greek, whether he had read Polemo or not. The passage of Polemo as to the race between mule-carts at Olympia[5] agrees in substance, not in language, with the corresponding passage of Pausanias. Both writers, it may be assumed, derived their information from the best source, the Olympic register, which, as we have seen, was published and accessible to all. The Delphian story of the wolf that disclosed the stolen treasure[6] may have been narrated by both writers in the same way, though from the abridged form in which Polemo's version is reported by Aelian we cannot be sure of this. No doubt the story was told in much the same way by the Delphian guides to all visitors, who may have been surprised to find a statue of a wolf dedicated to Apollo, the old mythical relationship of the god with wolves having long fallen into the background. Again, Polemo, like Pausanias, remarked on the scrupulous piety of the Athenians.[7] So, too, for that matter did St. Paul,[8] but nobody suspects him of having borrowed the remark from Polemo. The mention of the sculptor Lycius, of the grave of Thucydides, and of the torch-race[9] by the two writers proves nothing as to the dependence of the one on the other. Some of the fragments of Polemo show that he described in minute detail things which Pausanias has merely mentioned.[10] Finally, in a number of the fragments[11] Polemo makes statements which are explicitly or implicitly contradicted by Pausanias. This proves that if Pausanias was acquainted with the works of Polemo, he at least exercised complete freedom of judgment

[1] iii. 23. 9. [2] iii. 18. 6.
[3] Fragments iii., xviii., xxii., xxvii., xli., xlviii., lxxviii., lxxxvi.
[4] Fragments xi., xxxii. [5] Fragment xxiii. [6] Fragment xxix.
[7] Fragment xlii. [8] Acts xvii. 22. [9] Fragments ii., iv., vi.
[10] Fragments xli., xlviii. [11] Fragments x., xii., xxiv., xliv., lv.

in accepting or rejecting the opinions of his predecessor. Another proof of his independence is furnished by his speaking of the treasuries at Olympia as treasuries, whereas Polemo had designated the same buildings less correctly as temples.[1]

Things mentioned by Polemo but not by Pausanias.

Second, let us take the things mentioned by Polemo, but not by Pausanias. They include at Munychia the worship of the hero Acratopotes;[2] at Athens a picture of the marriage of Pirithous,[3] an inscription relating to the sacrifices offered to Hercules at Cynosarges,[4] and cups dedicated by a certain Neoptolemus, apparently on the Acropolis;[5] in Attica a township called Crius;[6] at Sicyon the Painted Colonnade[7] (to which Polemo seems to have devoted a special treatise), pictures by the painters Aristides, Pausanias, and Nicophanes,[8] a portrait of the tyrant Aristratus partly painted by Apelles,[9] and an obscene worship of Dionysus;[10] at Phlius a colonnade called the Colonnade of the Polemarch and containing a painting or paintings by Sillax of Rhegium;[11] at Argos a sanctuary of Libyan Demeter;[12] at Sparta a chapel and bronze statue of Cottina, a bronze ox dedicated by her, a sanctuary of Corythallian Artemis, a festival called *kopis* (described by Polemo in detail), and the worship of two heroes Matton and Ceraon;[13] at Olympia a hundred and thirty-two silver cups, two silver wine-jugs, one silver sacrificial vessel, and three gilt cups, all preserved in the treasury of the Metapontines,[14] a cedar-wood figure of a Triton holding a silver cup, a silver siren, three silver cups of various shapes, a golden wine-jug, and two drinking-horns, all preserved in the treasury of the Byzantines,[15] thirty-three silver cups of various shapes, a silver pot, a golden sacrificial vessel, and a golden bowl, all preserved in the temple of Hera,[16] and a statue of a Lacedaemonian named Leon who won a victory in the chariot-race;[17] at Elis the worship of Gourmand Apollo;[18] at Scolus in Boeotia the worship of Big-loaf Demeter;[19] at Thebes a temple of Aphrodite Lamia,[20] a statue of the bard Cleon (about which Polemo told an anecdote),[21] and games held in honour of Hercules;[22] and finally at Delphi a golden book of the poetess Aristomache in the Sicyonian treasury,[23] a treasury of the Spinatians containing two marble statues of boys,[24] a sanctuary of Demeter

[1] Fragment xxii.
[2] Fragment xl.
[3] Fragment lxiii. Compare Bencker, *op. cit.* p. 17 *sq.*
[4] Fragment lxxviii.
[5] Fragment i.
[6] Fragment ix.
[7] Fragments xiv., xv.
[8] Fragment xvi.
[9] Fragment xvii.
[10] Fragment lxxii.
[11] Fragment lviii.
[12] Fragment xii.
[13] Fragments xviii., xl., lxxxvi.
[14] Fragment xxii.
[15] *Ib.*
[16] *Ib.*
[17] Fragment xix.
[18] Fragments lxx., lxxi.
[19] Fragment xxxix.
[20] Fragment xv.
[21] Fragment xxv.
[22] Fragment xxvi.
[23] Fragment xxvii.
[24] Fragment xxviii. In the text of Polemo (reported by Athenaeus, xiii. p. 606 b) we must read ἐν τῷ Σπινατῶν θησαυρῷ with Meineke for the ἐν τῷ πινάκων θησαυρῷ of the MSS. See vol. 5. p. 296 *sq.*

Hermuchus,[1] and a curious custom of offering to Latona at the festival of the Theoxenia the largest leek that was to be found.[2]

All these are mentioned by Polemo as things existing or customs practised within that portion of Greece which Pausanias has described. When we remember that the mention of them occurs in a few brief fragments, which are all that remain to us of the voluminous works of Polemo, we can imagine what a multitude of things must have been described by Polemo, which are passed over in total silence by Pausanias.

Result of comparison between Polemo and Pausanias.

To sum up the result of this comparison of Polemo with Pausanias, we find that both writers mention some of the same things and record some of the same traditions, but that this agreement never amounts to a verbal coincidence; that Polemo mentions many things which are not noticed by Pausanias; and that Pausanias repeatedly adopts views which differ from or contradict views expressed by Polemo. Thus there is nothing in the remains of Polemo to show that Pausanias, treading as he so often did in Polemo's footsteps, copied the works of his predecessor; on the contrary the very frequent omission by Pausanias of things mentioned by Polemo, and the not infrequent adoption by him of opinions which contradict those of Polemo, go to prove either that he was unacquainted with Polemo's writings, or that he deliberately disregarded and tacitly controverted them.

Theory that Pausanias copied from Polemo or from writers of Polemo's date.

Yet in recent years it has been maintained that Pausanias slavishly copied from Polemo the best part of his descriptions of Athens, Olympia, and Delphi, and a good deal besides, and that he described these places substantially not as they were in his own age but as they had been in the time of Polemo, about three hundred years before; for it is a part of the same theory that Pausanias had travelled and seen very little in Greece, had compiled the bulk of his book from the works of earlier writers, and had added only a few hasty jottings of his own to give the book a modern air.[3]

As to the proposition that Pausanias borrowed largely from Polemo it is not needful to say any more. We have seen that it

[1] Fragment xxxix. [2] Fragment xxxvi.

[3] This was the theory of Mr. A. Kalkmann (*Pausanias der Periget* (Berlin, 1886), pp. 59, 64, 72-76, 77-81, 108, 111-116, 120-122, etc.), but he has since substantially retracted it by admitting that Pausanias saw all the chief objects of interest for himself (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1895, p. 12). The view that Pausanias borrowed largely from Polemo was suggested by L. Preller in his edition of Polemo (pp. 50, 181) and revived by Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Hermes*, 12 (1877), p. 346). Yet Preller admitted that he could not detect clear traces of this borrowing in any single passage of Pausanias, and he added very justly that the mere notice of the same things by the two writers is no proof that the one borrowed from the other, since both may have derived their accounts direct from the same sources, namely the monuments themselves and the explanations of the guides.

has no foundation in the existing remains of Polemo. Whether it would be established or refuted by the lost works of Polemo we cannot say. It will be time to consider the question when these lost works are found, if that should ever be.

Theory that Pausanias did not describe Greece as it was in his own time.

On the other hand the proposition that Pausanias described Greece not as it was in his own time, but as it had been in an earlier age, while it is of wider scope than the former is also more susceptible of verification. It could be established very simply by proving that he spoke of things as existing which from other sources are known to have ceased to exist before his time. It could not, of course, be established merely by showing that he mentions little or nothing of later date than say the age of Polemo, about 170 B.C., unless it could be further shown that the things he mentions had ceased to exist between that age and his own. For obviously all the things he notices might have existed in 170 B.C. and still be in existence when he wrote, and in describing them he would be as truly describing the Greece of his own time as a writer of the present day who, professing to record the most notable things in Athens at the end of the nineteenth century A.D., should choose to mention no building or statue later than the time of Pausanias, or even of Polemo himself. Thus all the attempts that have been made to invalidate the testimony of Pausanias as to the state of Greece in the second century A.D. by demonstrating merely that the things he describes were in existence in the second century B.C. must be dismissed as irrelevant. Even if the premises be admitted, the conclusion which it is sought to establish would not follow from them. It remains, therefore, to examine the evidence which has been thought to prove that some of the things mentioned by Pausanias as existing had ceased to exist before his time. If this were indeed proved, then the proposition that he did not describe Greece as it was in his own time would be proved also, and we should be sure that his descriptions were borrowed either wholly or in part from earlier writers, even if we could not hazard any guess as to who these writers were.

His description of Piraeus.

In the first place, then, it has been maintained that the description which Pausanias gives of the state of Piraeus did not apply to his own time.[1] His account of the ship-sheds, the two market-places, the sanctuaries, the images, and so on implies, it is said, that the port was in a fairly thriving state when he wrote about the middle of the second century A.D., and this cannot have been the case since Piraeus was burnt by Sulla in 86 B.C., and still lay in a forlorn condition when Strabo wrote in the age of Augustus.[2] This remarkable criticism entirely overlooks the fact that between the destruction of Piraeus by Sulla and the time of Pausanias more

[1] A. Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, pp. 54-56.

[2] Strabo, ix. p. 395 *sq.*

than two hundred years had elapsed, during the greater part of which Greece had enjoyed profound peace and had been treated with special favour and indulgence by the Roman emperors. Is it beyond the bounds of possibility that during these two centuries the blackened ruins should have been cleared away? that new buildings should have sprung up, and population should have gathered once more around the harbour? Does the Palatinate, we may ask by analogy, remain to this day the wilderness to which it was reduced by the armies of Louis XIV. two centuries ago? But such questions need no answer. In the case of Piraeus, fortunately, we are not left merely to balance probabilities or improbabilities against each other. We have positive evidence of a great revival of the port after its destruction by Sulla.[1] A single inscription of the first century B.C. or the second century A.D. testifies to the existence of the dock-yards, the colonnades, the Exchange, the government buildings, the sanctuaries. Another, contemporary with Pausanias, proves that Roman merchants were then settled in the port. A third deals with the regulation of traffic in the market. Portraits of Roman emperors found on the spot speak of gratitude for imperial favour, and remains of Roman villas and Roman baths bear witness to the return not merely of prosperity but of wealth and luxury. In short, if Pausanias had described Piraeus as lying in ruins, as his critic thinks he should have done, he might have described it as it was in the early part of the first century B.C., but he certainly would not have described it as it was in his own time two hundred years later.

His description of Arcadia.

Again, it has been argued that Pausanias copied his description of Arcadia from much older writers because, it is said, he pictures the country as in a flourishing state, whereas Strabo says that most of the famous cities of Arcadia had either ceased to exist or had left hardly a trace of themselves behind.[2] How little the testimony of Strabo is worth when he speaks of the interior of Greece is shown by his famous statement that not a vestige of Mycenae remained.[3] Contrast this statement with the brief but accurate description which Pausanias gives of the walls and the lion-gate of Mycenae as they were in his day[4] and as they remain down to this; then say whether the testimony of Strabo is to outweigh that of Pausanias on questions of Greek topography. In fact it is generally recognised that Strabo had visited very few parts of Greece, perhaps none but Corinth.[5]

[1] See vol. 2. p. 14 *sq.*; W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, pp. 193-248.

[2] A. Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, p. 174 *sq.*; Strabo, viii. p. 388.

[3] viii. p. 372. [4] ii. 16. 5.

[5] See C. G. Groskurd, *Strabons Erdbeschreibung*, 1. p. xxiv.; W. M. Leake, *Topography of Athens*,[2] 1. p. 32; E. Curtius, *Der Peloponnesos*, 1. p. 120; E. H. Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, 2. p. 266; B. Niese, in *Hermes*, 13 (1878), p. 43; A. Vogel, in *Philologus*, 41 (1882), p. 516; H. F. Tozer, *Selections from Strabo* (Oxford, 1893), p. 18 *sq.*; *id.*, *History of ancient Geography* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 241.

We may therefore well hesitate to confide in his vague sweeping assertion as to the desolation of Arcadia. A simple fact suffices to upset it. Coins of the Roman period prove that seven out of the eleven cities which he says had ceased to exist or had left hardly a trace behind were still inhabited and doing business long after the agreeable, but not too scrupulously accurate, geographer had been gathered to his fathers.[1] Nor, again, is it true to say that Pausanias describes Arcadia as if it were in a prosperous state. On the contrary, the long array of ruined or shrunken cities, deserted villages, and roofless shrines, which he has not failed to chronicle,[2] leave on the reader, as they left on the writer himself, a melancholy impression of desolation and decay. The only two cities which from his description we should gather to have been in a tolerably thriving condition are Tegea and Mantinea. As to the former we have the precious testimony of Strabo himself that "it kept pretty well together."[3] As to Mantinea, if we cannot trust the evidence of Pausanias, we can surely trust the architectural and inscriptional evidence which proves that in the Roman period the theatre was rebuilt, and that not many years before Pausanias was born Roman merchants resided in the city, great reconstructions were carried out in the market-place, a marble colonnade added to it, banqueting-halls and treasuries built, a bazaar surrounded with workshops erected, and a semicircular hall reared which, in the words of an inscription referring to it, "would by itself be an ornament of the city." The remains of these buildings, together with the ancient walls and gates of the city almost in their entire extent though not to their full height, were visible down to the year 1890 A.D. at least.[4] All this in a city which, if we were to believe Strabo, had vanished from the earth before his time leaving little or no traces of it behind. So much for the comparative value of the testimony of Strabo and Pausanias with regard to Arcadia.

Grove of Poseidon at Onchestus.

Again, in Boeotia our author is accused of describing things that were not as if they were,[5] and the witness for the prosecution is again Strabo. Pausanias says that the grove of Poseidon at

[1] The seven are Caphyae, Clitor, Heraea, Mantinea, Megalopolis, Orchomenus, and Pheneus. See T. E. Mionnet, *Description de Médailles antiques Grecques et Romaines*, 2. pp. 247-253; *id.*, *Supplément*, 4. pp. 275 *sq.*, 278-288; B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 374-379.

[2] See above, p. xiv. note 6. All the ruins, etc., referred to in Book viii. were in Arcadia.

[3] viii. p. 388.

[4] See vol. 4. pp. 202 *sqq.*, 210 *sqq.*, 214 *sqq.* The inscriptions are now published (*Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 20 (1896), p. 119 *sqq.*). When I last visited Mantinea, in October 1895, most of the ruins about the market-place, which were excavated by the French some ten years ago, had again disappeared beneath the soil.

[5] A. Enmann, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 30 (1884), p. 504 *sq.*; A. Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, p. 176.

Onchestus existed in his time. Strabo says that there were no trees in it. Where is the inconsistency between these statements? Strabo wrote in the reign of Augustus; Pausanias wrote in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Did trees cease to grow after the time of Strabo?

Limnae and Thuria in Messenia.

Further, Pausanias has been reproached with not knowing that Limnae in Messenia belonged to the Messenians in his time.[1] This is a strange reproach. He treats of Limnae under Messenia,[2] and does not say that it belonged to anybody but the Messenians. What more could he do? Was it needful for him to say of every place in Messenia that it belonged to the Messenians? of every town in Arcadia that it belonged to the Arcadians? of every temple in Athens that it belonged to the Athenians? The ground of the offence is Pausanias's statement that the neighbouring town of Thuria in Messenia had been bestowed by Augustus on the Lacedaemonians.[3] The truth of this statement is not disputed. It is confirmed by coins which prove that in the reign of Septimius Severus, long after the time of Pausanias, Thuria continued to belong to the Lacedaemonians. But the critics have assumed quite gratuitously that along with Thuria the emperor Augustus transferred Limnae also to the Lacedaemonians, and that Pausanias believed Limnae to belong to them still in his time, although we know from the evidence of Tacitus[4] and of boundary stones that in his time Limnae belonged to Messenia. Both these assumptions are baseless. We have no reason to suppose that Augustus gave Limnae to the Lacedaemonians, none to suppose that Pausanias believed it to belong to them. On the contrary we have, as I have just pointed out, the best of grounds for supposing that he held it to belong to Messenia. The truth is, the critics have confused two distinct, though neighbouring districts, and have shifted the burden of this confusion to the shoulders of the innocent Pausanias, in whose work not a shadow of it can be detected.

Temple of Apollo at Delphi.

Lastly, it has been assumed[5] that Pausanias's account of the temple of Apollo at Delphi is irreconcileable with the remains of the building and with inscriptions relating to it which have recently been discovered by the French at Delphi. The combined evidence of architecture and inscriptions proves conclusively that the temple built by the Alcmaeonids in the sixth century B.C. was afterwards destroyed, probably by an earthquake, and that it was rebuilt in the

[1] A. Kalkmann, *op. cit.* p. 164 *sq.* See vol. 3. p. 425 *sqq.*
[2] iv. 31. 3. [3] iv. 31. 1.
[4] *Annals*, iv. 43.
[5] By Mr. Th. Homolle (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 23 (1895), pp. 328, 340) and Mr. H. Pomtow (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1895, p. 4; *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 51 (1896), p. 329). As to the French discoveries at Delphi and their bearing on the history of the temple, see vol. 5. p. 328 *sqq.*

fourth century B.C. Yet Pausanias, it is said, describes the temple of the sixth century B.C. as if it still existed in his time. Let us look at the facts in the light of the French discoveries. Observe, then, that Pausanias mentions the Gallic shields hanging on the architrave of the temple.[1] These shields were captured in 279 B.C. Hence the temple which he describes cannot have been the old one built in the sixth century B.C., since that temple, as we now know, was afterwards destroyed and rebuilt in the fourth century B.C. But did Pausanias believe it to be the old one? There is nothing to show that he did, but on the contrary there is a good deal to show that he did not. In the first place, he does not say that the temple was built by the Alcmaeonids. He says it was built for the Amphictyons by the architect Spintharus.[2] The date of Spintharus is otherwise unknown, but we have no reason to suppose that he lived in the sixth rather than in the fourth century B.C. In the second place, Pausanias tells us that the first sculptures for the gables of the temple were executed by Praxias, a pupil of Calamis, but that as the building lasted some time, Praxias died before it was finished, and the rest of the sculptures were executed by another artist.[3] Now we have the evidence of Pausanias himself that the sculptor Calamis was at work as late as 427 B.C.[4] His pupil Praxias may therefore easily, at least in the opinion of Pausanias, have been at work at the end of the fifth century B.C. or in the early part of the fourth century B.C., and this is precisely the time when, if we may judge from the historical and inscriptional evidence, the old temple was destroyed and preparations at least for rebuilding it were being made. At all events, Pausanias cannot possibly have supposed that the pupil of a man who was at work in 427 B.C. can have executed sculptures for a temple that was built in the sixth century B.C. In short, neither was the temple which Pausanias describes the temple of the sixth century B.C. nor can he possibly have supposed it to be so. The temple he describes was in all probability the temple of the fourth century B.C. His statement that the temple was long in building is amply confirmed by the inscriptions which prove that the process of reconstruction dragged on over a period of many years.

Thus in every case an analysis of the evidence adduced to prove that Pausanias described a state of things which had passed away before his time, reveals only some oversight or misapprehension on the part of his critics. We might take it, therefore, without further discussion that he described Greece as it was in his own age. But if any reader is still sceptical, still blinded by the phantom Polemo, let him turn to Pausanias's description of new Corinth[5] and read it with attention. Here was a city built in 44 B.C. more than a century

New Corinth.

[1] x. 19. 4. [2] x. 5. 13. [3] x. 19. 4.
[4] i. 3. 4. [5] ii. 2. 6-ii. 5. 1.

after the time of Polemo, upon whom Pausanias is supposed by some to have been slavishly dependent. Yet he describes the city minutely and in topographical order, following up each street as it led out of the market-place. Amongst the many temples he mentions in it is one of Octavia[1] and another of Capitolian Jupiter;[2] among the many water-works is the aqueduct by which Hadrian, the author's contemporary, brought the water of the Stymphalian Lake to Corinth.[3] And his description of the city with its temples, images, fountains, and portals is amply borne out by coins of the Imperial age.[4] In the face of this single instance it is impossible to maintain that Pausanias must needs have borrowed most of his descriptions from writers who lived before 170 B.C. If he could describe Corinth so well without their aid, why should he not have described Athens, Olympia, and Delphi for himself? Nor does his power of description fail him when he comes down to works which were produced in his own lifetime. Not to mention his many notices of the works of Hadrian, such as the Olympieum at Athens with its colossal image of gold and ivory, and the library with its columns of Phrygian marble, its gilded roof, its alabaster ornaments, its statues and paintings,[5] he has given us a minute account of the images dedicated by his contemporary Herodes Atticus in the temple of Poseidon at the Isthmus.[6] He describes the images of Amphitrite and Poseidon, made of gold and ivory, standing erect in a car drawn by gilt horses with ivory hoofs; the image of Palaemon, also made of gold and ivory, standing on a dolphin; the two Tritons beside the horses, each of them made of gold from the waist upward and of ivory from the waist downward; and the reliefs on the pedestal of the images, comprising a figure of the Sea holding up the infant Aphrodite, with Nereids and the Dioscuri on either side. If he could describe in such detail the work of an obscure contemporary artist whom he does not condescend to mention, what reason have we to think that he could not describe for himself the famous images by the great hand of Phidias, the image of the Virgin at Athens and the image of Zeus at Olympia? In short, if Pausanias copied his descriptions from a book, it must have been from a book written in his own lifetime, perhaps by another man of the same name. The theory of the copyist Pausanias reduces itself to an absurdity.

Images dedicated by Herodes Atticus at the Isthmus.

The best proof that Pausanias has pictured for us Greece as it was in his own day and not as it had ceased to be long before, is supplied by the monuments. In all parts of the country the truthfulness of his descriptions has been attested by remains of the buildings which he describes, and wherever these remains are most

Pausanias and the existing monuments.

[1] ii. 3. 1. [2] ii. 4. 5. [3] ii. 3. 5.
[4] F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pp. 10-28.
[5] i. 18. 6-9. [6] ii. 1. 7-9.

numerous, as for example at Olympia, Delphi, and Lycosura,[1] we have most reason to admire his minute and painstaking accuracy. That he was infallible has never been maintained, and if it had been, the excavations would have refuted so foolish a contention, for they have enabled us to detect some errors into which he fell. For example, he mistook the figure of a girl for that of a man in the eastern gable of the temple of Zeus at Olympia;[2] he misinterpreted the attitude of Hercules and Atlas in one of the metopes of the same temple;[3] he affirmed that the colossal images at Lycosura were made of a single block of marble,[4] whereas we know that they were made of several blocks fitted together; and he described the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea as the largest in Peloponnese,[5] though in fact it was much smaller than the temple of Zeus at Olympia. These and similar mistakes, like the slips he sometimes made in reading inscriptions, do not lend any colour to an imputation of bad faith. All they show is that he shared the common weaknesses of humanity, that his eye sometimes deceived him, that his attention sometimes flagged, that occasionally he may have lent too ready an ear to the talk of the local guides. If these are sins, they are surely not unpardonable. Those who have followed in his footsteps in Greece and have formed from personal experience some idea, necessarily slight, of the magnitude of the task he set himself and of the difficulties he had to overcome in accomplishing it, will probably be the readiest to make allowance for inevitable imperfections, will be most grateful to him for what he has done, and least disposed to censure him for what he has left undone. Without him the ruins of Greece would for the most part be a labyrinth without a clue, a riddle without an answer. His book furnishes the clue to the labyrinth, the answer to many riddles. It will be read and studied so long as ancient Greece shall continue to engage the attention and awaken the interest of mankind; and if it is allowable to forecast the results of research in the future from those of research in the past we may venture to predict that, while they will correct the descriptions of Pausanias on some minor points, they will confirm them on many more, and will bring to light nothing to shake the confidence of reasonable and fair-minded men in his honour and good faith.

[1] The latest reports of the excavations at Lycosura furnish a fresh and striking instance of Pausanias's exactitude. See Mr. B. Leonardos, in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας, 1896 (published 1897), p. 95 *sqq.*; and vol. 5. of this work, p. 622 *sqq.*

[2] v. 10. 6. See vol. 3. p. 509.

[3] v. 10. 9. See vol. 3. p. 524 *sq.*

[4] viii. 37. 3. See vol. 4. p. 379.

[5] viii. 45. 5. See vol. 4. p. 425.

BOOK FIRST

ATTICA

I

1. CAPE SUNIUM, in the land of Attica, juts out from that part of the Greek mainland which faces the Cyclades and the Aegean Sea. When you have sailed past the cape you come to a harbour, and there is a temple of Sunian Athena on the summit of the cape. Sailing on you come to Laurium, where the Athenians once had silver mines, and to a desert island of no great size called the island of Patroclus; for Patroclus built a fort and erected a palisade on it. This Patroclus was the admiral in command of the Egyptian galleys which Ptolemy, the son of <Ptolemy, the son of> Lagus, sent to the help of the Athenians when Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, had invaded their country in person at the head of an army, and was ravaging it while his ships blockaded the coast.

2. Piraeus was a township from of old, but before the archonship of Themistocles it was not a seaport. Down to that time Phalerum was the port of Athens, it being the point of the coast nearest to the city. It was from Phalerum, they say, that Menestheus sailed with his ships for Troy, and Theseus before him sailed from Phalerum to pay to Minos the forfeit for the death of Androgeus. But when Themistocles was appointed archon he made Piraeus the port of Athens, because it seemed to him to lie more conveniently for navigation and to have three harbours instead of the single one at Phalerum. And there were ship-sheds there down to my time; and beside the largest harbour is the grave of Themistocles. For they say that the Athenians repented of what they had done to Themistocles, and that his kinsmen took up his bones and brought them from Magnesia. Certain it is that the sons of Themistocles not only returned from exile, but dedicated in the Parthenon a picture containing a portrait of Themistocles. 2

3. Best worth seeing in Piraeus is a precinct of Athena and Zeus. Both the images are of bronze: Zeus holds a sceptre and a 3

Victory, Athena holds a spear. Here is a painting of Leosthenes and his sons by Arcesilaus. It was Leosthenes who, at the head of the Athenians and all the Greeks, defeated the Macedonians in Boeotia and again outside Thermopylae; and after overpowering them shut them up in Lamia, over against Oeta. Behind the Long Colonnade, which stands beside the sea, there are statues of Zeus and the People, a work of Leochares. In the Long Colonnade there is a market for the sea-side population: there is another market for those who dwell farther from the harbour. Beside the sea Conon built a sanctuary of Aphrodite after vanquishing the Lacedaemonian fleet at Cnidus in the Carian peninsula; for the Cnidians honour Aphrodite above all the gods, and they have sanctuaries of the goddess. The oldest is the sanctuary of Bountiful Aphrodite: next to it is the sanctuary of Aphrodite of the Height; and newest of all is the sanctuary of her who is generally called Cnidian Aphrodite, but whom the Cnidians themselves call Aphrodite of the Fair Voyage.

4 4. The Athenians have another harbour at Munychia, with a temple of Munychian Artemis, and another harbour at Phalerum, as I said before. At the latter harbour is a sanctuary of Demeter. Here, too, is a temple of Sciradian Athena, and farther off is a temple of Zeus. And there are altars of gods named Unknown, and of heroes, and of the children of Theseus, and of Phalerus; for the Athenians say that this Phalerus sailed with Jason to Colchis. There is an altar also of Androgeus, son of Minos. It is called the altar of the hero, but antiquaries know that it is the altar of Andro-
5 geus. Twenty furlongs away is Cape Colias, on which, when the fleet of the Medes was destroyed, the wrecks were washed up by the waves. Here is an image of Colian Aphrodite, and here are the goddesses named Genetyllides. I think that the goddesses whom the Phocaeans of Ionia call Gennaides are the same as the goddesses at Colias. On the way from Phalerum to Athens is a temple of Hera that has neither doors nor roof: they say it was fired by Mardonius, the son of Gobrias. The existing image is, so they say, a work of Alcamenes; it cannot, therefore, have been injured by the Medes.

II

1. Entering the city we come to the tomb of Antiope the Amazon. Pindar says that this Antiope was carried off by Pirithous and Theseus; but, as told by the poet Hegias of Troezen, the story is that when Hercules was besieging Themiscyra on the Thermodon and could not take it, Antiope surrendered the place because she had fallen in love with Theseus, who had gone with Hercules to the war. So says the poet Hegias; but the Athenians say that, when

the Amazons came, Antiope was shot with an arrow by Molpadia, and that Molpadia was slain by Theseus. There is a tomb of Molpadia also at Athens.

2. Going up from Piraeus we come to ruins of the walls which 2
Conon reared after the sea-fight at Cnidus. For the walls of Themistocles, built after the retreat of the Medes, were pulled down in the reign of the Thirty, as they are named. There are graves on the road, the most famous being the grave of Menander, the son of Diopithes, and a cenotaph of Euripides. Euripides is buried in Macedonia, whither he had gone to the court of King Archelaus. The manner of his death has been told by many; be it as they say.

3. Thus we see that in those days poets associated with kings; 3
and in still earlier times Anacreon resided with Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, and Aeschylus and Simonides journeyed to Syracuse to the court of Hiero. And Philoxenus resided with Dionysius, the Sicilian tyrant of a later age; and Antagoras the Rhodian and Aratus of Soli resided with Antigonus, ruler of Macedonia. But Hesiod and Homer either had not the luck to associate with kings, or disdained to do so: Hesiod because he was of rustic manners and loath to roam; Homer because he had travelled into far countries, and esteemed the largess of princes less than the applause of the people. For Homer himself has told how Alcinous was attended by Demodocus, and how Agamemnon left a poet with his wife. Not far from the gate is a grave surmounted by a warrior standing beside a horse: who he is I know not, but both horse and warrior are by Praxiteles.

4. When we have entered into the city we come to a building 4
for the getting ready of the processions which are conducted at yearly and other intervals. Hard by is a temple of Demeter with images of the goddess, her daughter, and Iacchus, who is holding a torch. An inscription in Attic letters on the wall declares that they are works of Praxiteles. Not far from the temple is a Poseidon on horseback hurling a spear at the giant Polybotes, in reference to whom the Coans tell the myth about Cape Chelone; but the existing inscription assigns the statue, not to Poseidon, but to some one else. Colonnades run from the gate to the Ceramicus; and in front of them are bronze statues of such men and women as had some title to fame. One of the colonnades contains sanctuaries of 5
the gods and a gymnasium called the gymnasium of Hermes. In it, too, is the house of Pulytion, in which, they say, some illustrious Athenians parodied the Eleusinian mysteries; but in my time it was consecrated to Dionysus. This Dionysus they call the Minstrel for much the same reason that Apollo is called Leader of the Muses. Here are images of Healing Athena and Zeus and Memory and the Muses, and an Apollo, the work and offering of Eubulides, and an effigy of Acratus, one of Dionysus' attendant sprites; it is only a

face of him built into a wall. After the precinct of Dionysus is a building containing images of clay: they represent Amphictyon, king of Athens, feasting Dionysus and other gods. Here, too, is Pegasus of Eleutherae, who introduced the god to the Athenians: he was aided by the Delphic oracle, which reminded the Athenians that, in the days of Icarius, the god had once sojourned in the
6 land. 5. Now Amphictyon got the kingdom thus:—They say that Actaeus was the first who reigned in what is now Attica; and on his death Cecrops succeeded to the throne, being the husband of Actaeus' daughter. There were born to him three daughters, Herse, Aglaurus, and Pandrosus, and a son, Erysichthon. The son did not come to the kingdom, but died in his father's lifetime, and Cecrops was succeeded on the throne by Cranaus, the most powerful of the Athenians. They say that Cranaus had daughters, amongst whom was Atthis: after her they name the country Attica, which before was called Actaea. But Amphictyon rose up against Cranaus, and deposed him, though he had the daughter of Cranaus to wife. He was himself afterwards banished by Erichthonius and his fellow-rebels. They say that Erichthonius had no human being for father, but that his parents were Hephaestus and Earth.

III

1. The place called the Ceramicus has its name from a hero Ceramus, said to be a son of Dionysus and Ariadne. First on the right is a colonnade called the Royal Colonnade, where the king sits during his year of office, which is called the kingship. On the tiled roof of this colonnade are terra-cotta images—Theseus hurling Sciron into the sea, and Day carrying Cephalus, who, they say, was exceeding fair, and was ravished by Day; for she loved him and bore him a son, Phaethon . . . and made him guardian of the temple. This tale is told by Hesiod in his poem on women
2 as well as by other writers. Near the colonnade stand statues of Conon and his son Timotheus, and Evagoras, king of Cyprus, who prevailed on King Artaxerxes to give Conon the Phoenician galleys. Evagoras did this because he considered himself an Athenian and of Salaminian descent; for he traced his lineage up to Teucer and the daughter of Cinyras. Here stands an image of Zeus, named Zeus of Freedom, and a statue of the Emperor Hadrian, the benefactor of his subjects and especially of Athens.

3 2. Behind is built a colonnade with paintings of the gods, who are called the Twelve. On the opposite wall are painted Theseus, Democracy, and the People. The painting signifies that it was Theseus who established political equality at Athens. There is, indeed, a popular tradition that Theseus handed over the conduct of affairs to the people, and that the government continued to be a

democracy from his time down to the insurrection and tyranny of Pisistratus. But falsehood, in general, passes current among the multitude because they are ignorant of history and believe all that they have heard from childhood in choirs and tragedies. And Theseus, in particular, is the subject of such a falsehood. For, in point of fact, not only was he king himself, but his descendants, after the death of Menestheus, continued to bear rule down to the third generation. If I cared to trace pedigrees, I could have enumerated the kings from Melanthus to Clidicus son of Aesimides.

3. Here, too, is painted the battle fought at Mantinea by the 4
Athenians, who were sent to help the Lacedaemonians. Xenophon and others have written the history of the whole war, including the seizure of the Cadmea, the defeat of the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, the Boeotian invasion of Peloponnese, and the arrival of an Athenian contingent to aid the Lacedaemonians. The picture represents the cavalry fight, in which the best-known figures are Grylus, the son of Xenophon, on the Athenian side, and Epaminondas the Theban among the Boeotian cavalry. Euphranor painted these pictures for the Athenians; and he also executed the Apollo, surnamed Paternal, in the temple hard by. In front of the temple is an image of the god by Leochares, and another by Calamis. The latter image is called Averter of Evil. They say this name was given to the god because by an oracle from Delphi he stayed the plague which afflicted Athens at the time of the Peloponnesian war.

4. There is a sanctuary also of the Mother of the Gods: her 5
image is a work of Phidias. Near it is the Council House of the Five Hundred, as they are called, who form the annual council of Athens. In the Council House are a wooden image of Counsellor Zeus, an Apollo by Pisias, and a figure of the People by Lyson. The picture of the Lawgivers is by Protogenes of Caunus: the portrait of Callipus, who led the Athenians to Thermopylae to prevent the irruption of the Gauls into Greece, is by Olbiades.

IV

1. These Gauls inhabit the farthest parts of Europe on the shore of a great sea, which at its extremities is not navigable. The sea ebbs and flows, and contains beasts quite unlike those in the rest of the sea. Through their country flows the river Eridanus, on whose banks people think that the daughters of the Sun bewail the fate of their brother Phaethon. The name Gauls came into vogue late, for of old the people were called Celts both by themselves and others. A host of them mustered and marched towards the Ionian Sea: they dispossessed the Illyrian nation and the Macedonians, as well as all the intervening peoples, and overran Thessaly. When they were come near to Thermopylae most of the Greeks awaited

passively the attack of the barbarians; for they had suffered heavily before at the hands of Alexander and Philip, and afterwards the nation had been brought low by Antipater and Cassander, so that in their weakness each thought it no shame to refrain from taking
2 part in the national defence. 2. But the Athenians, although they were more exhausted than any of the Greeks by the long Macedonian war and many defeats in battle, nevertheless appointed the said Callipus to the command, and hastened to Thermopylae with such of the Greeks as volunteered. Having seized the narrowest part of the pass, they attempted to hinder the barbarians from entering into Greece. But the Celts discovered the path by which Ephialtes the Trachinian once guided the Medes; and after overpowering the Phocians, who were posted on it, they crossed Mount Oeta
3 before the Greeks were aware. 3. Then it was that the Athenians rendered a great service to Greece; for on both sides, surrounded as they were, they kept the barbarians at bay. But their comrades on the ships laboured the most; for at Thermopylae the Lamian Gulf is a swamp, the cause of which, it seems to me, is the warm water that here flows into the sea. So their toil was the greater; for when they had taken the Greeks on board, they made shift to sail through
4 the mud in ships weighed down with arms and men. 4. Thus they strove to save the Greeks in the way I have described. But the Gauls were inside of Pylae; and, scorning to capture the other towns, they were bent on plundering Delphi and the treasures of the god. The Delphians, and those of the Phocians who inhabit the cities round about Parnassus, put themselves in array against them, and there came also a force of Aetolians; for at that time the Aetolian race excelled in youthful vigour. But when they came to close quarters, thunderbolts and rocks, breaking away from Parnassus, came hurtling down upon the Gauls; and dreadful shapes of men in arms appeared against the barbarians. They say that two of these phantom warriors, Hyperochus and Amadocus, came from the Hyperboreans, and that the third was Pyrrhus, son of Achilles. For this help in battle the Delphians sacrifice to Pyrrhus as to a hero, though formerly they held his very tomb in dishonour as that of a foe.

5 5. Most of the Gauls crossed to Asia in ships and plundered the sea-coast. But afterwards the people of Pergamus, which was called Teuthrania of old, drove them away from the sea into the country now called Galatia. They captured Ancyra, a city of the Phrygians, founded in former days by Midas, son of Gordius, and took possession of the land beyond the Sangarius. The anchor which Midas found still existed, even down to my time, in the sanctuary of Zeus; and there is a fountain called the fountain of Midas: they say that Midas mixed wine with the water of the fountain to catch Silenus. This town of Ancyra, then, was captured

by the Gauls, and likewise Pessinus under Mount Agdistis, where they say that Attis is buried. 6. The Pergamenians have spoils 6
taken from the Gauls, and a picture representing the battle with them. The country inhabited by the Pergamenians is said to have been sacred to the Cabiri of old; but the Pergamenians themselves claim to be Arcadians of the band which crossed to Asia with Telephus. Of their other wars, if indeed they waged any, the fame has not gone abroad; but three most renowned achievements are theirs, to wit, the empire of lower Asia, the expulsion of the Gauls from thence, and Telephus' bold attack on the army of Agamemnon at the time when the Greeks, after missing Ilium, were plundering the Mysian plain in the belief that it was the land of Troy. But I return to the point from which I digressed.

V

1. Near the Council House of the Five Hundred is the so-called Rotunda. Here the Presidents sacrifice, and here, too, are certain silver images of no great size. Higher up stand statues of the heroes from whom the Athenian tribes afterwards got their names. Herodotus has told who it was that established ten tribes instead of four and replaced their old names by new ones. 2. The eponymous 2
heroes, for so they call them, are, first, Hipothoon, son of Poseidon by Alope, daughter of Cercyon; second, Antiochus, one of the children of Hercules, who had him by Meda, daughter of Phylas; third, Ajax, son of Telamon; and the following Athenians, to wit, Leos, who is said to have given his daughters for the public safety at the bidding of the oracle; Erechtheus, who vanquished the Eleusinians in battle, and slew their leader Immaradus, son of Eumolpus; Aegeus; Oeneus, bastard son of Pandion; and Acamas, one of the sons of Theseus.

3. I saw also the statues of Cecrops and Pandion amongst the 3
eponymous heroes, but which Cecrops and which Pandion they hold in honour I do not know. For there were two kings of the name of Cecrops: the first married the daughter of Actaeus, and the second migrated to Euboea; the latter was the son of Erechtheus, who was the son of Pandion, who was the son of Erichthonius. Similarly there were two kings called Pandion: one was the son of Erichthonius, the other was the son of Cecrops the second. The latter Pandion was driven from the throne by the Metionids, and fled with his children to Megara; for his wife was a daughter of Pylas, king of Megara. It is said that Pandion fell sick and died there, and his tomb is by the sea-shore in the land of Megara, on a bluff, which is called the bluff of Diver-bird Athena. 4. His sons drove 4
out the Metionids and returned from Megara; and Aegeus, being the eldest, obtained the kingdom of Athens. But in respect of his

daughters Pandion was unlucky, and they left no children to avenge him, although it was for the sake of power that he had connected himself by marriage with the Thracian prince. However, there is no way whereby man can evade the decrees of heaven. They say that Tereus, though wedded to Procne, outraged Philomela in defiance of Greek law; and having moreover mutilated the damsel, he impelled the women to take vengeance. There is another statue of Pandion on the Acropolis which is worth seeing.

5 5. These are the old eponymous heroes of Athens. But in later times there were tribes called after Attalus the Mysian and Ptolemy the Egyptian; and in my time there was also a tribe called after the Emperor Hadrian, the prince who did most for the glory of God and the happiness of his subjects. He never made war of his own free will, but he quelled the revolt of the Hebrews who dwell over above the Syrians. The sanctuaries that he either built or adorned with votive offerings and other fittings, and the gifts that he bestowed on Greek cities and the barbarians who sought his bounty, are all recorded at Athens in the common sanctuary of the gods.

VI

1. The age of Attalus and Ptolemy is so remote that the tradition of it has passed away, and the writings of the historians whom the kings engaged to record their deeds fell into neglect still sooner. For these reasons I propose to narrate their exploits, and the manner in which the sovereignty of Egypt, of Mysia,
2 and of the border lands, devolved on their ancestors. 2. The Macedonians believe that Ptolemy, though nominally the son of Lagus, was really the son of Philip, son of Amyntas; for they say that his mother was with child when Philip gave her in marriage to Lagus. Amongst other brilliant exploits of Ptolemy in Asia, it is said that when Alexander was in danger amongst the Oxydracians it was Ptolemy more than any of his comrades who came to his rescue. On the death of Alexander he opposed those who would have transferred the whole power to Aridaeus, son of Philip, and the division of the nations into separate
3 kingdoms was mainly due to him. 3. After passing into Egypt he put to death Cleomenes, the satrap of Egypt appointed by Alexander, because he believed him to be favourable to Perdiccas, and therefore not faithful to himself. He prevailed on the Macedonians who were charged with the conveyance of Alexander's body to Aegae to deliver it to himself, and he buried it in Macedonian fashion at Memphis. But knowing that Perdiccas would go to war, he kept Egypt on the watch. To lend a colour to his expedition, Perdiccas brought with him Aridaeus, son of Philip, and the young Alexander, son of Alexander by Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes; but his real

object was to deprive Ptolemy of the kingdom of Egypt. However, he was repulsed: his military reputation declined; and being unpopular with the Macedonians for other reasons, he fell by the hands of his body-guards.

4. The death of Perdiccas at once elevated Ptolemy to power: he conquered Syria and Phoenicia; and when Seleucus, son of Antiochus, was expelled by Antigonus and fled to him, he received him and prepared to retaliate on Antigonus. He induced Antipater's son, Cassander, and Lysimachus, king of Thrace, to take part in the war, by representing to them the flight of Seleucus and the formidable growth of Antigonus' power. 4

5. For a time Antigonus was occupied with preparing for war, and did not care to face the hazard. But when he heard that Ptolemy had been called away to Libya by the revolt of Cyrene, he at once overran Syria and Phoenicia, and then, entrusting them to his son Demetrius, a youth with a reputation for wisdom above his years, marched towards the Hellespont. But before reaching the sea, he led his army back again on hearing that Demetrius had been defeated in battle by Ptolemy. Demetrius, however, had not been forced by Ptolemy to evacuate the country wholly, and he had even surprised and cut to pieces a handful of Egyptian troops. Ptolemy did not await the arrival of Antigonus, but retired to Egypt. 6. When the winter was over Demetrius sailed to Cyprus and defeated Menelaus, Ptolemy's satrap, in a sea-fight, and afterwards, when Ptolemy himself attacked him, he treated him in the same way. Ptolemy fled to Egypt, where he was besieged by Antigonus and Demetrius by sea and land. His peril was extreme, but he saved his kingdom, his army encamping over against the enemy at Pelusium, and his galleys assailing them from the river. In these circumstances Antigonus had no longer any hope of conquering Egypt, but he despatched Demetrius with a powerful army and fleet against Rhodes, hoping, if he could attach the island to his cause, to use it as a base of operations against Egypt. But the Rhodians sustained the siege with valour and skill, and Ptolemy put forth all his power to assist them. 7. Baffled in Rhodes and Egypt, Antigonus not long afterwards ventured to take the field against Lysimachus, Cassander, and the forces of Seleucus. But he lost most of his army, and fell himself, worn out chiefly by the long war against Eumenes. Of the kings who overthrew Antigonus, the wickedest in my opinion was Cassander, who, though it was by Antigonus' means that he had recovered the government of Macedonia, nevertheless marched to make war on his benefactor. 5 6 7

8. On the death of Antigonus, Ptolemy recovered Syria, conquered Cyprus, and restored Pyrrhus to Thesprotia in Epirus. Cyrene had revolted, but was taken in the fourth year after the revolt by Magas, son of Berenice, whom Ptolemy at that time had to wife. If 8

Ptolemy was really the son of Philip, son of Amyntas; it must have been from his father that he inherited his mania for women. When he was married to Eurydice, daughter of Antipater, and had children by her, he fell in love with Berenice, whom Antipater had sent to Egypt in Eurydice's train. She took his fancy and he had children by her; and when his end was near, he left the kingdom of Egypt to Ptolemy, his son by her, and not by the daughter of Antipater. This Ptolemy, son of Berenice, is he who gave his name to the Athenian tribe.

VII

1. This Ptolemy fell in love with his full sister, Arsinoe, and married her, contrary to the customs of the Macedonians, but agreeably to those of the Egyptians over whom he ruled. Next he put to death his brother Argaeus, because he was plotting against him, as is said. It was Ptolemy who brought down the body of Alexander from Memphis. He also put to death another brother, a son of Eurydice, because he learnt that he was inciting the Cyprians to revolt. He had a uterine brother Magas, whom Berenice bore to Philip, an obscure and ignoble Macedonian. This Magas, having been promoted by his mother Berenice to the government of Cyrene, roused the Cyrenians to revolt, and marched against Egypt.
2 2. Ptolemy fortified the pass and awaited the attack of the Cyrenians. But tidings reached Magas on the march that the Marmarids, a tribe of Libyan nomads, had revolted; so he returned to Cyrene. Ptolemy would have hastened in pursuit, but was prevented by the following cause. When he was making ready to resist the attack of Magas, he engaged, amongst other mercenaries, four thousand Gauls; but finding that they were plotting to seize Egypt, he took them to a desert island on the river, where they perished by hunger and each
3 other's swords. 3. Magas, having to wife Apame, daughter of Antiochus, son of Seleucus, persuaded Antiochus to break the treaty which his father Seleucus had made with Ptolemy, and to march on Egypt. But when Antiochus was about to take the field, Ptolemy despatched troops against all his subjects: against the weaker he sent marauding bands to scour the country, while he held in check the more powerful by an army. So that Antiochus was never able to march against Egypt. I have already mentioned that this Ptolemy sent a fleet to support the Athenians against Antigonus and the Macedonians, but it did little to save Athens. His children were borne to him by Arsinoe, daughter of Lysimachus, not by his sister Arsinoe, who had previously died childless. A province of Egypt is called Arsinoites after her.

VIII

1. The subject requires that I should relate also the history of Attalus, for he is another of the eponymous heroes of Athens. A Macedonian named Docimus, a general of Antigonus, who afterwards surrendered himself and his treasures to Lysimachus, had a Paphlagonian eunuch Philetaerus. How Philetaerus revolted from Lysimachus and drew Seleucus over to his side, I shall take occasion to mention when I treat of Lysimachus. 2. Attalus was the son of Attalus, and nephew of Philetaerus, and he succeeded to the dominion which his cousin Eumenes transmitted to him. His greatest achievement was compelling the Gauls to retreat from the coast into the territory which they still occupy.

3. After the statues of the eponymous heroes, there are images 2
of gods, to wit, Amphiaraus, and Peace carrying the child Wealth. Here is a bronze statue of Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, and another of Callias, who, as most of the Athenians relate, negotiated the peace between the Greeks and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes. 4. There is also a statue of Demosthenes, whom the Athenians forced to withdraw to Calauria, the island off Troezen: afterwards they received him back, but banished him again after the defeat at Lamia. In his second exile Demosthenes crossed once more to Calauria, 3
where he drank poison and died: he was the only Greek exile whom Archias did not deliver up to Antipater and the Macedonians. This Archias was a native of Thurii, and did a foul deed: he brought to Antipater for punishment all who had sided against the Macedonians before the overthrow of the Greeks in Thessaly. Such was the end of the great love that Demosthenes bore his country. Well, methinks, has it been said that the man who throws himself heart and soul into a political career and puts his trust in the people never yet came to a good end. 5. Near 4
the statue of Demosthenes is a sanctuary of Ares, where are two images of Aphrodite: the image of Ares was made by Alcamenes, that of Athena by a native of Paros named Locrus. Here, too, is an image of Enyo, made by the sons of Praxiteles. Round about the temple stand images of Hercules, Theseus, and Apollo binding his hair with a fillet; and there are statues of Calades, who is said to have drawn up laws for the Athenians, and of Pindar, who received this statue and other honours from the Athenians, because he praised them in a song. Not far off stand statues of Harmodius 5
and Aristogiton, who slew Hipparchus: the cause and the manner of the deed have been told by others. These statues are by Critias; but the old ones were made by Antenor. Xerxes carried them off with other booty when he captured Athens after its evacuation by the Athenians; but Antiochus afterwards sent them back to Athens

6 6. Before the entrance of the theatre which they call the Music Hall, are statues of Egyptian kings. All bear the name of Ptolemy, but each has a surname of his own: one they call Philometer, another Philadelphus, while another, the son of Lagus, is called Soter ('saviour'), a name bestowed upon him by the Rhodians. Philadelphus is he whom I mentioned among the eponymous heroes. Near him is a statue of his sister Arsinoe.

IX

1. Ptolemy, surnamed Philometer, was the seventh in descent from Ptolemy, son of Lagus. His surname was given to him sarcastically, for none of the kings is known to have been hated so heartily by his mother. Though he was her eldest son she would not suffer him to be called to the throne, but had previously contrived that he should be sent by his father to Cyprus. For the ill-will that Cleopatra bore her son various causes are alleged; amongst others that she expected that her younger son Alexander would be more dutiful. 2. Therefore she would fain have persuaded
2 the Egyptians to elect Alexander king. When the multitude opposed, she sent Alexander to Cyprus, nominally as general, but really because she wished by his means to overawe Ptolemy. Lastly, she caused the eunuchs whom she deemed most attached to her to be wounded, and then brought them before the multitude, pretending that Ptolemy had plotted against her and had treated her eunuchs thus. The Alexandrines rushed to kill Ptolemy, but he escaped from them on shipboard; so they made Alexander, who had
3 returned from Cyprus, their king. 3. Retribution overtook Cleopatra for Ptolemy's exile: she was put to death by Alexander, whom she had herself been instrumental in setting on the throne of Egypt. When the crime came to light and Alexander fled for fear of the people, Ptolemy returned and made himself master of Egypt for the second time. He made war on the rebel Thebans, and having subdued them in the second year after the revolt, he treated them with such severity that not even a memorial was left of that golden age in which the riches of Thebes had surpassed the riches both of the Delphic sanctuary and of Orchomenus, the two wealthiest places in Greece. Not long afterwards Ptolemy came by his appointed end, and the Athenians, who had received at his hands many benefits which I need not specify, set up bronze statues of him and of Berenice, his only legitimate child.

4 4. After the Egyptians are statues of Philip and Alexander his son: their achievements were too great to be described in a parenthesis. The Egyptian kings were real benefactors, and the honours bestowed on them were a tribute of true respect; but the compliment to Philip and Alexander was rather the fruit of popular adulation; and even the

statue of Lysimachus was erected from motives of temporary interest rather than esteem.

5. This Lysimachus was a Macedonian, and one of Alexander's 5
guard. Alexander once in a rage shut him up in a lion's den; but finding that he overcame the beast, Alexander admired him ever afterwards, and honoured him with the noblest of the Macedonians. After Alexander's death Lysimachus reigned over those Thracian tribes bordering on Macedonia over whom Alexander and Philip before him had ruled. 6. These tribes are probably but a small part of the Thracian stock; for no single nation, except the Celts, is more numerous than the Thracians collectively. Hence no one ever conquered the whole Thracian people till the Romans did so. But the whole of Thrace is subject to the Romans, who hold also all the lands of the Celts that are worth having, disregarding only such as they deem useless on account of the severity of the cold or the poverty of the soil. 7. The first of the neigh- 6
bouring tribes on whom Lysimachus made war were the Odrysians. Next he marched against the Getae and their chief Dromichaetes. Having engaged a far superior force of that warlike tribe, he had a hairbreadth escape himself; but his son Agathocles, then serving his first campaign with him, fell into the hands of the Getae. Fresh defeats and anxiety at the captivity of his son induced him to conclude a peace with Dromichaetes, whereby he ceded to that chief all his domains beyond the Danube, and gave him, somewhat reluctantly, his daughter to wife. Some say that it was not Agathocles, but Lysimachus himself who fell into the hands of the enemy, and that he was rescued by Agathocles, who negotiated on his behalf with the Getan chief. On his return he married Agathocles to Lysandra, daughter of Ptolemy (the son of Lagus) and Eurydice. 8. He also crossed over to Asia and helped to put an 7
end to the rule of Antigonus. He founded, too, the present city of Ephesus down to the sea, importing inhabitants from Lebedus and Colophon, which cities he destroyed, so that the iambic poet Phoenix lamented the capture of Colophon. I suppose that Hermesianax, the elegiac poet, was no longer in life, else no doubt he too would have bewailed the taking of Colophon. 9. Lysimachus also engaged in a war with Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides. Taking advantage of the departure of Pyrrhus from Epirus, for indeed Pyrrhus was generally roving, he pillaged the country and advanced as far as the sepulchres of the kings. 10. The rest of the story is to me 8
incredible; but Hieronymus the Cardian states that Lysimachus opened the sepulchres and scattered the bones of the dead. This Hieronymus has the reputation of having written disparagingly of the kings in general except Antigonus, to whom he is said to have been unduly partial. As to the graves of the Epirots in particular, it is perfectly plain that the story of a Macedonian having opened

the sepulchres of the dead is a scurrilous fabrication of the writer. Besides, Lysimachus was of course aware that they were the forefathers of Alexander as well as of Pyrrhus; for Alexander was an Epirot and an Aeacid by his mother's side. Moreover, the subsequent alliance of Pyrrhus with Lysimachus proves that even as enemies they had not proceeded to extremities. Hieronymus may have had other grudges against Lysimachus, but certainly he had one very strong one: Lysimachus had destroyed the city of Cardia, and had founded Lysimachia in its stead on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese.

X

1. During the reign of Aridaeus, and afterwards of Cassander and his sons, Lysimachus continued on friendly terms with the Macedonians. But when the sovereignty devolved on Demetrius, son of Antigonus, Lysimachus made sure that he would be attacked by that prince, and resolved to take the initiative. For he knew that Demetrius inherited his father's grasping ambition, and perceived that no sooner had he set foot in Macedonia, whither he had been summoned by Alexander, son of Cassander, than he had murdered
2 Alexander and reigned in his stead. 2. But having encountered Demetrius at Amphipolis, he was near being driven from Thrace. However, Pyrrhus came to his help and so he retained Thrace, and afterwards reigned over the Nestians and Macedonians. But the greater part of Macedonia Pyrrhus kept in his own hands by means of the military force which he had brought with him from Epirus, and of the friendly footing on which, for the time being, he stood with Lysimachus. The alliance between the two lasted so long as Demetrius, who had crossed into Asia, was able to hold his own in the war with Seleucus. But when Demetrius fell into the hands of Seleucus the friendship between Lysimachus and Pyrrhus was dissolved and they went to war. By a decisive victory gained over Antigonus, son of Demetrius, as well as over Pyrrhus himself, Lysimachus made himself master of Macedonia, and
3 compelled Pyrrhus to retreat into Epirus. 3. Love is the source of many misfortunes to mankind, as Lysimachus learned to his cost. For at an advanced age, blest with children and grandchildren—for Agathocles had children by Lysandra—he married Lysandra's sister Arsinoe. This Arsinoe is said to have plotted against Agathocles, from fear that her children would be at his mercy on the death of Lysimachus. It has been stated by some writers that Arsinoe conceived a passion for Agathocles, which being unrequited, she plotted his death. They say that his wife's wickedness afterwards came to the knowledge of Lysimachus, but that he could do
4 nothing, being bereft of all his friends. 4. When Lysimachus,

then, left Arsinoe free to make away with Agathocles, Lysandra fled to Seleucus, taking her children and brothers with her. . . . Alexander, a son of Lysimachus by an Odrysian woman, followed them in their flight to Seleucus. So they went up to Babylon and besought Seleucus to go to war with Lysimachus. And at the same time Philetaerus, to whose care were committed Lysimachus' treasures, indignant at the death of Agathocles, and suspicious of Arsinoe, seized Pergamus on the Caicus, and sent a herald to surrender himself and the treasures to Seleucus. 5. No sooner did 5
all this come to the ears of Lysimachus, than he made haste to cross over into Asia, and, assuming the offensive, gave battle to Seleucus; but he was decisively defeated and slain. Alexander, his son by the Odrysian woman, succeeded by many prayers addressed to Lysandra in obtaining his body, which he afterwards conveyed to the Chersonese, and buried in the place where his grave is still to be seen, between the village of Cardia and Pactya. Such was the history of Lysimachus.

XI

1. The Athenians have a statue of Pyrrhus also. This Pyrrhus was related to Alexander only by ancestry. For Pyrrhus was a son of Aeacides, the son of Arybbas, and Alexander was a son of Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus; and Neoptolemus and Arybbas were sons of Alcetas the son of Tharypas. From Tharypas to Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, there are fifteen generations. After the taking of Ilium, Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, was the first who, disdaining to return to Thessaly, landed in Epirus, and there took up his abode in compliance with the oracles of Helenus. He had no child by Hermione, but by Andromache he had Molossus and Pielus and Pergamus, his youngest son. After Pyrrhus' death at Delphi, Andromache married Helenus, and bore him a son, Cestrinus. 2. When Helenus died and bequeathed the kingdom 2
to Molossus, son of Pyrrhus, Cestrinus with a band of Epirot volunteers took possession of the land beyond the river Thyamis. And Pergamus crossed over to Asia and engaged in a single combat for the sovereignty with Arius, lord of Teuthrania, and slew him, and gave to the city his own name, which it still bears. Andromache accompanied him, and she has a shrine in the city to this day. But Pielus abode in Epirus, and it was to him, and not to Molossus, that Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides, and his fathers traced their ancestry.

3. Down to the time of Alcetas, son of Tharypas, Epirus was 3
under one king; but the sons of Alcetas quarrelled and resolved to share the government equally. They remained loyal to each other; and afterwards, when Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, died

in Lucania, and Olympias had returned to Epirus from fear of Antipater, Aeacides, son of Arybbas, remained obedient to her, and marched with her against Aridaeus and the Macedonians,
4 though the Epirots were not willing to follow him. 4. But Olympias, on being victorious, behaved infamously in regard to the death of Aridaeus, and far more infamously towards certain Macedonians; for which reason she was thought to have afterwards received no more than she deserved at the hands of Cassander. Even the Epirots hated her so much that at first they would not receive Aeacides. When in course of time he had obtained their forgiveness his return to Epirus was next opposed by Cassander. A battle was fought at Oeniadae between Aeacides and Cassander's brother Philip, in which Aeacides was wounded and died not long afterwards.

5 5. The Epirots now recalled Alcetas and raised him to the throne. He was a son of Arybbas and elder brother of Aeacides, but a man of such unbridled passions that his father had expelled him the kingdom. On his return he at once began to vent his fury on the Epirots, till they rose up against him by night and put him and his children to death. Having slain him they recalled Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides. Scarcely was he come when Cassander, taking advantage of his youth and of his being not yet firmly established on the throne, marched against him. But at the approach of the Macedonians Pyrrhus betook himself to Egypt, to the court of Ptolemy, son of Lagus; and Ptolemy gave him to wife the uterine sister of his own children, and restored him at the head of an
6 Egyptian armament. 6. On coming to the throne, the first of the Greeks whom Pyrrhus attacked were the Corcyraeans, because he saw that their island lay off his own coast, and he did not wish that others should use it as a base of operations against himself. After the capture of Corcyra, what he suffered in the war with Lysimachus, and how he expelled Demetrius, and reigned over Macedonia till he was in turn expelled by Lysimachus, these events, the most important in Pyrrhus' career up to that time, have been already told by
7 me in my account of Lysimachus. 7. We know of no Greek before Pyrrhus who warred with the Romans; for it is said that Diomede and his Argives fought no more battles with Aeneas. The conquest of all Italy was one of the many dreams of Athenian ambition, but the Syracusan disaster prevented Athens from measuring her strength with Rome. Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, a kinsman of Pyrrhus, but older, fell in Lucania before he crossed swords with the Romans.

XII

1. Thus Pyrrhus is the first who crossed the Ionian Sea from Greece to attack the Romans. He did so at the invitation of the

Tarentines. 2. They had been involved in war with the Romans before they summoned him, but being unable by themselves to hold out they persuaded him to join them. They had previously done him a service by aiding him with ships in his war against Corcyra. But what chiefly moved him were the representations of the Tarentine envoys that Italy was as rich as the whole of Greece put together, and that it would not be right in him to give the go-by to friends who now implored his protection. The words of the envoys brought to Pyrrhus' mind the capture of Ilium, and he hoped for a like success, seeing that he was a descendant of Achilles, and that his adversaries would be Trojan colonists. As soon as he had 2
accepted the proposal—for he was not in the habit of dallying when his resolution was taken—he manned war-ships and fitted out transports for the conveyance of horses and infantry. 3. There are certain works by obscure historians that bear the title of Memoirs. In reading them I am struck with profound wonder, both at the personal daring which Pyrrhus displayed in battle, and at the foresight with which he provided for future encounters. Thus, he passed the sea to Italy unknown to the Romans, and at first concealed his arrival from them. It was in a battle between the Tarentines and Romans that he first showed himself with his army, and his unlooked-for attack naturally threw the Romans into confusion. Being well aware that he was no match for the Romans in 3
the field, he made ready to let loose the elephants on them. 4. Alexander was the first European who acquired elephants after his conquest of Porus and the Indian host. On the death of Alexander others of the kings acquired elephants, but Antigonus got the most. The beasts were captured by Pyrrhus after the battle with Demetrius. At their appearance a panic now seized the Romans, who fancied they were no mere animals. Of course ivory, as applied 4
to manufactures and the use of man, has been known to all men from of old; but, except the Indians themselves and the Libyans and their neighbours, no one had beheld the beasts themselves until the Macedonians crossed into Asia. This is clear from the evidence of Homer, who represents the couches and houses of the wealthier kings as adorned with ivory, but makes no mention of an elephant. Whereas if he had seen or heard of them, he would, it seems to me, have much rather mentioned them than a battle of pygmies and cranes. 5. An embassy from Syracuse diverted Pyrrhus to Sicily. 5
For the Carthaginians had crossed over and were laying waste the Greek cities: Syracuse alone was left, and they were already besieging it. When Pyrrhus heard this from the ambassadors, he left Tarentum and the Italiots of the coast to shift for themselves, and crossing to Sicily, forced the Carthaginians to retreat from Syracuse. Confident in himself, he now aspired to fight the Carthaginians at sea with only his Epirots to help him, though of all the barbarians

of that age the Carthaginians were the most experienced seamen, being descended from Phoenicians of Tyre, whereas the Epirots, even after the taking of Ilium, were generally ignorant of the sea and of the use of salt. A verse of Homer in the *Odyssey* bears me out :—

> Men who know not the sea,
> Nor eat food seasoned with salt.

XIII

1. After his defeat Pyrrhus sailed for Tarentum with the remainder of his fleet. There he suffered a severe reverse, and knowing that the Romans would not let him go without fighting, he provided for his retreat in the following manner. After being defeated on his return from Sicily, he first of all sent letters to various parts of Asia, and especially to Antigonus, asking some of the kings for men and others for money; but from Antigonus he asked both. When the messengers were come and letters were delivered to him, he called together the captains both of his Epirots and of the Tarentines, and without reading them a word of the letters which he had received, he assured them that aid would come. A report soon reached the Romans also that the Macedonians and other nations of Asia were crossing over to the help of Pyrrhus. Hearing this the Romans remained inactive. But that very night Pyrrhus crossed over to the headlands of the Ceraunian Mountains.

2 2. When he had rested his army after their discomfiture in Italy, he declared war against Antigonus, charging him, among other offences, with having failed to support him in Italy. Having beaten the forces of Antigonus and his Gallic mercenaries, he drove them into the maritime cities, while he made himself master of Upper Macedonia and of Thessaly. The greatness of the battle and the decisive nature of Pyrrhus' victory are best shown by the Celtic arms dedicated in the sanctuary of Itonian Athena, between Pherae and Larissa, with the following inscription :—

3 Pyrrhus the Molossian hung up these shields as a gift to Itonian Athena :
From the bold Gauls he took them
When he conquered all the host of Antigonus. And no wonder;
For the Aeacids are warriors now as of old.

These he dedicated there. But the shields of the Macedonians he dedicated to Zeus at Dodona : they bear the inscription :—

> These shields once laid waste the golden Asian land,
> These shields brought slavery upon the Greeks ;
> But now they hang ownerless on the pillars Aqueous Zeus,
> Spoils of the boastful Macedon.

3. Pyrrhus came very near subjugating Macedonia completely; 4
indeed, he was only prevented from doing so by Cleonymus, who
persuaded him—ever ready as he was to grasp at whatever came to
hand — to quit Macedonia and repair to Peloponnese. Why
Cleonymus, himself a Lacedaemonian, should have brought a
hostile army into Lacedaemonian territory, I will explain, but I
must first set forth his lineage. Pausanias, who led the Greeks at
Plataea, had a son Plistoanax, who had a son Pausanias, who had a
son Cleombrotus, who fell fighting Epaminondas and the Thebans
at Leuctra. Cleombrotus had two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes;
and Agesipolis dying childless, Cleomenes came to the throne. To 5
Cleomenes were born two sons, Acrotatus the elder, and Cleonymus
the younger. Acrotatus died first; and when Cleomenes died
afterwards, Areus, son of Acrotatus, claimed the throne, and
Cleonymus in some way or other prevailed on Pyrrhus to march
into the country.

4. Before the battle of Leuctra the Lacedaemonians had never
suffered a reverse, so that they did not acknowledge to having been
ever beaten on land. For they said that Leonidas was victorious,
but had not men enough to annihilate the Medes; and as for the
action with the Athenians under Demosthenes at the island of
Spacteria, they asserted it was a cheat and not a victory. But after 6
their first disaster in Boeotia they sustained a severe reverse at the
hands of Antipater and the Macedonians; and the invasion of
Demetrius was a third and unexpected calamity.

5. In the invasion of Pyrrhus, seeing for the fourth time a
hostile army, they drew out in order of battle with their Argive and
Messenian allies. Pyrrhus was victorious, and came very near
taking the city without resistance; but after ravaging the country
and driving off booty he remained for a little while inactive. The
Lacedaemonians made ready for a siege, Sparta having been already,
in the war with Demetrius, fortified with deep ditches, a strong
palisade, and at the weakest points with masonry. 6. Meantime, 7
while the Laconian war was lingering on, Antigonus had recovered
the cities of Macedonia, and he now hastened to Peloponnese,
aware that, if Pyrrhus conquered Lacedaemon and the better
part of Peloponnese, he would not go to Epirus, but would return
to Macedonia to renew the war. Antigonus was about to move his
army from Argos into Laconia, when Pyrrhus came to Argos in
person. Pyrrhus was once more victorious, and pursued the fugitives
into the city, where his troops naturally broke their ranks. 7. The 8
fight now raging beside sanctuaries and houses, in the streets, and up
and down the city, Pyrrhus was left alone, and received a wound
in the head: they say that he was killed by a tile flung by a woman;
but the Argives say that it was not a woman that slew him, but
Demeter in the likeness of a woman. This is the tale which the

Argives tell about the death of Pyrrhus, and which Lyceas, the local antiquary, has told in verse. On the spot where Pyrrhus fell there is a sanctuary of Demeter: it was erected in obedience to an oracle,
9 and in it Pyrrhus is buried. 8. It strikes me as wonderful that so many of the Aeacids should have died in the same way by the visitation of God. For Homer says that Achilles was slain by Alexander, son of Priam, and by Apollo; the Pythian priestess ordered the Delphians to kill Pyrrhus, son of Achilles; and the son of Aeacides came by his end in the way which the Argives narrate in prose and Lyceas in verse. Their account, however, differs from that of the historian Hieronymus of Cardia. History written by a courtier must needs be partial; and if Philistus is fairly excused for concealing the worst excesses of Dionysius, because he hoped to be restored to Syracuse, Hieronymus may surely be pardoned for writing to please Antigonus. The great age of Epirot history ended thus.

XIV

1. On entering the Music Hall at Athens we observe, among other things, an image of Dionysus which is worth seeing. Near the Music Hall is a fountain called Enneacrunus ('with nine jets'). It was adorned as at present by Pisistratus. For though there are wells throughout all the city, this is the only spring. Above the fountain are temples: one of them is a temple of Demeter and the Maid (*Kore*), in the other there is an image of Triptolemus. 2. I will tell the story of Triptolemus, omitting what relates to Deiope.
2 Of all the Greeks it is the Argives who most dispute the claim of the Athenians to antiquity and to the possession of gifts of the gods, just as among the barbarians it is the Egyptians who dispute the claims of the Phrygians. The story runs that when Demeter came to Argos, Pelasgus received her in his house, and that Chrysanthis, knowing the rape of the Maid, told it to her. They say that afterwards Trochilus, a priest of the mysteries, fled from Argos on account of the enmity of Agenor, and came to Attica, where he married an Eleusinian wife, and there were born to him two sons, Eubuleus and Triptolemus. This is the Argive story. But the Athenians and those who take their side know that Triptolemus the son of Celeus was the first who sowed cultivated
3 grain. However, some verses of Musaeus (if his they are) declare Triptolemus to be a child of Ocean and Earth; while other verses, which are attributed, in my opinion, with just as little reason, to Orpheus, assert that Eubuleus and Triptolemus were sons of Dysaules, and that, as a reward for the information they gave her about her daughter, Demeter allowed them to sow the grain. Choerilus the Athenian, in a drama called *Alope*, says that Cercyon

and Triptolemus were brothers, that their mother was a daughter of Amphictyon, but that the father of Triptolemus was Rarus, and that the father of Cercyon was Poseidon. I purposed to pursue the subject, and describe all the objects that admit of description in the sanctuary at Athens called the Eleusinium, but I was prevented from so doing by a vision in a dream. I will therefore turn to what may be lawfully told to everybody. 3. In front of this temple, in 4
which is the image of Triptolemus, stands a bronze ox as in the act of being led to sacrifice; and Epimenides the Cnosian is portrayed sitting, of whom they say that going into the country he entered a cave and slept, and did not awake till forty years had come and gone, and afterwards he made verses and purified cities, Athens among the rest. Thales, who stayed the plague at Lacedaemon, was in no way related to Epimenides, nor did he belong to the same city; for Epimenides was a Cnosian, but Thales was a Gortynian, according to Polymnastus the Colophonian, who composed verses on him for the Lacedaemonians. 4. Farther on is a 5
temple of Good Fame, another offering from the spoils of the Medes who landed at Marathon in Attica. I surmise that this is the victory of which the Athenians were proudest. Even Aeschylus, in the prospect of death, though his reputation as a poet stood so high, and he had fought in the sea-fights of Artemisium and Salamis, recorded nothing but his father's name, and his own name, and his city, and that the grove at Marathon and the Medes who landed in it were the witnesses of his manhood. 5. Above the Ceramicus and 6
the Royal Colonnade is a temple of Hephaestus. Knowing the story about Erichthonius, I was not surprised that an image of Athena stood beside Hephaestus; but observing that Athena's image had blue eyes, I recognised the Libyan version of the myth. For the Libyans say that she is a daughter of Poseidon and the Tritonian lake, and that therefore she, like Poseidon, has blue eyes. 6. Hard by is a sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite. The 7
first people to worship the Heavenly Goddess were the Assyrians, and next to them were the inhabitants of Paphos in Cyprus and the Phoenicians of Ascalon in Palestine. The Cytherians learnt the worship from the Phoenicians. Aegeus introduced it into Athens, deeming that his own childlessness (for up to that time he had no offspring) and the misfortune of his sisters were due to the wrath of the Heavenly Goddess. The image still existing in my time is of Parian marble, and is a work of Phidias. However, there is an Athenian township, Athmonia, the inhabitants of which say that their sanctuary of the Heavenly Goddess was founded by Porphyrion, who reigned before Actaeus. There are other stories which the people of the townships tell quite differently from the people of the capital.

XV

1. On the way to the colonnade, which from its paintings they call the Painted Colonnade, there is a bronze Hermes, surnamed Hermes of the Market, and near it a gate. On this gate there is a trophy of a victory gained by the Athenian cavalry over Plistarchus, who commanded the cavalry and the mercenary troops of his brother Cassander. 2. The first painting in this colonnade represents the Athenians arrayed against the Lacedaemonians at Oenoe in Argolis: the painter has not depicted the heat of battle, when doughty deeds are done: the fight is just beginning, the combatants are still
2 advancing to the encounter. On the middle wall are Theseus and the Athenians fighting the Amazons. It would appear that the intrepidity of the Amazons alone was not abated by reverses; for though Themiscyra was taken by Hercules, and though afterwards the army which they sent against Athens was destroyed, nevertheless they came to Troy to fight the Athenians and all the Greeks. 3. Next after the Amazons is a picture of the Greeks after their conquest of Ilium: the kings are gathered together to consult on the outrage offered by Ajax to Cassandra: Ajax himself appears in the
3 picture, also Cassandra and other captive women. 4. The last painting depicts the combatants at Marathon: the Boeotians of Plataea and all the men of Attica are closing with the barbarians. In this part of the picture the combatants are evenly matched; but farther on the barbarians are fleeing and pushing each other into the marsh. At the extremity of the picture are the Phoenician ships and the Greeks slaughtering the barbarians who are rushing into the ships. Here, too, are depicted the hero Marathon, after whom the plain was named; Theseus, seeming to rise out of the earth; and Athena and Hercules; for the people of Marathon, according to their own account, were the first to regard Hercules as a god. Of the combatants the most conspicuous in the painting are Callimachus, who had been chosen to command the Athenians; Miltiades, one of the generals; and a hero called Echetlus, of whom I shall afterwards
4 make mention again. 5. In this colonnade are some bronze shields, on some of which there is an inscription stating that they were taken from the Scionians and their allies; but those shields which are smeared with pitch to preserve them from the injurious effects of time and rust, are said to be the shields of the Lacedaemonians who were taken in the island of Sphacteria.

XVI

1. There are bronze statues of Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, and Seleucus. The former stands in front of the colonnade, the latter

a little farther off. To Seleucus were vouchsafed beforehand no obscure tokens of his future greatness; for as he was sacrificing to Zeus at Pella, before setting out from Macedonia with Alexander, the wood lying on the altar advanced of itself to the image and took fire without any light being applied to it. After the death of Alexander, Seleucus, fearing Antigonus, who had come to Babylon, fled to Ptolemy, son of Lagus; but returning to Babylon, he vanquished the army of Antigonus and slew Antigonus himself; and when Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, afterwards marched against him, Seleucus took him prisoner. Being thus successful, and having 2
shortly afterwards vanquished Lysimachus, he committed the whole empire of Asia to his son Antiochus, and hastened in person to Macedonia. 2. He had with him an army of Greeks and barbarians. But when his army had advanced to Lysimachia he was assassinated by Ptolemy, brother of Lysandra. This Ptolemy had fled to him from Lysimachus, and was called Thunderbolt from his daring character. The assassin gave up the treasures to the guards to plunder, and reigned over Macedonia until, venturing to give battle to the Gauls (he was the first king we know of who did so), he was slain by them, and Antigonus the son of Demetrius regained the sovereignty. 3. Seleucus I believe to have been one of the 3
justest and most pious of kings; for he sent back to the Milesians at Branchidae the bronze Apollo which had been carried off by Xerxes to Ecbatana in Media; and when he founded Seleucia on the river Tigris, and brought Babylonian colonists to it, he left standing both the walls of Babylon and the sanctuary of Bel, and allowed the Chaldeans to dwell round about the sanctuary as before.

XVII

1. In the market-place of Athens, amongst other objects which are not universally known, there is an altar of Mercy, to whom, though he is of all gods the most helpful in human life and in the vicissitudes of fortune, the Athenians are the only Greeks who pay honour. Humanity is not the only characteristic of the Athenians: they are also more pious than other people, for they have altars of Modesty, of Rumour, and of Impulse. Clearly people who are more pious than their neighbours have a proportionate share of good luck. 2. In the gymnasium of Ptolemy, so called after its founder, not far 2
from the market-place, there are some stone figures of Hermes which are worth seeing, and a bronze statue of Ptolemy: here too are statues of Juba the Libyan and Chrysippus of Soli. Beside the gymnasium is a sanctuary of Theseus, with paintings of the Athenians fighting the Amazons. This war is represented also on the shield of Athena and on the pedestal of Olympian Zeus. In the sanctuary of Theseus there is also painted the battle of the Centaurs

and Lapiths: Theseus has already slain a Centaur, but the others
3 are fighting on equal terms. To those who may be unacquainted with the legend, the painting on the third wall is not clear, partly, no doubt, by reason of the effects of time, but partly also because Micon has not painted the whole story. 3. When Minos brought Theseus and the rest of the youthful band to Crete, he fell in love with Periboea; and when Theseus stoutly withstood him, Minos broke into angry abuse of him, and said he was no son of Poseidon, 'For,' said he, 'if I fling into the sea the signet ring I wear on my finger, you could not bring it back to me.' With these words, so runs the tale, he flung the ring into the sea, from which Theseus emerged with the signet ring and a golden crown, a gift of Amphitrite.
4 4. Of the death of Theseus many inconsistent tales are told. One story is that he was bound fast till Hercules brought him to the upper world. But the most plausible story I have heard is this. Theseus made a raid into the Thesprotian land to carry off the wife of the king; but he lost most of his army, and he and Perithous, who marched with him to forward his marriage, were taken and
5 kept bound by the Thesprotian king in Cichyrus. 5. Amongst the things worth seeing in the Thesprotian land is a sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona and an oak sacred to the god. Beside Cichyrus is a lake called the Acherusian Lake, and the river Acheron, and there too flows Cocytus, a joyless stream. It appears to me that Homer had seen these things, and boldly modelled his descriptions of hell on them, and that in particular he bestowed on the rivers of hell the names of the rivers in Thesprotis. 6. Now when Theseus was held a prisoner, the sons of Tyndareus marched against Aphidna and took it, and brought back Menestheus and set him on the
6 throne. The sons of Theseus took refuge with Elephenor in Euboea. Menestheus heeded them not; but knowing that Theseus himself, if ever he returned from Thesprotis, would prove a troublesome adversary, he courted the favour of the people so successfully that when Theseus afterwards came back safe they sent him about his business. So Theseus set out to go to Deucalion in Crete, but being driven by gales out of his course he landed in the island of Scyros, and the people received him splendidly as befitted the famous house to which he belonged and the renown of his personal exploits. On that account Lycomedes plotted his death. The dedication of a sacred close to Theseus by the Athenians was subsequent to the landing of the Medes at Marathon. Cimon, son of Miltiades, had laid waste Scyros in retaliation, forsooth, for the murder of Theseus, and had then brought back the hero's bones to Athens.

XVIII

1. The sanctuary of the Dioscuri is ancient. The Dioscuri

themselves are represented on foot and their sons on horseback. Here is a painting by Polygnotus of the marriage of the Dioscuri to the daughters of Leucippus, and a painting by Micon of those who sailed with Jason to the land of the Colchians. Micon has bestowed most pains on Acastus and his horses. 2. Above the 2
sanctuary of the Dioscuri is a precinct of Aglaurus. They say that
Athena put Erichthonius in a chest, and gave him in charge to
Aglaurus and her sisters Herse and Pandrosus, forbidding them to
pry into that which she had committed to their care. Pandrosus,
they say, obeyed her, but the other two opened the chest, and when
they saw Erichthonius they went mad and flung themselves down
the steepest part of the Acropolis. It was at this point that the
Medes ascended and massacred those Athenians who thought they
knew more about the oracle than Themistocles, and had fortified
the Acropolis with logs and stakes. 3. Hard by is the Prytaneum, 3
in which the laws of Solon are inscribed. In it are also images of
the goddesses Peace and Hestia, and statues of the pancratiast
Autolycus and other people. The names on the statues of
Miltiades and Themistocles have been altered into those of a
Roman and a Thracian.

4. Going thence to the lower parts of the city we come to a 4
sanctuary of Serapis, a god whom the Athenians got from Ptolemy.
Of the Egyptian sanctuaries of Serapis the most famous is at
Alexandria, but the oldest is at Memphis. Into the latter sanctuary
neither strangers nor priests may enter until they bury Apis. 5.
Not far from the sanctuary of Serapis is a place where they say
that Pirithous and Theseus covenanted before they went on their
expedition to Lacedaemon and afterwards to Thesprotis. Near it is 5
a temple of Ilithyia, who is said to have come from the Hyper-
boreans to Delos to help Latona in her pangs. The rest of the world,
they say, learned the name of Ilithyia from the Delians, who sacrifice
to her, and sing a hymn of Olen in her honour. The Cretans
believe that Ilithyia was born at Amnisus in the land of Cnosus,
and that she is a child of Hera. The Athenians are the only
people whose wooden images of Ilithyia are draped to the tips of
the feet. The women said that two of these images were Cretan,
dedicated by Phaedra, but that the oldest was brought by
Erysichthon from Delos.

6. Before you come to the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus there 6
are two statues of Hadrian in Thasian, and two in Egyptian stone.
It was Hadrian, the Roman emperor, who dedicated the temple and
image of Olympian Zeus. The image is worth seeing. It surpasses
in size all other images except the Colossuses at Rhodes and Rome:
it is made of ivory and gold, and considering the size the workman-
ship is good. Before the columns stand bronze statues which the
Athenians call the 'Colonies.' The whole enclosure is just four

furlongs round about, and is full of statues; for every city set up a statue of the Emperor Hadrian, but the Athenians surpassed them
7 all by erecting the notable Colossus behind the temple. 7. In the enclosure are the following antiquities: a bronze Zeus, a temple of Cronus and Rhea, and a precinct of Olympian Earth. Here the ground is cloven to a cubit's width; and they say that after the deluge which happened in Deucalion's time the water ran away down this cleft. Every year they throw into it wheaten meal
8 kneaded with honey. 8. On a column is a statue of Isocrates, who left behind him a threefold reputation: a reputation for industry, in that, though he lived to the age of ninety-eight, he never left off taking pupils; a reputation for prudence, in that he steadily abstained from politics and from meddling with public affairs; and a reputation for a generous spirit, because the tidings of the battle of Chaeronea grieved him so that he died a voluntary death. There is also a group, in Phrygian marble, of Persians supporting a bronze tripod: the figures and the tripod are both worth seeing. They say that the old sanctuary of Olympian Zeus was built by Deucalion, and in proof that Deucalion dwelt at Athens they point to a grave not far
9 from the present temple. 9. Hadrian also built for the Athenians a temple of Hera and Panhellenian Zeus, and a sanctuary common to all the gods. But most splendid of all are one hundred columns: walls and colonnades alike are made of Phrygian marble. Here, too, is a building adorned with a gilded roof and alabaster, and also with statues and paintings: books are stored in it. There is also a gymnasium named after Hadrian; it, too, has one hundred columns from the quarries of Libya.

XIX

1. After the temple of Olympian Zeus there is near it an image of Pythian Apollo. There is also another sanctuary of Apollo, where he is surnamed Delphinian. They say that when the temple was finished all but the roof, Theseus came to the city, a stranger as yet to every one. He wore a garment that reached to his feet, and had his hair neatly plaited; so when he came to the temple of the Delphinian Apollo, the men who were making the roof asked him jeeringly why a marriageable maiden like him was rambling alone. Theseus answered them nothing, but unyoking, so it is said, the oxen from the cart which stood by, he tossed them up higher than the
2 roof which the men were making for the temple. 2. Of the place called the Gardens and of the temple of Aphrodite no story is told, nor yet of the Aphrodite which stands near the temple. The form of this image is square like the images of Hermes: the inscription sets forth that Heavenly Aphrodite is the eldest of the Fates. The image of Aphrodite in the Gardens is a work of Alcamenes, and few

things at Athens are so well worth seeing as this. 3. There is a 3
sanctuary of Hercules which is called Cynosarges: the story of the white bitch may be learnt by reading the oracle. There are altars of Hercules and Hebe, whom they believe to be a child of Zeus and wedded to Hercules. There is also an altar of Alcmena and of Iolaus, who shared most of the labours of Hercules. 4. The Lyceum takes its name from Lycus, son of Pandion; but from the first and down to our times it has been deemed sacred to Apollo, and here the god was first named Lycean ('wolfish'). It is said that Lycus also gave his name to the Termilae, who are called Lycians after him: he came to them when he fled from Aegeus. 5. Behind the Lyceum is the tomb of Nisus, king of 4
Megara, who was slain by Minos. The Athenians brought his body and buried it here. A story is told of this Nisus that he had purple hair on his head, and that he was doomed to die whenever it should be shorn. When the Cretans came into the land they carried the other cities in Megaris by storm, but laid siege to Nisaea in which Nisus had taken refuge. Thereupon, it is said, the daughter of Nisus fell in love with Minos and sheared her father's hair. So runs the tale.

6. The Athenian rivers are the Ilissus, and a river that 5
has the same name as the Celtic Eridanus, and falls into the Ilissus. It was at the Ilissus, they say, that Orithyia was playing when the North Wind carried her off and wedded her. And they say it was on account of this affinity that the North Wind helped them, and destroyed most of the barbarian galleys. The Athenians deem the Ilissus sacred to various deities, and in particular there is an altar of the Ilissian Muses on its bank. The spot, too, is shown where the Peloponnesians slew the Athenian king Codrus, son of Melanthus. 7. Across the Ilissus is a district 6
called Agrae and a temple of Huntress Artemis. They say that Artemis first hunted here after she came from Delos; therefore her image has a bow. Wonderful to see, though not so impressive to hear of, is a stadium of white marble. One may best get an idea of its size as follows. It is a hill rising above the Ilissus, of a crescent shape in its upper part, and extending thence in a double straight line to the bank of the river. It was built by the Athenian Herodes, and the greater part of the Pentelic quarries was used up in its construction.

XX

1. There is a street called Tripods leading from the Prytaneum. The place is so called from certain relatively large temples on which stand tripods. These tripods are of bronze, but enclose most memorable works of art. For here is the Satyr of which Praxiteles

is said to have been very proud. They say that once when Phryne asked for the most beautiful of his works, he lover-like promised to give her it, but would not tell which he thought the most beautiful. So a servant of Phryne ran in declaring that Praxiteles' studio had caught fire, and that most, but not all, of his works had perished.
2 Praxiteles at once ran for the door, protesting that all his labour was lost if the flames had reached the Satyr and the Love. But Phryne bade him stay and be of good cheer, telling him that he had suffered no loss, but had only been entrapped into saying which were the most beautiful of his works. So Phryne chose the Love. In the neighbouring temple of Dionysus is a boy Satyr handing a cup: the Love which stands in the same place, and the Dionysus, are works of Thymilus.

3 2. But the oldest sanctuary of Dionysus is beside the theatre. Within the enclosure there are two temples and two images of Dionysus, one surnamed Eleutherian, the other made by Alcamenes of ivory and gold. Here, too, are pictures representing Dionysus bringing Hephaestus up to heaven. For the Greeks say that Hera flung Hephaestus down as soon as he was born, and that he, bearing her a grudge, sent her as a gift a golden chair with invisible bonds. When Hera sat down on it she was held fast, and Hephaestus would not listen to the intercession of any of the gods, till Dionysus, his trustiest friend, made him drunk, and so brought him to heaven. There are also depicted Pentheus and Lycurgus suffering retribution for the insults they offered to Dionysus, and Ariadne asleep, and Theseus putting to sea, and Dionysus come to carry Ariadne off.

4 3. Near the sanctuary of Dionysus and the theatre is a structure said to have been made in imitation of the tent of Xerxes. It was rebuilt, for the old edifice was burned by the Roman general Sulla when he captured Athens. The cause of the war was this. Mithridates was king of the barbarians about the Euxine Sea. But the pretext on which he made war on the Romans, and how he crossed into Asia, and the cities which he conquered or made friends with,—all this I leave to such as wish to study the history of Mithridates: I will relate only as much as con-
5 cerns the capture of Athens. There was one Aristion, an Athenian, whom Mithridates employed as an envoy to the Greek cities. This man persuaded the Athenians to prefer Mithridates to the Romans; but he did not persuade all of them, only the turbulent part of the populace: the respectable Athenians fled to the Romans. A battle took place: the Romans gained a decisive victory, and pursued Aristion and the Athenians into the city; but Archelaus and the barbarians they chased into Piraeus. (Archelaus was another general of Mithridates. On a former occasion he had overrun the territory of the Magnesians of Sipylus, but they wounded him and slaughtered

most of his troops.) 4. So Athens was invested. But when word of it 6
came to Taxilus, a general of Mithridates, who was besieging Elatea
in Phocis, he raised the siege and marched towards Attica. Hearing
of this the Roman general left a part of his army to besiege Athens,
and advanced in person with the main body into Boeotia to meet
Taxilus. Two days afterwards messengers came to both the Roman
camps: Sulla was informed that the walls of Athens were captured,
and the troops which had taken Athens were told that Taxilus had
been defeated at Chaeronea. On his return to Attica Sulla shut up
his Athenian adversaries in the Ceramicus, and ordered them to be
decimated. His rage at the Athenians not abating, some of them 7
made their way secretly to Delphi; and in answer to their inquiries
whether it was fated that Athens also should now at last be laid
waste, the Pythian priestess gave the oracle about the wine skin.
Sulla was afterwards attacked by the disease to which I am told Phere-
cydes of Syros succumbed. But though Sulla treated the mass of the
Athenians with a cruelty unworthy of a Roman, I do not think that
this was the cause of his calamity. The cause was rather the wrath
of the God of Suppliants, because when Aristion took refuge in the
sanctuary of Athena, Sulla dragged him away and put him to death.
Though Athens suffered thus in the Roman war, it flourished again in
the reign of Hadrian.

XXI

1. In the theatre at Athens there are statues of tragic and comic
poets, but most of the statues are of poets of little mark. For none
of the renowned comic poets was there except Menander. Among
the famous tragic poets there are statues of Euripides and Sophocles.
2. It is said that after the death of Sophocles the Lacedaemonians
had invaded Attica, and that their general saw Dionysus standing
by him and bidding him to pay to the new siren the honours
which are customarily paid to the dead; and it seemed to him
that the dream referred to Sophocles and his poetry; for to this day
whatever is winsome in verse and prose they liken to a siren. 3.
The statue of Aeschylus was made, I think, long after his death and 2
long after the painting of the battle of Marathon. Aeschylus said
that, when he was a stripling, he fell asleep in a field while he was
watching the grapes, and that Dionysus appeared to him and bade
him write tragedy; and as soon as it was day, for he wished to obey
the god, he tried and found that he versified with the greatest ease.
Such was the tale he told. 4. On what is called the south wall of 3
the Acropolis, which faces towards the theatre, there is a gilded head
of the Gorgon Medusa, and round about the head is wrought an
aegis. 5. At the top of the theatre is a cave in the rocks under
the Acropolis; and over this cave is a tripod. In it are figures of

Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe. This Niobe I myself saw when I ascended Mount Sipylus. Close at hand it is merely a rock and a cliff with no resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you stand farther off, you will think you see a weeping woman bowed with grief.

4 6. On the way from the theatre to the Acropolis at Athens Calos is buried. This Calos was sister's son to Daedalus, and studied art under him: Daedalus murdered him and fled to Crete, but afterwards took refuge with Cocalus in Sicily. 7. The sanctuary of Aesculapius is worth seeing for its images of the god and his children, and also for its paintings. In it is a fountain beside which, they say, Halirrothius, son of Poseidon, violated Alcippe, daughter of Ares, and was therefore slain by Ares. And this, they say, was the first murder on which sentence was pro-
5 nounced. Here among other things is dedicated a Sarmatian corselet: any one who looks at it will say that the barbarians are not less skilful craftsmen than the Greeks. 8. For the Sarmatians neither dig nor import iron, being the most isolated of all the barbarous peoples in these regions. But their ingenuity has supplied the defect. Their spears are tipped with bone instead of iron, their bows and arrows are of the cornel-tree, and the barbs of the arrows are of bone. They throw ropes round the enemies whom they fall in with; then wheeling their horses round they upset
6 their foes entangled in the ropes. They make their corselets in the following way. Every man breeds many mares, for the land is not divided up into private lots, and it produces nothing but wild forest; for the people are nomads. These mares they not only employ in war, but also sacrifice to their local gods, and moreover use them as food. They collect the hoofs, clean them, and split them till they resemble the scales of a dragon. Anybody who has not seen a dragon has at least seen a green fir-cone. Well, the fabric which they make out of the hoofs may be not inaptly likened to the clefts on a fir-cone. In these pieces they bore holes, and having stitched them together with the sinews of horses and oxen, they use them as corselets, which are inferior to Greek breastplates neither in elegance nor strength, for they are both sword-proof and
7 arrow-proof. Linen corselets, on the other hand, are not so serviceable in battle, for they yield to the thrust of iron; but they are useful to huntsmen, for the teeth of lions and leopards break off short in them. 9. Linen corselets may be seen dedicated in various sanctuaries, particularly at Gryneum, where Apollo has a most beautiful grove both of cultivated trees and of all trees which, without bearing fruit, are pleasant to smell or to see.

XXII

1. After the sanctuary of Aesculapius, proceeding by this road towards the Acropolis, we come to a temple of Themis. In front of it is a barrow erected in memory of Hippolytus. They say his death was brought about by curses. Even foreigners who have learned the Greek tongue are familiar with the love of Phaedra, and how the nurse sought to serve her by a bold bad deed. 2. The Troezenians have also a grave of Hippolytus, and the tale which they tell runs thus: When Theseus was about to marry Phaedra, he did not wish 2
that, in case he should have children by her, Hippolytus should either be ruled by them or should reign in their stead. So he sent him away to Pittheus to be reared by him and be king of Troezen. Afterwards Pallas and his sons revolted against Theseus, and he, after slaying them, went to Troezen to be purified, and there Phaedra first saw and loved Hippolytus, and laid the plot of death. There is a myrtle-tree at Troezen, of which the leaves are all pierced. They say it did not grow thus at first, but that Phaedra, sick of love, pricked it with the brooch she wore in her hair. 3. The worship of Vulgar 3
Aphrodite and of Persuasion was instituted by Theseus when he gathered the Athenians from the townships into a single city. In my time the ancient images were gone, but the existing images were by no obscure artists. There is also a sanctuary of Earth, the Nursing-Mother, and of Green Demeter: the meaning of these surnames may be learnt by inquiring of the priests.

4. There is but one entrance to the Acropolis: it admits of no 4
other, being everywhere precipitous and fortified with a strong wall. The portal (Propylaea) has a roof of white marble, and for the beauty and size of the blocks it has never yet been matched. Whether the statues of the horsemen represent the sons of Xenophon, or are merely decorative, I cannot say for certain. On the right of the portal is a temple of Wingless Victory. 5. From this point the sea is visible, and it was here, they say, that Aegeus cast himself down and perished. For the ship that bore the children to Crete 5
used to put to sea with black sails; but when Theseus sailed to beard the bull called the son of Minos (*i.e.*, the Minotaur), he told his father that he would use white sails if he came back victorious over the bull. However, after the loss of Ariadne he forgot to do so. Then Aegeus, when he saw the ship returning with black sails, thought that his son was dead; so he flung himself down and was killed. There is a shrine to him at Athens called the shrine of the hero Aegeus.

6. On the left of the portal is a chamber containing 6
pictures. Among the pictures which time had not effaced, were Diomede and Ulysses, the one at Lemnos carrying off the bow of

Philoctetes, the other carrying off the image of Athena from Ilium. Among the paintings here is also Orestes slaying Aegisthus, and Pylades slaying Nauplius' sons, who came to the rescue of Aegisthus, and Polyxena about to be slaughtered near the grave of Achilles. Homer did well to omit so savage a deed, and he did well, I think, to represent Scyros as captured by Achilles, therein differing from those who say that Achilles lived in the company of the maidens at Scyros: it is this latter version of the legend that Polygnotus has painted. Polygnotus also painted Ulysses at the river approaching the damsels who are washing clothes with
7 Nausicaa, just as Homer described the scene. Amongst other paintings there is a picture of Alcibiades containing emblems of the victory won by his team at Nemea. Perseus is also depicted on his way back to Seriphos, carrying the head of Medusa to Polydectes. But I do not care to tell the story of Medusa in treating of Attica. 7. Passing over the picture of the boy carrying the water-pots, and the picture of the wrestler by Timaenetus, there is a portrait of Musaeus. I have read verses in which it is said that Musaeus received from the North Wind the gift of flying; but I believe that the verses were composed by Onomacritus, and that nothing can with certainty be ascribed to Musaeus except the hymn which he made on Demeter for the Lycomids.

8 8. Just at the entrance to the Acropolis are figures of Hermes and the Graces, which are said to have been made by Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus. The Hermes is named Hermes of the Portal. The Pythian priestess bore witness that Socrates was the wisest of men, a title which she did not give even to Anacharsis, though he was quite willing to receive it, and had indeed come to Delphi for the purpose.

XXIII

1. It is one of the sayings of the Greeks that there were Seven Sages. Amongst these they reckon the Lesbian tyrant and Periander, son of Cypselus. Yet Pisistratus and his son Hippias were more humane than Periander and sager in the arts both of war and peace, until the death of Hipparchus exasperated Hippias. Amongst the objects on which Hippias vented his fury was a woman
2 named Leaena ('lioness'). 2. The story has never before been put on record, but is commonly believed at Athens. He tortured Leaena to death, knowing that she was Aristogiton's mistress, and supposing that she could not possibly be ignorant of the plot. As a recompense, when the tyranny of the Pisistratids was put down, the Athenians set up a bronze lioness in memory of the woman. Beside it is an image of Aphrodite, which they say was an offering of Callias and a work of Calamis.

Near it is a bronze statue of Diitrephes pierced with arrows. 3
3. Amongst the deeds of Diitrephes which the Athenians tell of is the following. After Demosthenes had sailed for Syracuse some Thracian mercenaries arrived too late to join the expedition; so Diitrephes led them back. In the Chalcidian Euripus he landed at the place where once stood the inland Boeotian town of Mycalessus, and marching up from the coast he took the town. The Thracians massacred not only the fighting men, but also the women and children, as I can prove. For all the Boeotian cities which the Thebans laid waste were inhabited in my time, the people having escaped when the cities fell. Therefore if the barbarians had not put every soul in Mycalessus to the sword, the remnant would afterwards have reoccupied the city. 4. In 4
regard to the statue of Diitrephes I was surprised that it was pierced with arrows, since the Cretans are the only Greek people who are accustomed to the use of the bow. For we know that the Opuntian Locrians, whom Homer described as coming to Ilium with bows and slings, carried heavy arms as early as the Medic wars. Even the Malians did not continue to practise archery; indeed, I believe that they were unacquainted with it before the time of Philoctetes, and gave it up not long afterwards. 5. Near the statue of Diitrephes (for I do not wish to mention the obscurer statues) are images of gods—one of Health, who is said to be a daughter of Aesculapius, and one of Athena, who is also surnamed Health. 6. There is also a stone of no great size, but big 5
enough for a little man to sit on. They say that when Dionysus came into the country Silenus rested on this stone. Elderly Satyrs are named Silenuses. Wishing to know particularly who the Satyrs are, I have for that purpose talked with many persons. 7. Euphemus, a Carian, said that when he was sailing to Italy he was driven by gales out of his course and into the outer ocean, into which mariners do not sail. And he said that there were many desert islands, but that on other islands there dwelt wild men. The sailors were loath to put in to these latter islands, for they had 6
put in there before, and had some experience of the inhabitants. However, they were forced to put in once more. These islands, said he, are called by the seamen the Isles of the Satyrs, and the dwellers on them are red-haired, and have tails on their loins little less than the tails of horses; who when they clapped eyes on them ran down to the ship, and without uttering a syllable attempted to 1
get at the women in the ship. At last the sailors, in fear, cast out a barbarian woman on the island, and the Satyrs outraged her most grossly.

8. Among other things that I saw on the Acropolis at Athens 7
were the bronze boy holding the sprinkler, and Perseus after he has done the deed on Medusa. The boy is a work of Lycius, son of

Myron: the Perseus is a work of Myron. 9. There is also a sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis: the image is a work of Praxiteles. The goddess gets her surname from the township of Brauron; and at Brauron is the old wooden image which is, they say, the
8 Tauric Artemis. 10. There is also set up a bronze figure of the so-called Wooden Horse. Every one who does not suppose that the Phrygians were the veriest ninnies, is aware that what Epeus made was an engine for breaking down the wall. But the story goes that the Wooden Horse had within it the bravest of the Greeks, and the bronze horse has been shaped accordingly. Menestheus and Teucer are peeping out of it, and so are the sons of Theseus.
9 11. Among the statues that stand after the horse, the one of Epicharinus, who practised running in armour, is by Critias. Oenobius was a man who did a good deed to Thucydides, son of Olorus; for he carried a decree recalling Thucydides from banishment. But on his way home Thucydides was murdered,
10 and his tomb is not far from the Melitian gate. 12. The histories of Hermolycus, the pancratiast, and of Phormio, the son of Asopichus, have been told by other writers, so I pass them by. This much, however, I have to add as regards Phormio. He ranked among the Athenian worthies, and came of no obscure family, but he was in debt. So he retired to the township of Paeanieus, and lived there till the Athenians elected him admiral. But he said he could not go to sea, since he owed money, and could not look his men in the face until he had paid his debts. So the Athenians discharged all his debts, for they were determined that he should have the command.

XXIV

1. Here Athena is represented striking Marsyas the Silenus, because he picked up the flutes when the goddess had meant that they should be thrown away. 2. Over against the works I have mentioned is the legendary fight of Theseus with the bull, which was called the bull of Minos, whether this bull was a man or, as the prevalent tradition has it, a beast; for even in our own time women have given birth to much more marvellous monsters than this.
2 Here, too, is Phrixus, son of Athamas, represented as he appeared after being carried away by the ram to the land of the Colchians: he has sacrificed the ram to some god, apparently to him whom the Orchomenians call Laphystian; and having cut off the thighs according to the Greek custom, he is looking at them burning. Among the statues which stand next in order is one of Hercules strangling the serpents according to the story; and one of Athena rising from the head of Zeus. There is also a bull set up by the Council of the Areopagus for some reason or other: one might

make many guesses on the subject if one chose to do so. 3. I 3
observed before that the zeal of the Athenians in matters of religion exceeds that of all other peoples. Thus they were the first to give Athena the surname of the Worker, and <to make> images of Hermes without limbs; . . . and in the temple with them is a Spirit of the Zealous. He who prefers the products of art to mere antiquities should observe the following:—There is a man wearing a helmet, a work of Cleoetas, who has inwrought the man's nails of silver. There is also an image of Earth praying Zeus to rain on her, either because the Athenians themselves needed rain, or because there was a drought all over Greece. Here also is a statue of Timotheus, son of Conon, and a statue of Conon himself. A group representing Procne and Itys, at the time when Procne has taken her resolution against the boy, was dedicated by Alcamenes; and Athena is represented exhibiting the olive plant, and Poseidon exhibiting the wave. 4. There is also an image of Zeus made by Leochares, and 4
another of Zeus surnamed Polieus ('urban'). I will describe the customary mode of sacrificing to the latter, but without giving the reason assigned for it. They set barley mixed with wheat on the altar of Zeus Polieus, and keep no watch; and the ox which they keep in readiness for the sacrifice goes up to the altar and eats of the grain. They call one of the priests the Ox-slayer, and here he throws away the axe (for such is the custom), and flees away; and they, as if they did not know the man who did the deed, bring the axe to trial. Such is their mode of procedure.

5. All the figures in the gable over the entrance to the temple 5
called the Parthenon relate to the birth of Athena. The back gable contains the strife of Poseidon with Athena for the possession of the land. The image itself is made of ivory and gold. Its helmet is surmounted in the middle by a figure of a sphinx (I will tell the story of the sphinx when I come to treat of Boeotia), and on either side of the helmet are griffins wrought in relief. 6. Aristeas 6
of Proconnesus says in his poem that these griffins fight for the gold with the Arimaspians who dwell beyond the Issedonians, and that the gold which the griffins guard is produced by the earth. He says, too, that the Arimaspians are all one-eyed men from birth, and that the griffins are beasts like lions, but with the wings and beak of an eagle. So much for the griffins. 7. The image of Athena stands 7
upright, clad in a garment that reaches to her feet: on her breast is the head of Medusa wrought in ivory. She holds a Victory about four cubits high, and in the other hand a spear. At her feet lies a shield, and near the spear is a serpent, which may be Erichthonius. On the pedestal of the image is wrought in relief the birth of Pandora. Hesiod and other poets have told how this Pandora was the first woman, and how before the birth of Pandora womankind as yet was not. The only statue I saw there was that of the

Emperor Hadrian; and at the entrance there is a statue of Iphicrates, who did many marvellous deeds.

8 8. Over against the temple is a bronze Apollo: they say the image was made by Phidias. They call it Locust Apollo, because, when locusts blasted the land, the god said he would drive them out of the country. And they know that he drove them out, but how he did it they do not say. I have myself known locusts to disappear from Mount Sipylus three several times in different ways. Once they were swept away by a storm that broke over them: once they were destroyed by intense heat following after rain; and once they were caught in a sudden cold and perished. All this I have seen happen to them.

XXV

1. On the Acropolis at Athens is a statue of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, and one of Xanthippus himself, who fought the sea-fight at Mycale against the Medes. The statue of Pericles stands in a different part of the Acropolis; but near the statue of Xanthippus is one of Anacreon the Teian, the first poet, after Sappho the Lesbian, to write mostly love poems. The attitude of the statue is like that of a man singing in his cups. The figures of women near it were made by Dinomenes: they represent Io, daughter of Inachus, and Callisto, daughter of Lycaon. The tales told of these two women are exactly alike—the love of Zeus, the wrath of Hera, and the transformation of Io into a cow, and of Callisto into a bear.

2 2. At the south wall are figures about two cubits high, dedicated by Attalus. They represent the legendary war of the giants who once dwelt about Thrace and the isthmus of Pallene, the fight of the Athenians with the Amazons, the battle with the Medes at Marathon, and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia.

There is a statue also of Olympiodorus, who earned fame both by the greatness and the opportuneness of his exploits, for he infused courage into men whom a series of disasters had plunged in despair.

3 3. For the disaster at Chaeronea was the beginning of evil to all the Greeks; and the yoke of slavery which it brought with it pressed not least heavily on the states that had held aloof or had sided with Macedonia.. Most of the cities Philip captured. With the Athenians he nominally made a treaty, but in reality he inflicted on them the deepest injuries of all, for he wrested islands from them and deposed them from the empire of the sea. For a time the Athenians kept quiet during the reign of Philip and afterwards of Alexander. But when Alexander died and the Macedonians chose Aridaeus king, though the whole government was vested in Antipater, the Athenians could no longer brook the thought that Greece should for ever be at the feet of Macedonia; so they were bent on

war and stirred up others to action. 4. The cities that joined them 4
were these: in Peloponnese there were Argos, Epidaurus, Sicyon, Troezen, Elis, Phlius, Messene; outside the Isthmus of Corinth there were the Locrians, Phocians, Thessalians, Carystians, and the Acarnanians who belonged to the Aetolian League. But the Boeotians, who enjoyed the Theban territory of which the Thebans had been dispossessed, fearing that the Athenians might restore Thebes, not only did not join the alliance, but furthered the cause of Macedonia with all their might. Each contingent of the allies 5
was led by its own general, but the command of the whole army was voted to the Athenian Leosthenes, out of regard for the dignity of his native city and his own military reputation. He had indeed already conferred a benefit on the whole of Greece; for when Alexander would have banished to Persia all the Greek mercenaries who had served under Darius and his satraps, Leosthenes anticipated his design by shipping them to Europe. The bright hopes that had been conceived of him he now surpassed by brighter deeds; and his death, by striking dismay into every heart, contributed not a little to the disaster which ensued. The Athenians had to receive a Macedonian garrison which occupied Munychia, and afterwards Piraeus, and the Long Walls. 5. When Antipater 6
was dead, Olympias crossed over from Epirus, put Aridaeus to death, and reigned for a time; but not long afterwards she was besieged and captured by Cassander, who handed her over to the multitude. After Cassander came to the throne (to confine myself to his dealings with the Athenians) he captured the fortress of Panactum in Attica and also Salamis, and contrived that Demetrius, son of Phanostratus, who inherited from his father a reputation for ability, should be made tyrant of Athens. This Demetrius was deposed from the tyranny by Demetrius, son of Antigonus, a young man ambitious of standing well with the Greeks. Cassander, how- 7
ever, in whose mind there rankled a bitter hatred of Athens, gained over Lachares, hitherto a popular leader, and persuaded him to compass the tyranny; and of all the tyrants we know of he was the most merciless to man and the most reckless of God. But Demetrius, son of Antigonus, though he had quarrelled with the Athenian people, nevertheless put down the tyranny of Lachares also. When the walls were captured Lachares fled to Boeotia. But as he had taken down golden shields from the Acropolis, and had stript the very image of Athena of all the ornaments that could be removed, he was suspected of being very rich, and was therefore murdered by some men of Coronea. Having freed the Athenians from their 8
tyrants, Demetrius, son of Antigonus, did not restore Piraeus to them after the flight of Lachares. At a later time he defeated the Athenians, and introduced a garrison into Athens itself, having fortified what is called the Museum. 6. The Museum is a hill

within the ancient circuit of the city, opposite the Acropolis, where they say that Musaeus sang and, dying of old age, was buried. Afterwards a monument was built here to a Syrian man. But at the time I speak of Demetrius fortified and held the hill.

XXVI

1. Some time afterwards a few men, bethinking them of their forefathers, and of what a change had come over the glory of Athens, without more ado put themselves under the command of Olympiodorus. He led them, old men and striplings alike, against the Macedonians, looking for victory rather to stout hearts than strong arms. When the Macedonians marched out to meet him he defeated them: they fled to the Museum, and he took the place.
2 Thus Athens was freed from the Macedonians. 2. All the Athenians fought memorably, but Leocritus, son of Protarchus, is said to have been the boldest in the action. For he was the first to mount the wall and the first to leap into the Museum. He fell in the fight, and among other marks of honour which the Athenians bestowed on him they engraved his name and his exploit on his shield, and
3 dedicated it to Zeus of Freedom. 3. This was Olympiodorus' greatest feat, apart from his achievements in recovering Piraeus and Munychia. But when the Macedonians made a raid on Eleusis, he put the Eleusinians in order of battle and vanquished the Macedonians. Before this, when Cassander had invaded Attica, Olympiodorus sailed to Aetolia and persuaded the Aetolians to come to the rescue. And to this allied force it was chiefly due that the Athenians escaped a war with Cassander. Olympiodorus is honoured at Athens both on the Acropolis and in the Prytaneum: at Eleusis there is a painting to his memory; and the Phocians of Elatea dedicated a bronze statue of him at Delphi because he helped them when they revolted from Cassander.

4 4. Near the statue of Olympiodorus stands a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Leucophryenian. It was dedicated by the sons of Themistocles; for the Magnesians, whom the king gave to Themistocles to govern, hold Leucophryenian Artemis in honour. 5. But I must proceed, for I have to describe the whole of Greece. Endoeus was an Athenian by birth and a pupil of Daedalus. When Daedalus fled on account of the murder of Calus, Endoeus followed him to Crete. There is a seated image of Athena by Endoeus: the inscription states that it was dedicated by Callias and made by Endoeus.

5 6. There is also a building called the Erechtheum. Before the entrance is an altar of Supreme Zeus, where they sacrifice no living thing; but they lay cakes on it, and having done so they are forbidden by custom to make use of wine. Inside of the building are

altars : one of Poseidon, on which they sacrifice also to Erechtheus in obedience to an oracle ; one of the hero Butes ; and one of Hephaestus. On the walls are paintings of the family of the Butads. Within, for the building is double, there is sea-water in a well. This is not very surprising, for the same thing may be seen in inland places, as at Aphrodisias in Caria. But what is remarkable about this well is that, when the south wind has been blowing, the well gives forth a sound of waves ; and there is the shape of a trident in the rock. These things are said to have been the evidence produced by Poseidon in support of his claim to the country.

7. The rest of the city and the whole land are equally sacred to 6
Athena ; for although the worship of other gods is established in the townships, the inhabitants none the less hold Athena in honour. But the object which was universally deemed the holy of holies many years before the union of the townships, is an image of Athena in what is now called the Acropolis, but what was then called the city. The legend is that the image fell from heaven, but whether this was so or not I will not inquire. Callimachus made a golden lamp for the goddess. They fill the lamp with oil, and wait till the same day 7
next year, and the oil suffices for the lamp during all the intervening time, though it is burning day and night. The wick is made of Carpasian flax, which is the only kind of flax that does not take fire. A bronze palm-tree placed over the lamp and reaching to the roof draws off the smoke. Callimachus, who made the lamp, though inferior to the best artists in the actual practice of his art, so far surpassed them all in ingenuity, that he was the first to bore holes in stones, and assumed, or accepted at the hands of others, the title of the Refiner away of Art.

XXVII

1. In the temple of the Polias is a wooden Hermes, said to be an offering of Cecrops, but hidden under myrtle boughs. Amongst the ancient offerings which are worthy of mention is a folding-chair, made by Daedalus, and spoils taken from the Medes, including the corselet of Masistius, who commanded the cavalry at Plataea, and a sword said to be that of Mardonius. Masistius, I know, was killed by the Athenian cavalry ; but as Mardonius fought against the Lacedaemonians, and fell by the hand of a Spartan, the Athenians could not have got the sword originally, nor is it likely that the Lacedaemonians would have allowed them to carry it off. 2. About 2
the olive they have nothing to say except that it was produced by the goddess as evidence in the dispute about the country. They say, too, that the olive was burned down when the Medes fired Athens, but that after being burned down it sprouted the same day to a height of two cubits. 3. Contiguous to the temple of Athena

is a temple of Pandrosus, who alone of the sisters was blameless in
3 regard to the trust committed to them. 4. What surprised me very much, but is not generally known, I will describe as it takes place. Two maidens dwell not far from the temple of the Polias: the Athenians call them Arrephoroi. These are lodged for a time with the goddess; but when the festival comes round they perform the following ceremony by night. They put on their heads the things which the priestess of Athena gives them to carry, but what it is she gives is known neither to her who gives nor to them who carry. Now there is in the city an enclosure not far from the sanctuary of Aphrodite called Aphrodite in the Gardens, and there is a natural underground descent through it. Down this way the maidens go. Below they leave their burdens, and getting something else, which is wrapt up, they bring it back. These maidens are then discharged, and others are brought to the Acropolis in their stead.

4 5. Near the temple of Athena is a well-wrought figure of an old woman, just about a cubit high, purporting to be the handmaid Lysimache. There are also large bronze figures of men confronting each other for a fight: they call one of them Erechtheus and the other Eumolpus. And yet Athenian antiquaries themselves are aware that it was Eumolpus' son Immaradus that was
5 killed by Erechtheus. 6. On the pedestal there is a statue of . . . . , who was soothsayer to Tolmides, and a statue of Tolmides himself. Tolmides, in command of an Athenian fleet, ravaged various places, particularly the coast of Peloponnese, burned the Lacedaemonian docks at Gythium, and captured the vassal town of Boeae, and the island of Cythera: then landing in the territory of Sicyon he devastated the country; and when the Sicyonians gave battle, he routed them and drove them towards the city. After returning to Athens he led Athenian colonists to Euboea and Naxos, and invaded Boeotia with an army. Having laid waste most of the country and reduced Chaeronea by siege, he advanced into the territory of Haliartus and there fell in battle, and his whole army was worsted. Such I ascertained to be the history of Tolmides.
6 7. There are ancient images of Athena. No part of them has been melted off, though they are somewhat blackened and brittle; for the flames reached them at the time when the Athenians embarked on their ships, and the city, abandoned by its fighting men, was captured by the king. There is also the hunting of a boar, but whether it is the Calydonian boar I do not know for certain. There is also Cycnus fighting with Hercules. They say that this Cycnus slew Lycus, a Thracian, and others in single combats for which prizes were offered; but he was himself killed by Hercules at the river Peneus.

7 8. Of the stories which they tell in Troezen about Theseus, there is one that when Hercules visited Pittheus at Troezen he laid down

the lion's skin at dinner, and that there came in to him some Troezenian children, among whom was Theseus, then just seven years old. They say that when the rest of the children saw the skin they ran away, but that Theseus, not much afraid, slipped out, snatched an axe from the servants, and at once came on in earnest, thinking the skin was a lion. That is the first story which the Troezenians 8 tell of him. The next is this : Aegeus deposited boots and a sword under a rock as tokens of the boy's identity, and then sailed away to Athens; but when Theseus was sixteen years old, he pushed up the rock and carried off what Aegeus had deposited there. There is a statue on the Acropolis illustrative of this story: it is all of bronze except the rock. 9. They have also dedicated a representation of 9 another exploit of Theseus. The story about it runs thus : The land of Crete, especially the part about the river Tethris, was being devastated by a bull. It appears that of old the wild beasts were more formidable to men than they are now. For example, there was the Nemean lion and the Parnassian lion, serpents in many parts of Greece, and boars at Calydon, at Erymanthus, and at Crommyon in the land of Corinth. Some of these beasts were said to be produced by the earth, others to be sacred to gods, others to be let loose for the punishment of men. This particular bull is said by the Cretans 10 to have been sent into their land by Poseidon, because Minos, though he ruled the Greek seas, did not honour Poseidon more than any other god. They say that this bull was brought from Crete to Peloponnese, and that this was one of the so-called twelve labours of Hercules. When it was let loose on the plain of Argos, it fled through the Isthmus of Corinth and away into Attica to the township of Marathon, and killed all whom it met, including Androgeus, son of Minos. But Minos would not believe that the Athenians were guiltless of the death of Androgeus; so he sailed against Athens, and harried it until a covenant was made with him that he should take seven maidens and as many boys to the legendary Minotaur, to dwell in the Labyrinth at Cnosus. It is said that Theseus afterwards drove the bull of Marathon to the Acropolis and sacrificed it to the goddess. The offering was dedicated by the township of Marathon.

XXVIII

1. Why they set up a bronze statue of Cylon, though he compassed the tyranny, I cannot say for certain. I surmise that it was because he was an extremely handsome man, and gained some reputation by winning a victory in the double race at Olympia. Moreover he had the honour to marry a daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. 2. Besides the things I have enumerated, there are two 2 tithe-offerings from spoils taken by the Athenians in war. One is a bronze image of Athena made from the spoils of the Medes who

landed at Marathon. It is a work of Phidias. The <battle> of the Lapiths with the Centaurs on her shield, and all the other figures in relief, are said to have been wrought by Mys, but designed, like all the other works of Mys, by Parrhasius, son of Evenor. The head of the spear and the crest of the helmet of this Athena are visible to mariners sailing from Sunium to Athens. There is also a bronze chariot made out of a tithe of spoils taken from the Boeotians and the Chalcidians of Euboea. There are two other offerings, a statue of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, and an image of Athena, surnamed Lemnian, after the people of Lemnos who dedicated it. This image of Athena is the best worth seeing of the works of Phidias.

3 3. The whole of the wall which runs round the Acropolis, except the part built by Cimon, son of Miltiades, is said to have been erected by the Pelasgians who once dwelt at the foot of the Acropolis. For they say that Agrolas and Hyperbius . . . . and inquiring who they were, all I could learn was that they were originally Sicilians who migrated to Acarnania.

4 4. Descending not as far as the lower city, but below the portal, you come to a spring of water, and near it a sanctuary of Apollo in a cave. They think it was here that Apollo had intercourse with Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus. . . . . Philippides was sent to Lacedaemon to tell that the Medes had landed, but came back reporting that the Lacedaemonians had deferred their march, for it was their custom not to march out to war before the moon was full. But Philippides said that Pan met him about Mount Parthenius, and told him that he wished the Athenians well and would come to Marathon to fight for them. So the god Pan has been honoured for this message.

5 5. . . . where is also the Areopagus. It is called the Areopagus ('hill of Ares') because Ares was the first to be tried there. I have already told how he killed Halirrothius, and why he did so. They say that Orestes was afterwards tried for the murder of his mother, and there is an altar of Warlike Athena which he dedicated after his acquittal. The unwrought stones on which the accused and the accusers stand are named respectively
6 the stone of Injury and the stone of Ruthlessness. 6. Near this is a sanctuary of the goddesses whom the Athenians call the Venerable Ones, but whom Hesiod in the *Theogony* calls the Furies. Aeschylus was the first to represent them with snakes in their hair. But there is nothing terrible in their images nor in the other images of the nether gods. There are images also of Pluto and Hermes and Earth. Persons who have been acquitted in the court of the Areopagus sacrifice here, and sacrifices are offered on other
7 occasions both by strangers and citizens. 7. Within the enclosure is the tomb of Oedipus. After much inquiry I found that his bones

were brought from Thebes; for Sophocles' version of the death of Oedipus is, in my opinion, rendered incredible by Homer's statement, that, when Oedipus died, Mecisteus went to Thebes and took part in the funeral games.

8. The Athenians have other, though less famous, courts of justice. The court called Parabystum ('pushed aside') is so named because it is in an obscure part of the city, and they resort to it only in the most trivial cases. The court called Trigonum ('triangular') gets its name from its shape. The Batrachium ('frog-green') and the Phoenicium ('red') are named after their colours, and retain their names to the present day. But the greatest and most frequented court is called the Heliaea. 9. Amongst the courts for the trial of homicides is the one called after the Palladium, where cases of involuntary homicide are tried. Nobody denies that Demophon was the first person tried here, but there is a difference of opinion as to the crime for which he was tried. They say that after the capture of Ilium Diomede was sailing homeward, and that night having fallen when they arrived off Phalerum, the Argives disembarked as in an enemy's country, taking it in the dark for some land other than Attica. Hereupon Demophon, they say, being also unaware that the men from the ships were Argives, came out against them and slew some of them, and carried off the Palladium. But an Athenian, who did not see him coming, was knocked down by Demophon's horse and trampled to death. For this Demophon was brought to trial, some say by the kinsmen of the man who had been trampled under foot, others say by the Argive community. 10. In the court of Delphinium are held the trials of persons who plead that the homicide which they committed was justifiable. On such a plea Theseus was acquitted when he had slain the rebel Pallas and his sons. But in former days, before the acquittal of Theseus, the custom was that every manslayer either fled the country or, if he stayed, was slain even as he slew. 11. The court called the Court in the Prytaneum, where iron and all lifeless things are brought to trial, originated, I believe, on the following occasion:—When Erechtheus was king of the Athenians, the Ox-slayer slew an ox for the first time on the altar of Zeus Polieus; and having done so he left his axe there and fled from the country; but the axe was tried and acquitted, and every year it is tried down to the present time. Other lifeless things are said to have inflicted of their own accord a righteous punishment on men. The best and most famous instance is that of the sword of Cambyses. 12. In Piraeus, beside the sea, is a court called Phreattys. Here exiles, against whom in their absence another charge has been brought, make their defence from a ship, the judges listening on the shore. The legend runs that Teucer was the first to plead thus in his defence before Telamon, asserting that he had nothing to do with

the death of Ajax. These details may suffice. I have entered into them for the sake of those who are interested in the courts of justice.

XXIX

1. Near the Areopagus is shown a ship made for the procession at the Panathenian festival. Larger ships than this have no doubt been built, but I have yet to learn that any man has built a larger vessel than the one at Delos, which is decked for nine banks of oars.

2 2. Outside of the city, in the townships and on the roads, the Athenians have sanctuaries of the gods and graves of heroes and men. Close to the city is the Academy, once the property of a private man, but in my time a gymnasium. On the way to it there is an enclosure sacred to Artemis, with wooden images of Ariste ('best') and Calliste ('fairest'). In my opinion, confirmed by the verses of Sappho, these names are epithets of Artemis. I know that another explanation of them is given, but I shall pass it over. There is also a temple of no great size, to which they bring the image of
3 Eleutherian Dionysus every year on appointed days. 3. Such are the sanctuaries in this quarter.

Of the graves the first is that of Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, a man in every respect the best of all the famous men of Athens before or after him. To prove what I say it will be enough, omitting most of his exploits, to mention that setting out from Thebes with sixty men he put down the tyranny of the so-called Thirty, and persuaded the Athenians to bury their quarrels and live in unity. This is the first grave. After it are the graves
4 of Pericles, Chabrias, and Phormio. 4. There are also tombs of all the Athenians who fell in battle by sea or land, except the men who fought at Marathon; for these, as a meed of valour, are buried on the field. The others are laid beside the road that leads to the Academy; and tombstones stand on their graves telling the name and township of each man. The first buried here were the men who in Thrace, after conquering the country as far as Drabescus, were surprised and massacred by the Edonians; it is said, too, that
5 thunderbolts fell upon them. Amongst their generals were Leagrus, who had the chief command, and Sophanes of Decelia, who slew the Argive Eurybates. This Eurybates had won a victory in the pentathlum at Nemea, and he was fighting for the Aeginetans when he fell. This was the third army which the Athenians sent outside of Greece. All Greece, indeed, united in the war against Priam and the Trojans. But the first foreign expedition on which the Athenians went by themselves was under Iolaus to Sardinia, the second was to Ionia, and the third was this expedition to Thrace.
6 5. In front of the tomb is a tombstone on which are represented

horsemen fighting. Their names are Melanopus and Macartatus, who were slain in a pitched battle with the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians at the place where the territory of Eleon marches with that of Tanagra. There is a grave also of the Thessalian cavalry, who came for old friendship's sake when the Peloponnesians under Archidamus first invaded Attica. Hard by is the grave of some Cretan bowmen. Then come more tombs of Athenians: the tomb of Clisthenes, who devised the existing system of tribes; and the tomb of the Athenian cavalry who fell at the time when the Thessalians were their comrades in danger. Here, too, lie the Cleonaeans 7
who came to Attica with the Argives. Why they came I will mention when I come to speak of the Argives. There is also a grave of the Athenians who warred with the Aeginetans before the Medes marched against Greece. 6. It seems that even a democracy is capable of a just resolution; for the Athenians allowed their slaves to share the honour of a public burial, and to have their names carved on the tombstone which sets forth that they were faithful to their masters in the war. Here, too, are tombs of other men; but their battlefields are far and wide. 7. The flower of the army of Olynthus are buried here, and Melesander, who sailed up the Maeander into the interior of Caria, and the men who fell in the war with Cassander, and the Argives who drew sword for Athens in days gone by. The 8
alliance with Argos is said to have been brought about as follows. The city of Lacedaemon having been shaken by an earthquake, the Helots revolted and withdrew to Ithome. On their revolt the Lacedaemonians sent for help to Athens and elsewhere. The Athenians despatched to their aid a body of picked troops under Cimon, son of Miltiades, but the Lacedaemonians suspected and dismissed them. The insult appeared to the Athenians intoler- 9
able, and on their way back they concluded an alliance with the Argives, the eternal foes of Lacedaemon. Afterwards when the Athenians were on the point of engaging the Boeotians and Lacedaemonians at Tanagra, they were reinforced by a body of Argives. At first the Argives had the best of it, but nightfall prevented them from ensuring their victory, and on the morrow Thessalian treachery enabled the Lacedaemonians to win the day. I will mention also the following:—Apollodorus, a captain of 10
mercenaries, but a native Athenian, who being sent by Arsites, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, successfully defended the city of Perinthus when Philip had invaded its territory. He is buried here, and Eubulus, son of Spintharus, and brave men worthy of a happier fate, the men who fell upon the tyrant Lachares, and those who planned the seizure of Piraeus when it was held by a Macedonian garrison, but who, before they achieved their purpose, were betrayed by their confederates to death. 8. Here, too, are laid the men who 11

fell at Corinth. There and at Leuctra God showed that they whom the Greeks call brave are powerless without fortune; for the Lacedaemonians, after vanquishing the Corinthians and Athenians, the Argives and Boeotians at Corinth, were humbled in the dust by the Boeotians single-handed at Leuctra. 9. After the men who met their death at Corinth, an inscription in elegiacs signifies that one and the same monument is raised to the men who fell in Euboea and Chios, and who perished in the farthest regions of Asia
12 and in Sicily. Inscribed are the names of the generals, except Nicias, and the names of the soldiers, both citizens and Plataeans. According to Philistus, whose account I follow, the reason why Nicias was left out was that he surrendered voluntarily, whereas Demosthenes made terms for every one but himself, and tried to kill himself when he was taken. Therefore the name of Nicias was not inscribed on the stone, because he was deemed to have
13 been a voluntary captive and no true soldier. 10. On another monument are the names of the men who fought in Thrace and at Megara, and on the occasion when Alcibiades persuaded the Arcadians of Mantinea and the Eleans to revolt from Lacedaemon, and the men who defeated the Syracusans before the arrival of Demosthenes in Sicily. 11. Here, too, are buried the men who fought in the sea-fights at the Hellespont, and those who engaged the Macedonians at Chaeronea, and those who marched with Cleon to Amphipolis, and those who fell at Delium in the land of Tanagra, and those whom Leosthenes led to Thessaly, and those who sailed with Cimon to Cyprus. Of those who joined Olympiodorus in driving
14 out the Macedonian garrison, not more than thirteen lie here. 12. The Athenians say that once when the Romans were engaged in a war with a neighbouring people, Athens sent a small contingent to their help; and afterwards five Attic galleys were present at a sea-fight between the Romans and Carthaginians; the grave of these men, therefore, is here also. 13. I have already narrated the deeds of Tolmides and his men, and the manner of their death. Be it known to any whom it may concern that they also are laid by this road-side. 14. Here, too, lie the men whom on the great day Cimon led
15 to victory by sea and land. Here are buried Conon and Timotheus, a glorious father and a glorious son, like Miltiades and Cimon before them. 15. Here, too, repose Zeno, son of Mnaseus, Chrysippus of Soli, Nicias, son of Nicomedes, the greatest animal painter of his time, Harmodius and Aristogiton, who slew Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, and the orators Ephialtes and Lycurgus, son of Lycophron. It was Ephialtes who was mainly instrumental in
16 degrading the tribunal of the Areopagus. 16. Lycurgus brought into the public chest 6500 talents more than Pericles had amassed: he made processional vessels for the goddess, and golden figures of Victory, and ornaments for a hundred maidens, and arms and missiles

of war, and four hundred ships of battle. In respect of buildings, he completed the theatre which others had begun, and during his administration he constructed ship-sheds in Piraeus, and the gymnasium beside what is called the Lyceum. Everything made of silver and gold was carried off by the tyrant Lachares, but the buildings remained to my time.

XXX

1. Before the entrance to the Academy is an altar of Love, with an inscription stating that Charmus was the first Athenian to dedicate an altar to Love. The altar in the city called the altar of Love Returned is said to have been dedicated by foreign residents, because Meles, an Athenian, scorning a foreign resident Timagoras, who loved him, bade him go up to the top of the rock and throw himself down. Timagoras, reckless of his life, and wishing to gratify the lad in everything, went and threw himself down. But when Meles saw Timagoras dead, he was seized with such remorse that he leaped from the same rock and perished. From that time the foreign residents have worshipped a spirit of Love Returned, the avenger of Timagoras. 2. In the Academy is an 2
altar of Prometheus, and they run from it to the city with burning torches. The object of the contest is to keep the torch burning during the race; for if the first runner lets his torch out, he forfeits all claim to the victory, which falls to the second instead. But if the torch of the second is out also, then the third is the winner; but if all their torches are extinguished, nobody wins. There is an altar of the Muses and another of Hermes; and within they have made an altar of Athena and one of Hercules. There is also an olive-plant, said to be the second that appeared. 3. Not far from 3
the Academy is the tomb of Plato, to whom God foreshadowed his future greatness in philosophy. The manner of the sign was this. Socrates, the night before Plato was to become his disciple, dreamed that a swan flew into his bosom. Now a swan is reputed to be versed in the Muses' craft, because they say that the Ligurians who dwell in the Celtic land beyond the Eridanus had a king named Cycnus ('swan'), skilled in the Muses' arts, who at his death was turned by the will of Apollo into the bird. That a votary of the Muses was king of the Ligurians I believe, but that a man should be turned into a bird is to me incredible. 4. In this neighbourhood 4
is seen the tower of Timon, the only man who saw no way to be happy save by shunning the rest of mankind. Here, too, is shown a place called Colonus Hippius ('horse knoll'), said to be the first spot in Attica to which Oedipus came. This is another legend at variance with Homer's poetry; still the people repeat it. There is an altar of Horse Poseidon and Horse Athena, and a shrine of the

heroes Pirithous, Theseus, Oedipus, and Adrastus. The grove of Poseidon, and the temple, were burned by Antigonus when he invaded Attica; and that was not the only time his troops ravaged Athenian territory.

XXXI

1. The small townships of Attica, to take them in order of situation, offer the following notable features. Alimus has a sanctuary of Lawgiver Demeter and the Maid. In Zoster ('girdle') on the sea there is an altar of Athena, Apollo, Artemis, and Latona. They do not say that Latona gave birth to the children here, only that she loosed her girdle in preparation for the birth, and that so the place got its name. Prospalta has also a sanctuary of the Maid and Demeter, and Anagyrus has a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods. At Cephale the Dioscuri are chiefly worshipped, for the people here
2 name them Great Gods. 2. In Prasiae there is a temple of Apollo. It is said that the first-fruits of the Hyperboreans come thither: the Hyperboreans, they say, hand them over to the Arimaspians, the Arimaspians to the Issedonians, and from the Issedonians the Scythians convey them to Sinope, and from there they are brought by Greeks to Prasiae, and the Athenians carry them to Delos. These first-fruits, it is said, are hidden in wheaten straw, and nobody knows what they are. At Prasiae there is the tomb of Erysichthon, who died on the voyage as he was returning from Delos after the
3 sacred embassy. I have already mentioned that Cranaus, king of Athens, was expelled by Amphictyon, his kinsman by marriage. They say that Cranaus fled with his partisans to the township of Lamptrae, where he died and was buried. His tomb is in Lamptrae to this day. In Potami is the grave of Ion, the son of Xuthus; for Ion also dwelt amongst the Athenians, and commanded them in
4 the war against the Eleusinians. So runs tradition. At Phlya there are altars of Dionysus-given Apollo and Light-bringing Artemis, and Flowery Dionysus, and the Ismenian Nymphs, and Earth, whom they name Great Goddess. Another temple contains altars of Demeter, the Sender-up of Gifts, and of Zeus, god of Acquisition, and of Athena Tithrone, and of the First-born Maid, and of the goddesses named Venerable. 3. In Myrrhinus is a wooden image of Colaenis. The Athmonians honour Amarysian Artemis.
5 On inquiry I found that the guides knew nothing definite about these goddesses. My own conjecture on the subject is this: there is a place Amarynthus in Euboea, and the inhabitants honour Amarysia; but the Athenians also celebrate a festival of Amarysia with no less splendour than the Euboeans. That is the reason, I believe, why the goddess got the name of Amarysia among the Athmonians. And I think that Colaenis at Myrrhinus was called after Colaenus. I have already observed that many people in the

townships aver that they were ruled over by kings before the reign of Cecrops. Now Colaenus is the name of a man who, according to the Myrrhinusians, ruled before Cecrops reigned. There is a town- 6
ship Acharnae: the inhabitants worship Apollo, god of Streets, and Hercules, and there is an altar of Health Athena. They name Athena the goddess of Horses; and Dionysus they call Minstrel and also Ivy; for they say that the ivy plant first appeared there.

XXXII

1. The mountains of Attica are Pentelicus, where are quarries; and Parnes, where wild boars and bears may be hunted; and Hymettus, which produces the best food for bees, except the land of the Alazones. For the Alazones leave the bees free to follow the cattle to pasture, and do not keep them shut up in hives; so the bees work anywhere, and the product is so blent that wax and honey are inseparable. 2. On the Attic mountains are images of the gods. 2
On Pentelicus there is an image of Athena, on Hymettus an image of Hymettian Zeus; and there are altars of Showery Zeus and Foreseeing Apollo. On Parnes is a bronze image of Parnethian Zeus, and an altar of Sign-giving Zeus. There is another altar on Parnes, on which they sacrifice, invoking Zeus now as the Showery god, now as the Averter of Ills. There is a small mountain called Anchesmus, with an image of Anchesmian Zeus.

3. Before describing the islands I will resume the subject of the 3
townships. There is a township of Marathon equally distant from Athens and from Carystus in Euboea. It was at this point of Attica that the barbarians landed, and were beaten in battle, and lost some of their ships as they were putting off to sea. In the plain is the grave of the Athenians, and over it are tombstones with the names of the fallen arranged according to tribes. There is another grave for the Boeotians of Plataea and the slaves; for slaves fought then for the first time. There is a separate tomb of 4
Miltiades, son of Cimon. He died subsequently, after he had failed to capture Paros, and had been put on his trial for it by the Athenians. Here every night you may hear horses neighing and men fighting. To go on purpose to see the sight never brought good to any man; but with him who unwittingly lights upon it by accident the spirits are not angry. 4. The people of Marathon worship the men who fell in the battle, naming them heroes; and they worship Marathon, from whom the township got its name; and Hercules, alleging that they were the first of the Greeks who deemed Hercules a god. Now it befell, they say, that in the 5
battle there was present a man of rustic aspect and dress, who slaughtered many of the barbarians with a plough, and vanished after the fight. When the Athenians inquired of the god, the only

answer he vouchsafed was to bid them honour the hero Echetlaeus. There is also a trophy of white marble. The Athenians assert that they buried the Medes, because it is a sacred and imperative duty to cover with earth a human corpse, but I could find no grave; for there was neither a barrow nor any other mark to be seen: they just carried them to a trench and flung them in pell-mell.

6 5. In Marathon there is a spring called Macaria, of which they tell the following tale. When Hercules fled from Tiryns to escape Eurystheus, he went to reside with his friend Ceyx, king of Trachis. But when Hercules had departed this life, and Eurystheus demanded that the hero's children should be given up, the king of Trachis sent them to Athens, pleading his own weakness and the power of Theseus to protect them. But when they were come as suppliants to Athens they were the occasion of the first war that the Peloponnesians waged on the Athenians; for Theseus would not surrender them at the demand of Eurystheus. It is said that an oracle declared to the Athenians that one of the children of Hercules must die a voluntary death, since otherwise they could not be victorious. Then Macaria, daughter of Hercules and Dejanira, slew herself, and thereby gave to the Athenians victory and to the spring her name.

7 6. At Marathon there is a mere, most of which is marshy. Into this mere the barbarians, ignorant of the roads, rushed in their flight, and it is said that this was the cause of most of the carnage. Above the mere are the stone mangers of the horses of Artaphernes, and there are marks of a tent on the rocks. A river flows out of the mere: near the mere the water of the river is good for cattle, but where it falls into the sea it is briny and full of sea-fishes. A little way from the plain is a mountain of Pan and a grotto that is worth seeing: its entrance is narrow, but within are chambers and baths, and what is called Pan's herd of goats, being rocks which mostly resemble goats.

XXXIII

1. Some way from Marathon is Brauron, where they say that Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, fleeing from the Taurians, landed with the image of Artemis. Here, it is said, she left the image and went to Athens, and afterwards to Argos. There is indeed an old wooden image of Artemis here; but in another place I will show who, in my opinion, possess the image which was brought from the barbarians.

2 2. Just sixty furlongs from Marathon is Rhamnus, on the road that runs beside the sea to Oropus. The dwellings of the people are beside the sea, but a little above the sea is a sanctuary of Nemesis, who of all deities is most inexorable towards the proud. It appears that the barbarians who landed at Marathon incurred

the wrath of this goddess; for, lightly deeming it an easy task to capture Athens, they brought with them Parian marble wherewith to make a trophy, as if the victory were already won. 3. Of this very marble Phidias wrought an image of Nemesis. On the head of the goddess is a crown ornamented with deers and small figures of Victory: in her left hand she carries an apple bough, in her right a bowl, on which are worked figures of Ethiopians. 3

The meaning of the Ethiopians I could not myself guess, nor could I accept the views of those who believed that they understood it: they said that the Ethiopians are wrought on the bowl on account of the Ocean river, because the Ethiopians dwell beside it, and Ocean is the father of Nemesis. 4. But beside the Ocean (which is not a river, but the farthest sea that is navigated by men) dwell Iberians and Celts, and it embraces the island of the Britons. Of the Ethiopians above Syene the farthest towards the Red Sea are the Fish-eaters, and the gulf about which they dwell is named after them. The most righteous of them inhabit the city of Meroe and the plain called the Ethiopian plain. These are they who show the Table of the Sun, but they have no sea and no river except the Nile. There are other Ethiopians who dwell next to the Moors, and reach as far as the Nasamonians. The Nasamonians are called Atlantes by Herodotus, but those who profess to know the dimensions of the earth call them Lixitae. They are the most distant of the Libyans, and dwell beside Atlas, sowing nothing, but subsisting on wild vines. But neither these Ethiopians nor the Nasamonians have any river. For the water of Atlas, though it gives rise to three streams, swells none of them into a river, but is all immediately absorbed by the sand. Thus the Ethiopians dwell beside no Ocean river. The water of Atlas is turbid, and at the spring there were crocodiles not less than two cubits in size, but at the approach of the men they plunged into the spring. Not a few have supposed that this water, reappearing out of the sand, forms the Egyptian Nile. 5. Atlas is so lofty that it is said to touch the sky with its peaks, but it is inaccessible by reason of the water and of the trees that grow all over it. The side of the Atlas towards the Nasamonians is known; but no man, so far as we know, has yet sailed past the side that faces to the open sea. But enough of this. 4 5 6

6. Neither this nor any other ancient image of Nemesis has wings: even the most holy wooden images at Smyrna are wingless. But in later times men have represented Nemesis with wings like Love, because they hold that the goddess hovers chiefly in Love's train. 7. I will now describe the figures on the pedestal of the image, but for the sake of clearness I will prefix the following observation. They say that Nemesis was the mother of Helen, but that Leda suckled and reared her. As for Helen's father, 7

the people of Rhamnus are at one with all the rest of the Greeks
8 in holding that he was Zeus, and not Tyndareus. Phidias, acquainted with these legends, has represented Helen brought by Leda to Nemesis, and has portrayed Tyndareus and his sons, and a man named Hippeus standing by with a horse. There are also Agamemnon and Menelaus and Pyrrhus, son of Achilles. This Pyrrhus was the first that had Hermione, daughter of Helen, to wife. Orestes, on account of the crime he wrought on his mother, is omitted, though Hermione cleaved to him throughout, and bore him a son. Next on the pedestal is one Epochus and another young man: of them I heard nothing except that they were brothers of Oenoe, from whom the township gets its name.

XXXIV

1. The land of Oropus, between Attica and the territory of Tanagra, was originally Boeotian, but in our time it belongs to the Athenians, who waged a continual war for it, but never got firm possession of it till Philip gave it to them after he had captured Thebes. The city is beside the sea, but contains nothing of importance to record.

Just twelve furlongs from the city is a sanctuary of Amphiaraus.
2 2. It is said that when Amphiaraus was fleeing from Thebes the earth yawned and swallowed him and his chariot: but they say that it did not happen here, but at a place Harma ('chariot') on the way from Thebes to Chalcis. The Oropians were the first to recognise Amphiaraus as a god, but afterwards all the Greeks did so too. I could enumerate others who once were men, and now receive divine honours from the Greeks: to some of them cities are dedicated, as Eleus in Chersonese is dedicated to Protesilaus, and Lebadea in Boeotia to Trophonius. The Oropians have a temple of Amphiaraus and an image of him
3 in white marble. The altar is divided into parts. One part is sacred to Hercules, Zeus, and Paeon Apollo; another to heroes and wives of heroes; a third to Hestia, Hermes, Amphiaraus, and the children of Amphilochus. But Alcmaeon, on account of what he did to Eriphyle, is not worshipped in the temple of Amphiaraus, nor in the shrine of Amphilochus. A fourth part of the altar is sacred to Aphrodite and Panacea, and also to Jason, Health, and Healing Athena. A fifth part belongs to the Nymphs and Pan and the rivers Achelous and Cephisus. There is an altar to Amphilochus in the city of Athens, and at Mallus in Cilicia he has the most infallible of all the oracles of the present day.
4 3. Near the temple at Oropus there is a spring which they call the spring of Amphiaraus. They neither sacrifice into it, nor do they use its water for purification or for washing the hands; but when a

man has been healed in consequence of an oracle vouchsafed to him, it is customary for him to drop silver and gold coins into the spring; for it was here, they say, that Amphiaraus rose as a god. Iophon of Cnosus, a professional antiquary, published oracles in hexameter verse, which, he alleged, were delivered by Amphiaraus to the Argives who marched to Thebes. These verses were eminently adapted to catch the popular taste; but in point of fact, with the exception of the men who are said to have been inspired by Apollo in days of old, not one of the soothsayers uttered oracles: their skill lay in the interpretation of dreams, and in distinguishing the flights of birds and the inwards of victims. And my opinion 5 is that Amphiaraus devoted himself chiefly to the interpretation of dreams; for it is clear that when he was recognised as a god he instituted divination by dreams. Those who come to inquire of Amphiaraus are wont to purify themselves first of all. Purification consists in sacrificing to the god. They sacrifice both to him and to all those whose names are on the <altar>. After these preliminaries they sacrifice a ram, and spreading the skin under them go to sleep, awaiting a revelation in a dream.

XXXV

1. The Athenians have the following islands not far from the coast: one called the island of Patroclus, of which I have already given an account; another beyond Sunium, as you sail with Attica on the left. On this latter island they say that Helen landed after the taking of Ilium, and hence the name of the island is Helene.

2. Salamis lies over against Eleusis, and extends as far as the 2 territory of Megara. <It is said that Cychreus> first called the island by its present name after his mother Salamis, daughter of Asopus, and that afterwards it was colonised by the Aeginetans under Telamon; but they say that Philaeus, the son of Eurysaces, the son of Ajax, on being made an Athenian citizen, surrendered the island to the Athenians. Many years afterwards the Athenians expelled the Salaminians, on the ground that they had purposely been slack in the war with Cassander, and had willingly enough surrendered their city to the Macedonians. They also sentenced to death Ascetades, who had been chosen general of Salamis, and they swore that for all time they would bear the treachery of the Salaminians in mind against them.

There are still ruins of the market-place, and there is a temple 3 of Ajax: the image is of ebony. To this day honours continue to be paid by the Athenians to Ajax and Eurysaces; for there is an altar of Eurysaces at Athens. A stone is shown in Salamis not far from the harbour: on this stone they say that Telamon sat gazing at the ship as his children sailed away to Aulis to join the

4 national Greek expedition. 3. The inhabitants of Salamis say that when Ajax died, the flower appeared for the first time in their land: it is white, with a tinge of red, smaller than a lily both in flower and leaf, and there are letters on it as on the hyacinth. From the Aeolians who afterwards inhabited Ilium I heard a story about the award in the affair of the arms. They said that when Ulysses was cast away the arms were washed ashore at the grave of Ajax.

5 As to the size of Ajax, a man of Mysia said that the sea had washed against the side of the grave that faces the beach, and had made the entrance to the tomb not difficult; and he told me I might judge of the size of the corpse from this: the knee bones or knee pans (as doctors call them) were about the size of a quoit used by a boy who practises the pentathlum. As to the remotest tribe of Celts called Cabarenses, who dwell on the borders of the frozen desert, I was not astonished at their stature, which does not differ from that of Egyptian corpses. 4. But I will mention what struck me as

6 remarkable. Protophanes, a citizen of Magnesia on the Lethaeus, was victorious in the pancratium and in wrestling on the same day at Olympia. Robbers, expecting to find some plunder, entered his grave; and after the robbers some people went in to view the corpse, the ribs of which were not separate, but were united in a single piece from the shoulders to the smallest ribs which doctors call false. 5. In front of the city of Miletus is the island of Lade, and detached from Lade are two islets, one of which they name the isle of Asterius. They say that Asterius is buried in it, and that he was a son of Anax, and that Anax was a son of Earth. At all

7 events the corpse is not less than ten cubits. 6. The following affair excited my surprise. In Upper Lydia there is a city of no great size called Temenothyrae: here a hillside having been swept away by a storm, some bones came to light, the shape of which seemed to prove that they were the bones of a man, though the size of them could never have suggested that they were so. Immediately a story got abroad that the skeleton was that of Geryon, the son of Chrysaor, and that the chair was his too; for there is a man's chair wrought in a rocky spur of a mountain. And to a winter torrent they gave the name of Ocean, and said that some men in ploughing had lighted on the horns of cows; for the story goes that

8 Geryon bred very fine cows. But when I gainsaid them and showed that Geryon is at Cadiz, where, though he has no tomb, there is a tree that takes diverse forms, the Lydian guides let out the truth, to wit, that the skeleton was that of Hyllus, that Hyllus was a son of Earth, and that the river was named after him. They said, too, that Hercules called his son Hyllus after the river on account of his former stay with Omphale.

XXXVI

1. But to return to the subject in hand. In Salamis there is a sanctuary of Artemis and a trophy of the victory which Themistocles, son of Neocles, was instrumental in winning for the Greeks. There is also a sanctuary of Cychreus. It is said that while the Athenians were engaged in the sea-fight with the Medes a serpent appeared among the ships, and God announced to the Athenians that this serpent was the hero Cychreus. 2. In front of Salamis is an island 2
called Psyttalia. They say that about four hundred barbarians landed on it, and that, when the fleet of Xerxes was worsted, the Greeks crossed over and put them to the sword. The island contains no really artistic image, only some rude wooden idols of Pan.

3. On the road from Athens to Eleusis, which the Athenians 3
call the Sacred Way, there is the tomb of Anthemocritus. He was the victim of a most foul crime perpetrated by the Megarians; for when he came as a herald to forbid them to encroach on the sacred land, they slew him. And the wrath of the two goddesses abides upon them for that deed to this day; for they were the only Greek people whom even the Emperor Hadrian could not make to thrive. 4
After the tombstone of Anthemocritus is the grave of Molottus, who had the honour of commanding the Athenians when they crossed into Euboea to help Plutarch. And there is a place which is called Scirum for the following reason. When the Eleusinians were at war with Erechtheus they were joined by a soothsayer from Dodona named Scirus, who also founded the ancient sanctuary of Sciradian Athena at Phalerum. He fell in the battle, and the Eleusinians buried him near a winter torrent; and both the place and the torrent take their name from the hero. 4. Near it is the tomb of Cephisodorus, a 5
popular leader and a most determined opponent of Philip, son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Cephisodorus gained for the Athenians the alliance of two kings, Attalus the Mysian and Ptolemy the Egyptian, as well as the alliance of independent peoples, to wit, the Aetolians and the islanders of Rhodes and Crete. But when the 6
succours from Egypt, Mysia, and Crete were mostly delayed, and the Rhodians, whose strength was in ships only, were of little avail against the Macedonian infantry, Cephisodorus sailed with other Athenians to Italy and begged help of the Romans. The Romans sent a general with a force, who reduced the power of Philip and his Macedonians so low, that afterwards Perseus, the son of Philip, lost his kingdom and was himself carried a prisoner to Italy. This Philip was the son of Demetrius; for Demetrius was the first of this house that sat on the throne of Macedonia after he had slain Alexander, son of Cassander, as I have already narrated.

XXXVII

1. After the tomb of Cephisodorus is the grave of Heliodorus Halis, whose picture may be seen in the great temple of Athena. There is also the grave of Themistocles, son of Poliarchus, and grandson of the Themistocles who fought the sea-fight against Xerxes and the Medes. All his later descendants I will pass over except Acestium. She was the daughter of Xenocles, the son of Sophocles, the son of Leon: all these her ancestors up to Leon, the third in the ascending line, were privileged to be Torch-bearers; and in her own lifetime she saw first her brother Sophocles bearing a torch, and after him her husband Themistocles, and after his death her son Theophrastus. Such bliss, they say, was hers.

2 A little farther on is a precinct of the hero Lacius, and a township named Laciadae after him. There is also a tomb of Nicocles of Tarentum, the most famous of all who have played and sung to the harp. There is also an altar of Zephyr, and a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter: along with them are worshipped Athena and Poseidon. 2. They say that in this place Phytalus received Demeter in his house, and that for so doing the goddess gave him the fig-tree. This story is attested by the inscription on the grave of Phytalus:—

Here the lordly hero Phytalus once received the august
Demeter, when she first revealed the autumnal fruit
Which the race of mortals names the sacred fig;
Since when the race of Phytalus hath received honours that wax not old.

3 Before you cross the Cephisus there is the tomb of Theodorus, the best tragic actor of his time. Beside the river are two statues, one of Mnesimache, the other a votive offering representing her son shearing his hair in honour of the Cephisus. That this was an ancient custom of all the Greeks may be inferred from the poetry of Homer, who says that Peleus vowed to shear the hair of Achilles in honour of the Spercheus if Achilles came home safe from Troy.

4 3. After we have crossed the Cephisus we come to an ancient altar of Gracious Zeus. At this altar Theseus was purified by the descendants of Phytalus after he had slain the robbers, especially Sinis, who was related to him through Pittheus. Here, too, is the grave of Theodectes of Phaselis, and the grave of Mnesitheus. The latter is said to have been a good physician and to have dedicated images, amongst others an image of Iacchus. Beside the road is built a small temple called the temple of Cyamites. I cannot say with certainty whether he was the first who sowed beans (*kuamoi*), or whether they made up the name of a bean-hero because the discovery of beans cannot be attributed to

Demeter. Any one who has seen the mysteries at Eleusis, or has read what are called the works of Orpheus, knows what I mean.

4. Among the largest and stateliest of the tombs is one of a 5
Rhodian who migrated to Athens: another was erected by the Macedonian Harpalus, who fled from Alexander and crossed the sea from Asia to Europe. When he came to Athens, the Athenians apprehended him; but by bribing Alexander's partisans and others he escaped. Previously he had married Pythionice: I do not know her extraction, but she had been a courtesan in Athens and Corinth. He loved her so passionately that when she died he reared in her memory the best worth seeing of all ancient Greek tombs.

There is a sanctuary in which are images of Demeter and her 6
daughter, and also of Athena and Apollo; but the sanctuary was originally made for Apollo alone. For they say that Cephalus, son of Deion, joined Amphitryo in his expedition against the Teleboans, and was the first to inhabit the island which is now called after him Cephallenia. Up to that time he had dwelt as an exile in Thebes, whither he fled from Athens on account of the murder of his wife Procris. Nine generations afterwards his descendants Chalcinus and Daetus sailed to Delphi, and requested of the god leave to return to Athens. He bade them first sacrifice to Apollo at that place in 7
Attica where they should see a galley running on the land. But when they were about Mount Poecilus there appeared to them a serpent hastening to his hole; so they sacrificed to Apollo at that place, and afterwards when they were come to the city the Athenians made them citizens.

After this is a temple of Aphrodite, and in front of it is a wall of unwrought stones that is worth seeing.

XXXVIII

1. What are called the Rhiti only resemble rivers in that they flow, for their water is salt. One might suppose that they flow under ground from the Chalcidian Euripus, falling into a lower sea. The Rhiti are said to be sacred to the Maid and Demeter; and the priests alone are allowed to catch the fish in them. The Rhiti were of old, as I am apprised, the boundary between the Eleusinians and the rest of the Athenians. 2. Across the Rhiti the first dweller was 2
Crocon, at the place which is still called the palace of Crocon. The Athenians say that this Crocon married Saesara, daughter of Celeus; not all of them, however, say so, but only those who are of the township of Scambonidae. I could not find the grave of Crocon, but Eleusinians and Athenians agreed in pointing out the tomb of Eumolpus. 3. They say that this Eumolpus came from Thrace, and that he was a son of Poseidon and Chione, who is said to have

been a daughter of the North Wind and Orithyia. Homer says nothing of the lineage of Eumolpus, but in his verses calls him
3 'manly.' In a battle between the Eleusinians and the Athenians, there fell Erechtheus, king of Athens, and Immaradus, son of Eumolpus; and peace was made on these terms: the Eleusinians were to perform the mysteries by themselves, but were in all other respects to be subject to the Athenians. The sacred rites of the two goddesses were celebrated by Eumolpus and the daughters of Celeus: Pamphos and Homer agree in calling these damsels Diogenia, Pammerope, and Saesara. On Eumolpus' death, Ceryx, the younger of his sons, was left. But the Ceryces themselves say that Ceryx was a son of Hermes by Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops,
4 and not a son of Eumolpus. 4. There is a shrine of the hero Hippothoon, after whom they name the tribe; and hard by is a shrine of the hero Zarex. They say that this Zarex learned music from Apollo. I believe that he was a Lacedaemonian, and came as a stranger into the country, and that the city of Zarax, on the sea-coast of Laconia, is called after him. If the Athenians have a native hero Zarex, I know nothing about him.

5 5. At Eleusis flows the Cephisus, a more impetuous stream than the Cephisus mentioned before. Beside it is a place which they call Erineus. They say that Pluto, when he carried off the Maid, descended here. At this Cephisus a robber named Polypemon,
6 and surnamed Procrustes, was slain by Theseus. 6. The Eleusinians have a temple of Triptolemus, and another of Artemis of the Portal and of Father Poseidon, and a well called Callichorum, where the Eleusinian women first danced and sang in honour of the goddess. They say that the Rarian plain was the first to be sown and the first to bear crops, and therefore it is their custom to take the sacrificial barley and to make the cakes for the sacrifices out of its produce. Here is shown what is called the threshing-floor of Triptolemus
7 and the altar. But my dream forbade me to describe what is within the wall of the sanctuary; and surely it is clear that the uninitiated may not lawfully hear of that from the sight of which they are debarred. 7. The hero Eleusis, after whom they name the city, is said by some to be a son of Hermes and of Daira, daughter of Ocean; but others have made him the son of Ogygus. For the old legends, being unencumbered by genealogies, left free scope for fiction, especially in the pedigrees of heroes.

8 8. Beyond Eleusis, in the direction of Boeotia, the Athenian territory marches with the Plataean. Formerly Eleutherae was the limit of Boeotia on the side of Attica; but when the Eleutherians cast in their lot with Athens, Cithaeron became the boundary of Boeotia. The accession of Eleutherae to Athens was the result, not of conquest, but partly of a desire to share the Athenian citizenship, and partly of a hatred of Thebes. In this plain there is a

temple of Dionysus: it was from here that the old wooden image was brought to Athens: the image now in Eleutherae is a copy of it. 9. A little farther off is a cave of no great size, and beside it is a 9
spring of cold water. It is said that when Antiope had brought forth, she placed the babes in the cave; and that the shepherd, finding the babes at the spring, stript them of their swaddling clothes, and washed them here for the first time. Ruins of the town-wall of Eleutherae and of the houses still exist. From these remains it is clear that the city was built a little above the plain beside Mount Cithaeron.

XXXIX

1. Another road leads from Eleusis to Megara. Following this road we come to a well called the Flowery Well. The poet Pamphos says that Demeter sat on this well in the likeness of an old woman after the rape of her daughter; and that thence she was conducted, in the character of an old woman, by the daughters of Celeus to their mother Metanira, who entrusted her with the upbringing of the boy. 2. A little way from the well is a sanctuary of 2
Metanira, and after it are graves of the men who marched against Thebes. For Creon, who, as guardian of Laodamas, son of Eteocles, was at that time supreme in Thebes, did not suffer the relatives to take up and bury their dead. So Adrastus implored the help of Theseus: a battle was fought by the Athenians against the Boeotians, and Theseus, being victorious in the battle, conveyed the bodies into the territory of Eleusis and buried them there. But the Thebans say that they voluntarily granted leave to take up the dead, and deny that they fought a battle. 3. After the graves of 3
the Argives there is the tomb of Alope, who is said to have been here put to death by her father Cercyon after she had borne Hippothoon to Poseidon. Cercyon is said to have ill-treated strangers, especially by wrestling with them against their will. The place was called the wrestling-ground of Cercyon down to my time: it is a little way from the grave of Alope. Cercyon is said to have killed all who wrestled with him except Theseus, who threw him by skill rather than strength. For the art of wrestling was invented by Theseus, and from his time onward it was systematically taught, whereas formerly wrestlers had relied on stature and strength alone.

Such are, in my opinion, the most famous of the Athenian traditions and sights: from the mass of materials I have aimed from the outset at selecting the really notable. 4. Next to Eleusis is Megaris, 4
which also of old belonged to the Athenians, King Pylas having bequeathed it to Pandion. This is proved by the grave of Pandion in Megarian territory, and by the fact that Nisus, relinquishing to Aegeus, the eldest of the family, the sovereignty of Attica, was invested with the kingdom of Megara and of all the

country as far as Corinth. The Megarian seaport is still called Nisaea after him. But afterwards in the reign of Codrus the Peloponnesians marched against Athens; and, having achieved no brilliant success, on their return they took Megara from the Athenians, and gave it to such of the Corinthians and of their other allies as chose to settle in
5 it. Thus the Megarians changed their customs and language, and became Dorians. They say that the city got its present name in the time of Car, the son of Phoroneus, who reigned in this land: then for the first time, they say, they made sanctuaries of Demeter, and the people named them *Megara*. This is what the Megarians say about themselves. 5. But the Boeotians affirm that Megareus, son of Poseidon, dwelt in Onchestus, and came with an army of Boeotians to help Nisus in waging war against Minos; that having fallen in the battle he was buried on the spot; and that the city, which had previously been called Nisa, got the name of Megara from
6 him. The Megarians say that Lelex came from Egypt and reigned in the eleventh generation after Car, the son of Phoroneus, and that the people were called Leleges in his reign; and that Cleson, son of Lelex, begat Pylas, and Pylas begat Sciron, and Sciron married . . . . daughter of Pandion, and afterwards claimed the throne against Pandion's son Nisus. Aeacus, they say, arbitrated between them, awarding the kingdom to Nisus and his posterity, but to Sciron the command in war. They say that Megareus, son of Poseidon, succeeded Nisus on the throne, having married the king's daughter Iphinoe; but about the Cretan war and the capture of the city in the reign of Nisus they profess to know nothing.

XL

1. In the city there is a water-basin: it was built by Theagenes, with regard to whom I have already mentioned that he gave his daughter in marriage to Cylon the Athenian. This Theagenes, having made himself tyrant, built the water-basin, which is worth seeing for its size, its decorations, and the number of its columns. Water flows into it, called the water of the Sithnidian nymphs. The Megarians say that the Sithnidian nymphs are natives of the country; that Zeus had an intrigue with one of them; and that Megarus, a son of Zeus and this nymph, escaped from Deucalion's flood to the tops of Mount Gerania, which up to that time had not borne the name of Gerania, but then received it, because Megarus in swimming followed the cries of some flying
2 cranes (*geranoi*). 2. Not far from this water-basin is an ancient sanctuary: at the present day statues of Roman emperors stand in it, also a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Saviour. They say that some men of the army of Mardonius, after scouring the Megarian territory, wished to make their way back to Mardonius at

Thebes, but by the will of Artemis night overtook them on the way, and missing the road, they strayed into the mountainous part of the country. To try if a hostile army was near, they shot some bolts which, striking the neighbouring rock, gave out a mournful sound, whereat the archers redoubled their exertions. At last their arrows 3
were spent in shooting at imaginary foes: day began to break: the Megarians came down on them, and, fighting in armour against men who had no armour and but few missiles, they slaughtered most of them. For this the Megarians had an image made of Saviour Artemis. Here, too, are images of the Twelve Gods, as they are called: they are said to be works of Praxiteles, but the image of Artemis was made by Strongylion.

3. Next, on entering the precinct of Zeus, which is called 4
the Olympieum, we come to a temple which is worth seeing. But the image of Zeus was not finished in consequence of the outbreak of the war of the Peloponnesians with Athens, in which the Athenians annually ravaged the Megarian territory by sea and land, thereby crippling the public revenues and reducing private families to the lowest depths of penury. The face of the image of Zeus is of ivory and gold, but the rest is of clay and gypsum. They say that it was made by Theocosmus, a native artist, assisted by Phidias. Over the head of Zeus are the Seasons and Fates; and it is plain to all that Destiny obeys Zeus alone, and that Zeus orders the Seasons aright. Behind the temple lie some half-wrought blocks of wood: Theocosmus intended to adorn them with ivory and gold, and thus complete the image of Zeus. 4. In the temple itself is 5
dedicated the bronze beak of a galley. They say they took this ship in a sea-fight with the Athenians off Salamis. The Athenians admit that for a time they ceded the island to the Megarians; but they say that afterwards Solon stirred them up by his verses, they renewed the strife, and, being victorious in the war, regained Salamis. The Megarians, however, assert that exiles from Megara, whom they name Dorycleans, went to the colonists in Salamis, and betrayed the island to the Athenians.

5. After the precinct of Zeus we ascend the acropolis, which 6
to the present day is still called Caria, after Car, the son of Phoroneus. Here is a temple of Nocturnal Dionysus, also a sanctuary of Epistrophian Aphrodite, and what is called the oracle of Night, and a roofless temple of Dusty Zeus. The images of Aesculapius and Health were made by Bryaxis. Here, too, is what is called the hall (*megaron*) of Demeter: they said it was made by King Car.

XLI

1. Descending from the acropolis, on the northern side, we come to the tomb of Alcmena, near the Olympieum. For they say that

journeying to Thebes from Argos she died by the way at Megara, and that a dispute arose among the Heraclids, some of them wishing to convey Alcmena's corpse back to Argos, and others to convey it to Thebes; for the grave of the sons of Hercules, by Megara, and the grave of Amphitryo, are at Thebes. But the god at Delphi announced in an oracle that it was better for them to bury Alcmena
2 in Megara. 2. Thence the local guide led us to a place which he alleged was named Rhus ('stream'), because water from the mountains above the city once flowed this way. But Theagenes, who was then tyrant, diverted the water, and made here an altar to Achelous. 3. Near it is the tomb of Hyllus, son of Hercules, who engaged in single combat with an Arcadian named Echemus, son of Aeropus. Who this Echemus was that slew Hyllus I will show elsewhere; but Hyllus is buried at Megara. This might rightly be called an expedition of the Heraclids into Peloponnese
3 in the reign of Orestes. 4. Not far from the tomb of Hyllus is a temple of Isis, and beside it is a temple of Apollo and Artemis. They say that Alcathous built it after slaying the lion, which was called the lion of Cithaeron. Among others who, the Megarians say, were destroyed by this lion, was Euippus, son of their king Megareus. His elder son Timalcus, marching to Aphidna with the Dioscuri, had met his death still earlier at the hand of Theseus. So Megareus promised that whoever should slay the lion of Cithaeron should marry his daughter, and succeed him in the kingdom. Therefore Alcathous, son of Pelops, attacked and overcame the beast, and when he was come to the throne he made this sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo, surnaming them respectively
4 Huntress and Hunter. 5. Such is the tale they tell. But though I wish to conform to the Megarian tradition, I am unable to do so on all points. That the lion was killed on Cithaeron by Alcathous I believe; but what writer says that Timalcus, son of Megareus, went to Aphidna with the Dioscuri? and, if he did go, how could it be thought that he was killed by Theseus, when Alcman, in the song on the Dioscuri, which tells how they captured Athens and carried away captive Theseus' mother, says that Theseus himself
5 was absent? Pindar's account is similar: he represents Theseus as wishing to be connected by marriage with the Dioscuri, so that at last he went away to aid Pirithous in achieving his famous wedding. Obviously, any one who has studied genealogy must impute great credulity to the Megarians, since Theseus was a descendant of Pelops. But, in point of fact, the Megarians know the truth, but conceal it, not wishing it to appear that their city was captured in the reign of Nisus: they would have it supposed that Nisus was succeeded on the throne by his son-in-law Megareus,
6 and Megareus again by his son-in-law Alcathous. But it is clear that the occasion when Alcathous arrived from Elis was after the

death of Nisus and the ruin of Megara. This is proved by the fact that he rebuilt the city wall from the foundations, the circuit of the old wall having been pulled down by the Cretans. So much for Alcathous and the lion. He certainly built the temple of Huntress Artemis and Hunter Apollo, whether he slew the lion on Cithaeron or elsewhere.

6. Descending from this sanctuary we come to a shrine of the hero Pandion. That Pandion was buried on the bluff called the bluff of Diver-bird Athena, has already been indicated by me; but he is also worshipped in the city by the Megarians. 7. 7 Near the shrine of the hero Pandion is the tomb of Hippolyte. I will tell her story as it is told by the Megarians. When the Amazons marched against the Athenians on account of Antiope, and were vanquished by Theseus, most of them died fighting; but Hippolyte, who was sister to Antiope, and at that time held the command of the women, escaped with a few others to Megara. There, however, the disaster which had overtaken her army filled her with despondency at the situation in which she found herself, and with despair of ever returning safe home to Themiscyra; so she died of grief, and they buried her. Her tomb is shaped like an Amazonian shield. 8. Not far from it is the grave of Tereus, who 8 married Procne, daughter of Pandion. According to the Megarians, Tereus reigned at Pagae in Megaris. But my belief, supported by evidence which is still extant, is that he reigned over Daulis, which lies beyond Chaeronea; for of old the greater part of what is now called Greece was peopled by barbarians. When the women had retaliated on Itys for the deed which Tereus had wrought on Philomela, Tereus could not catch them. He died by 9 his own hand at Megara; and the people immediately raised a barrow to him, and they sacrifice every year, using gravel in the sacrifice instead of barley groats. And they say that the hoopoe first appeared here. But the women went to Athens, and there, mourning both their wrongs and their revenge, they wept themselves to death. The fable that they were turned into a nightingale and a swallow was suggested, I suppose, by the plaintive and dirge-like song of these birds.

XLII

1. The Megarians have yet another acropolis, which takes its name from Alcathous. On the right of the ascent to this acropolis is the tomb of Megareus, who, at the time of the Cretan invasion, came from Onchestus to fight for the Megarians. There is also shown a hearth of the gods who are called Prodomeis ('builders before'), and they say that Alcathous first sacrificed to them when he was about to begin building the wall. Near this hearth is a stone, on which they 2

say that Apollo laid down his lyre when he was helping Alcathous to build the wall. Another proof that Megara belonged to the Athenians is this: Alcathous appears to have sent his daughter Periboea with Theseus to Crete in payment of the tribute. When he was building the wall, as the Megarians say, Apollo helped him in the work, and laid down his lyre on the stone; and if any one chance to hit the stone with a pebble, it sounds exactly like a lyre
3 that is struck. 2. This surprised me; but what surprised me far more than anything was the Colossus of the Egyptians. At Thebes, in Egypt, when you have crossed the Nile to the Tunnels (*Suringes*), as they are called, you come to a seated image which gives out a sound. Most people name it Memnon; for they say that Memnon marched from Ethiopia to Egypt and onward as far as Susa. The Thebans, however, say that the image represents, not Memnon, but a native called Phamenoph. I have also heard some people allege that it is Sesostris. This image Cambyses cut in two; and now the part from the head to the middle of the body is thrown down; but the rest of it remains seated, and every day at sunrise it reverberates; and the sound may be best likened to the breaking of the string of a lute or lyre.

4 3. The Megarians have a Council House. It was once, they say, the grave of Timalcus, of whom I affirmed a little above that he was not slain by Theseus. 4. On the summit of the acropolis is built a temple of Athena. The image is gilt, except the hands and feet, which, as well as the face, are of ivory. Here, too, is another sanctuary of Athena, called Victory, and another of Ajacian Athena. The Megarian guides say nothing about it, but I will state my own opinion on the subject. Telamon, son of Aeacus, married Periboea, daughter of Alcathous. I apprehend, therefore, that Ajax, having succeeded Alcathous in the kingdom, made the image of
5 Athena. 5. The old temple of Apollo was of brick, but afterwards the Emperor Hadrian built it of white marble. The image called the Pythian Apollo, and the other called the Receiver of Tithes, are very like the Egyptian wooden images; but the one which they surname Founder resembles Aeginetan works. All of them are made of ebony. 6. I have heard a Cyprian, who was skilled in simples, say that the ebony-tree does not put forth leaves, and that there is no fruit on it—nay, that it is never seen in the sunlight, but consists of underground roots, which the Ethiopians dig up; for there are
6 men among them who know how to find the ebony. 7. There is also a sanctuary of Lawgiver Demeter.

Descending thence we come to the tomb of Callipolis, son of Alcathous. Alcathous had an elder son, Ischepolis, whom he sent to help Meleager to destroy the wild beast in Aetolia. He perished there, and Callipolis was the first to learn of his death; so running up to the acropolis, where his father was at that moment offering

burnt sacrifices to Apollo, he flung the wood from the altar. But Alcathous, not yet apprised of the death of Ischepolis, judged Callipolis guilty of impiety, and, in the heat of passion, killed him on the spot by smiting him on the head with one of the billets that had been flung from the altar.

8. On the way to the Prytaneum is a shrine of the heroine Ino. It is surrounded by a stone wall, and olive-trees grow beside it. The Megarians are the only Greeks who say that the corpse of Ino was cast ashore on their coasts, and that Cleso and Tauropolis, daughters of Cleson, son of Lelex, found and buried it. They say, too, that she was first named Leucothea among them, and that they offer sacrifices every year.

XLIII

1. They say that there is a shrine also of the heroine Iphigenia; for she too, according to them, died in Megara. I heard another story of Iphigenia told by Arcadians, and I know that Hesiod in his *Catalogue of Women* says that Iphigenia did not die, but became Hecate by the will of Artemis. In harmony with this account, Herodotus writes that the Taurians on the borders of Scythia sacrifice castaways to a virgin, and say that the virgin is Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon. Adrastus also is revered by the Megarians. They say that he too died amongst them when he was leading back his army after he had taken Thebes; and that the causes of his decease were old age and the death of Aegialeus. There is also a sanctuary of Artemis, which Agamemnon made when he came to persuade Calchas, who dwelt in Megara, to follow him to Ilium.

2. They say that in the Prytaneum are buried Euippus, son of 2
Megareus, and Ischepolis, son of Alcathous. Near the Prytaneum is a rock which they name Anaclethra ('recall'), because Demeter, if you please, when she wandered seeking her daughter, here called her back. The Megarian women to this day perform a mimic representation of the legend. There are graves in the city of Megara. 3
One of them they made for the men who fell in the invasion of the Medes. Another, called the Aesymnium, was also a tomb of heroes.

3. For when Hyperion, son of Agamemnon, and last king of Megara, was slain by Sandion for his greed and insolence, the Megarians resolved to be governed by a king no longer, but to have elective magistrates, and thus to obey each other in turn. Then Aesymnus, who was second to none of the Megarians in reputation, went to the god at Delphi, and inquired by what means the Megarians would be prosperous. In reply the god said, amongst other things, that the Megarians would fare well if they took counsel with the majority. Thinking that these words referred to the dead, they built here a Council House in order that the grave of the heroes

might be within the Council House. 4. As you go thence to the shrine of the hero Alcathous, which in my time the Megarians used as a record-office, there is a tomb which they said was the tomb of Pyrgo, who was the wife of Alcathous before he married Euaechme, daughter of Megareus; and there is another tomb which they said was that of Iphinoe, daughter of Alcathous: they say she died a maid. It is the custom for girls to bring libations to the tomb of Iphinoe before marriage, and to offer clippings of their hair, just as the daughters of the Delians used once to shear their hair in honour of Hecaerge and Opis. 5. Beside the entrance to the sanctuary of Dionysus is the grave of Astycratea and Manto. They were daughters of Polyidus, son of Coeranus, son of Abas, son of Melampus, who came to Megara to purify Alcathous after the murder of his son Callipolis. Polyidus also built the sanctuary to Dionysus, and dedicated a wooden image, which in our time is all hidden except the face, the only visible part of it. Beside it stands a Satyr, a work of Praxiteles, in Parian marble. This Dionysus they call Paternal; but another Dionysus they surname Dasyllian, and say that his image was dedicated by Euchenor, son of Coeranus, son of Polyidus. 6. After the sanctuary of Dionysus is a temple of Aphrodite: the image of Aphrodite is made of ivory, and is surnamed Praxis ('action'): it is the most ancient object in the temple. The images of Persuasion and another goddess whom they name Comforter are works of Praxiteles. But Scopas made the images of Love and Longing and Yearning (if indeed their functions are, like their names, distinct). Near the temple of Aphrodite is a sanctuary of Fortune: the image of Fortune is also a work of Praxiteles. And in the neighbouring temple are images of the Muses and a bronze Zeus, both by Lysippus.

7. The Megarians have also the grave of Coroebus. I will here relate the poetical account of him, though it equally concerns the history of Argos. They say that when Crotopus was reigning in Argos his daughter Psamathe had a child by Apollo, and that being in great dread of her father she exposed the child. It was found and destroyed by sheep-dogs of Crotopus, and Apollo sent Punishment into the city of the Argives. She snatched the children from their mothers, until Coroebus to please the Argives murdered her. But after the murder a second plague fell upon them and abated not; so Coroebus went voluntarily to Delphi to be punished by the god for the murder of Punishment. The Pythian priestess would not allow him to return to Argos, but bade him take up a tripod and carry it from the sanctuary, and wherever it fell out of his hands, there he was to build a temple of Apollo and to take up his abode. At Mount Gerania the tripod slipped and fell from his hands before he was aware; and there he founded the village of Tripodisci. The grave of Coroebus is in the market-place of Megara:

elegiac verses are carved on it, telling the tale of Psamathe and of Coroebus; and the grave is surmounted by a figure of Coroebus in the act of murdering Punishment. These images are the most ancient Greek images in stone that I have seen.

XLIV

1. Near the grave of Coroebus is the grave of Orsippus, who won the race at Olympia running naked, whereas according to an ancient custom athletes had previously worn girdles in the games. They say that afterwards Orsippus as general annexed part of the neighbouring territory. I believe that at Olympia he purposely dropped his girdle, knowing that a man can run more easily naked than girt with a girdle.

2. Descending from the market-place by the street that is called 2
Straight, we have on the right a sanctuary of Tutelary Apollo: it can be found by turning a little way out of the street. In it is an image of Apollo that is worth seeing; also images of Artemis, Latona, and others: Latona and her children are by Praxiteles. 3. In the old gymnasium, near the gate called the Gate of the Nymphs, is a stone in the shape of a small pyramid: they name it Apollo Carinus; and there is a sanctuary of the Ilithyias here. Such are the sights that the city had to show.

4. Having gone down to the port, which is still called Nisaea, 3
we come to a sanctuary of Malophorian ('sheep-bearing' or 'apple-bearing') Demeter. Among the explanations offered of this surname is that it was given to Demeter by the first men who reared sheep in the country. We may infer that the roof of the sanctuary has fallen in through the effects of time. 5. Here, too, there is an acropolis which is also named Nisaea. Descending from the acropolis we come to the tomb of Lelex beside the sea. They say that Lelex came from Egypt and reigned, and that he was a son of Poseidon and Libya, daughter of Epaphus. Parallel to Nisaea lies the small island of Minoa: here the Cretan fleet anchored in the war with Nisus.

6. The mountainous part of Megaris borders on Boeotia: in it 4
are the Megarian cities of Pagae and Aegosthena. A little way out of the high-road which leads to Pagae a rock is shown with arrows sticking all over it: it was at this rock that the Medes shot in the night. 7. In Pagae there was left a bronze image of Saviour Artemis which was worth seeing: it is equal in size to the image at Megara, and not different in shape. Here, too, is a shrine of the hero Aegialeus, son of Adrastus. For when the Argives marched against Thebes the second time, he was slain at Glisas in the first battle, and his kinsmen carried him to Pagae, in Megaris, and buried him there, and the shrine is still called by his name. 8. In 5

Aegosthena there is a sanctuary of Melampus, son of Amythaon, and a small figure of a man carved in relief on a monument; and they sacrifice to Melampus and hold a yearly festival. They say he divines neither by dreams nor in any other way. And I heard another thing in Erenea, a Megarian village, that Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus, migrated thither from Thebes out of excess of grief at the death of Actaeon (which they narrate in the usual way) and at the whole fortunes of the house of her fathers. Autonoe's tomb is in this village.

6 9. Among the graves on the road from Megara to Corinth is that of the Samian fluteplayer Telephanes: they say that the grave was made by Cleopatra, daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas. There is also a tomb of Car the son of Phoroneus: it was originally a mound of earth, but afterwards in obedience to an oracle it was adorned with mussel-stone. Megaris is the only part of Greece where this mussel-stone is found, and many buildings in the city are made of it. It is very white and softer than other stone, and there are sea-mussels all through it. Such is the nature of this stone.

10. The road which is still named after Sciron was first, they say, made passable for foot-passengers by Sciron when he was war minister of Megara; but the Emperor Hadrian made it so wide
7 and convenient that even chariots could meet on it. 11. Stories are told of the rocks that rise especially at the narrow part of the road. Of the Molurian rock it is told how Ino flung herself from it into the sea with her younger son Melicertes in her arms; for her elder son Learchus had been killed by his father. One story is that Athamas did this in a fit of madness: another is that he wreaked on Ino and her children his ungovernable rage when he perceived that the famine which had visited the Orchomenians, and the supposed death of Phrixus, were caused, not
8 by the deity, but by the machinations of the stepmother Ino. So she fled and hurled herself and the child from the Molurian rock into the sea. But the boy, it is said, was landed on the Isthmus of Corinth by a dolphin: his name was changed from Melicertes to Palaemon; and the Isthmian games were held in his honour, and other marks of respect bestowed on him. 12. The Molurian rock was deemed sacred to Leucothoe and Palaemon; but the rocks next after it they esteem accursed, because Sciron dwelt beside them, and hurled every stranger he met with into the sea. A tortoise swam at the foot of the cliffs to pounce on the people who were thrown in. Sea tortoises are like land tortoises, except in respect of their size and of their feet; for they have feet like the feet of seals. But justice overtook Sciron; for he was hurled by Theseus into the
9 same sea. 13. On the top of the mountain is a temple of Zeus, who is here called Hurler. They say that when a drought had fallen on Greece, Aeacus, in obedience to an oracle, sacrificed to Panhellenian

Zeus in Aegina . . . and brought and hurled it, and hence Zeus is called Hurler. Here, too, are images of Aphrodite, Apollo, and Pan.
14. Farther on we come to the tomb of Eurystheus. They say 10
that he was killed here by Iolaus as he was fleeing from Attica after the battle with the Heraclids. Descending from this road we come to a sanctuary of Latoan Apollo, and after it to the boundaries of Megaris and Corinth, where they say that Hyllus, son of Hercules, engaged in single combat with the Arcadian Echemus.

BOOK SECOND

CORINTH

I

1. THE district of Corinth is part of Argolis, and got its name from Corinthus. That Corinthus was a son of Zeus has never yet, so far as I know, been seriously asserted by anybody except by a majority of the Corinthians themselves. Eumelus, son of Amphilytus, a member of the Bacchid family, and reputed author of the poems which pass under his name, says in his prose history of Corinth, if the work is indeed by him, that first of all Ephyra, daughter of Ocean, dwelt in this land; and that afterwards Marathon, son of Epopeus, son of Aloeus, son of the Sun, fleeing from the lawlessness and wantonness of his father, migrated to the coast of Attica; but that when Epopeus was dead, Marathon went to Peloponnese, and having divided the kingdom between his two sons, Sicyon and Corinthus, returned himself to Attica; and from Sicyon and Corinthus the districts that had been called Asopia and Ephyraea received respectively their new names.

2 2. The old population of Corinth is entirely gone: the present population is a colony planted by the Romans. For this change the Achaean League is answerable. For when Critolaus was appointed general of the League, he stirred up a war with Rome, by persuading the Achaeans and most of the Greek states outside of Peloponnese to revolt; and in this war the Corinthians, as members of the League, took part. When victory had declared for their arms, the Romans disarmed the populations of the other Greek states, and dismantled the walls of the fortified towns. But Corinth was laid utterly waste by the Roman commander Mummius. Afterwards, they say, it was repeopled by Caesar, who instituted at Rome the system of government under which we live. Carthage also, they say, was repeopled in his reign.

3 3. To the Corinthian territory belongs the place which is called Cromyon, after Cromus, son of Poseidon. Here, they say, was bred <the sow Phaea, the destruction of which was> one of the so-called

tasks of Theseus. Farther on the pine-tree still grew by the sea-shore in my time; and there was an altar of Melicertes. They say that the child Melicertes was landed on this spot by a dolphin, and that Sisyphus found him lying, buried him on the Isthmus, and instituted the Isthmian games in his honour. 4. At the beginning 4
of the Isthmus is the place where the robber Sinis used to catch hold of pine-trees and draw them down. Then he would tie his vanquished foes to the trees and let the stems fly up. Whereupon each of the pine-trees dragged the captive towards itself, and if the cords did not give way in either direction, but pulled with equal force on both sides, he was rent in sunder. Sinis himself perished in this very way at the hands of Theseus; for Theseus cleared the road from Troezen to Athens of the rogues who infested it. Besides those whom I have enumerated above he slew Periphetes in sacred Epidaurus. Periphetes was a reputed son of Hephaestus, and fought with a bronze mace.

5. The Isthmus of Corinth reaches on the one side to the sea 5
at Cenchreae, and on the other to the sea at Lechaeum. Thus in virtue of the Isthmus all the land to the south is mainland. He who attempted to turn Peloponnese into an island desisted before he had dug through the Isthmus. The beginning of the cutting may still be seen; but it was not carried as far as the rock. So Peloponnese is still, what nature made it, mainland. Alexander, the son of Philip, wished to dig through the promontory of Mimas; but this was the only undertaking of his which did not succeed. The Cnidians began to dig through their isthmus, but were stopped by the Pythian priestess. So hard is it for man to do violence to the works of God. 6. The Corinthians tell the following story 6
about their country. But the story is not peculiar to them; for the Athenians, I believe, were the first to relate a similar tale in glorification of Attica. The Corinthian story is that Poseidon had a dispute with the Sun for the possession of the country, and that Briareus acted as mediator, awarding to Poseidon the Isthmus and its neighbourhood, but to the Sun the height which dominates the city. From that time, they say, the Isthmus has belonged to Poseidon.

7. At the Isthmus there are a theatre and a stadium of white 7
marble, both of which are worth seeing. On entering the sanctuary of the god you have on the one side statues of athletes who have been victorious in the Isthmian games, and on the other side a row of pine-trees, most of them shooting straight up into the air. On the temple, which is not very large, stand bronze Tritons. In the fore-temple are images, two of Poseidon, one of Amphitrite, and one of the Sea, which is also of bronze. The images inside the temple were dedicated in my time by the Athenian Herodes. They include four horses gilded all over except the hoofs, which are

8 of ivory. Beside the horses are two Tritons: from the waist upward they are of gold, but from the waist downward they are of ivory. On the chariot stand Amphitrite and Poseidon, and the boy Palaemon is erect on a dolphin. These statues also are made of ivory and gold. On the pedestal on which the chariot stands are figures sculptured in relief: in the middle is the Sea holding up the child Aphrodite, and on either side are the Nereids, as they are called. I know that there are altars to the Nereids elsewhere in Greece, and that some people have dedicated precincts to them beside harbours, where honours are paid to Achilles also. Doto has a holy sanctuary at Gabala, where is still preserved the robe by which, as the Greeks say, Eriphyle was bribed to wrong her son
9 Alcmaeon. 8. On the pedestal of Poseidon's statue are wrought in relief the sons of Tyndareus, because they too are saviours of ships and of seafaring men. The other votive offerings consist of images of Calm and of the Sea, and a horse fashioned in the likeness of a sea-monster from the breast onward; also statues of Ino and Bellerophon and the horse Pegasus.

II

1. Within the enclosure is a temple of Palaemon on the left: it contains images of Poseidon, Leucothea, and Palaemon himself. There is also what is called the shrine: an underground passage leads down to it. Here, they say, Palaemon is hidden. Whoever forswears himself here, be he Corinthian or be he stranger, he cannot possibly escape. 2. There is also an ancient sanctuary called the altar of the Cyclopes; and they sacrifice to
2 the Cyclopes on it. They say that Neleus came to Corinth, died there, and was buried at the Isthmus; but no one who has read the works of Eumelus would think of searching for the graves of Sisyphus and Neleus. For Eumelus says that the tomb of Neleus was not shown by Sisyphus even to Nestor, it being needful that it should remain unknown to all the world. And he says that Sisyphus was buried indeed on the Isthmus, but that there were few of the Corinthians even in his own day who knew the grave. The Isthmian games were not discontinued even after the destruction of Corinth by Mummius; but so long as the city lay desolate, the conduct of the games was entrusted to the Sicyonians. But when Corinth was restored the honour devolved on its present inhabitants.
3 3. The ports of Corinth received their names from Leches and Cenchrias, said to be sons of Poseidon and Pirene, daughter of Achelous. But in the *Great Eoeae* it is said that Pirene was a daughter of Oebalus. In Lechaeum there is a sanctuary of Poseidon with a bronze image. On the way from the Isthmus to Cenchreae there is a temple of Artemis with an ancient wooden

image. In Cenchreae there is a temple of Aphrodite with an image of stone; and beyond the temple there is a bronze image of Poseidon on the mole that runs into the sea. At the other extremity of the harbour are sanctuaries of Aesculapius and Isis. Over against Cenchreae is the bath of Helen: a copious stream of tepid salt water flows from a rock into the sea.

4. On the road up to Corinth there are tombs: in particular 4
Diogenes of Sinope, whom the Greeks surname the Dog, is buried near the gate. In front of the city is a grove of cypresses named Craneum. Here there is a precinct of Bellerophon and a temple of Black Aphrodite, and the grave of Lais, which is surmounted by a lioness holding a ram in her fore-paws. There is another tomb 5
in Thessaly which claims to be the tomb of Lais; for she went to Thessaly, too, for love of Hippostratus. It is said that she was a native of Hycara in Sicily, that she was captured as a child by the Athenians under Nicias, and that being sold to a Corinthian purchaser she surpassed in beauty all the courtesans of the age, and was so much admired by the Corinthians that they still claim her as a native of Corinth.

5. The remarkable objects in the city include some remains of 6
ancient Corinth, but most of them date from the period of the restoration. In the market-place (for most of the sanctuaries are there) is an image of Artemis surnamed Ephesian; also wooden images of Dionysus gilded all over except the faces, which are adorned with red paint. One of these images of Dionysus is named the Deliverer, the other Bacchius. 6. The story told about 7
these wooden images I, too, will record. They say that among the insults which Pentheus dared to offer to Dionysus he at last went to Mount Cithaeron to spy upon the women, and getting up into a tree watched their doings; but the women discovered him, dragged him instantly down, and tore him limb from limb. Afterwards the Corinthians, according to their own account, were ordered by the Pythian priestess to find the tree and to worship it as much as the god himself; so they had these images made out of the tree. 7. There 8
is also a temple of Fortune: the image is erect, and is of Parian marble. Beside it is a sanctuary of all the gods. Near it there is built a water-basin: at the basin is a bronze Poseidon, and under the feet of Poseidon is a dolphin spouting water. And there is a bronze Apollo surnamed Clarian, and an image of Aphrodite made by Hermogenes of Cythera. There are also two images of Hermes, both of them of bronze, and both erect: one of them is provided with a temple. Of the images of Zeus, which are also under the open sky, one has no surname: another is called Subterranean; and the third they name Highest.

III

1. In the middle of the market-place is a bronze Athena: on its pedestal are figures of the Muses in relief. Above the market-place is a temple of Octavia, sister of Augustus. Augustus was Emperor of Rome after Caesar, the founder of the present city of Corinth.

2 2. Leaving the market-place by the road that leads to Lechaeum we come to a portal. Above it are two gilded chariots, one bearing Phaethon, child of the Sun, the other the Sun himself. A little way beyond the portal, on the right as you go out, is a bronze Hercules. 3. Beyond it is an entrance to the water of Pirene. They say that Pirene was a woman who was turned into a spring of water by the tears she shed in bewailing her son Cenchrias, whom 3 Artemis had unwittingly killed. The spring is adorned with white marble, and there are chambers made like grottos, from which the water flows into a basin in the open air. The water is sweet to drink, and they say that the so-called Corinthian bronze gets its colour by being plunged red-hot into this water; for, in point of fact, Corinth has no bronze of its own. Near Pirene there is also an image of Apollo, and an enclosure containing a painting of Ulysses attacking the suitors.

4 4. Proceeding again along the straight road in the direction of Lechaeum, we come to a seated figure of Hermes in bronze: beside him stands a ram, because Hermes above all the gods is thought to watch over and increase the flocks. As Homer says in the *Iliad*:—

> The son of Phorbas of the many sheep, whom most
> Of all the Trojans Hermes loved and gave him wealth.

In the mysteries of the Mother there is a story told of Hermes and the ram which I know, but forbear from repeating. After the image of Hermes there are images of Poseidon and Leucothea, and 5 one of Palaemon on a dolphin. 5. There are baths in many parts of Corinth, some of them built at the public expense, and one by the Emperor Hadrian. The most celebrated is near the image of Poseidon. This bath was built by Eurycles, a Spartan, who adorned it with stones of various sorts, particularly with the stone which is quarried at Croceae, in Laconia. On the left of the entrance stands an image of Poseidon, and beyond it an image of Artemis hunting. There are many water-basins up and down the whole city, for there is plenty of running water, besides the water which the Emperor Hadrian brought from Lake Stymphalus. The water-basin which is best worth seeing is the one beside the image of Artemis: over it is a statue of Bellerophon, and the water flows through the hoof of his horse Pegasus.

We now leave the market-place by another road, the one which 6
leads to Sicyon. On the right of the road we see a temple with a
bronze image of Apollo, and a little farther on a water-basin called
after Glauce; for they say she threw herself into it, thinking the
water would be an antidote to Medea's drugs. 6. Above this
water-basin stands the Music Hall, as it is called. Beside
it is the tomb of the children of Medea. Their names were
Mermerus and Pheres. They are said to have been stoned to
death by the Corinthians on account of the gifts they brought
to Glauce. And because their death had been violent and unjust, 7
they caused the infant children of the Corinthians to pine away,
till, at the bidding of the oracle, yearly sacrifices were instituted
in their honour, and an image of Terror was set up. That
image remains to this day: it is a likeness of a woman of terrific
aspect. But since the destruction of Corinth by the Romans and
the extinction of its old inhabitants, the sacrifices in question have
been discontinued by the new inhabitants; and the children no
longer poll their hair and wear black garments in honour of the
children of Medea. 7. Medea thereupon went to Athens and married 8
Aegeus; but afterwards being detected plotting against Theseus she
fled from Athens also, and coming to the land which was then called
Aria, she caused the people to be called Medes after herself. The
child whom she took with her in her flight to the Arians is said to
have been her son by Aegeus, and to have been named Medus. But
Hellanicus calls him Polyxenus, and says that his father was Jason.
There is an epic poem current in Greece called the *Naupactia.* 9
In this poem it is said that Jason migrated from Iolcus to Corcyra
after the death of Pelias, and that his elder son Mermerus was killed
by a lioness while he was hunting on the opposite mainland; but
of Pheres nothing is recorded. Cinaethon, the Lacedaemonian,
who also composed genealogies in verse, said that Jason had a son
Medeus and a daughter Eriopis by Medea; but he has said nothing
more about the children. 8. Eumelus says that the Sun gave the 10
district of Asopia to Aloeus, and the district of Ephyraea to
Aeetes; and that when Aeetes was departing to Colchis he left
the country in charge of Bunus, a son of Hermes and Alcidamea.
But when Bunus died, Epopeus, son of Aloeus, thus got possession
of the kingdom of Ephyraea also. Afterwards, when Corinthus, son
of Marathon, left no child, the Corinthians sent for Medea from
Iolcus and committed the government to her. Thus through her 11
means Jason reigned in Corinth. Children were born to Medea,
but every child as it was born she took and hid in the sanctuary
of Hera, thinking that thus they would be immortal; but at last
she saw that her hopes were vain. At the same time she was
detected by Jason, who, rejecting her prayers for forgiveness, sailed
away to Iolcus. So she placed the government in the hands of

Sisyphus, and took her departure also. Such is the account I have read.

IV

1. Not far from the tomb of Medea's children is a sanctuary of Athena the Bridler. For they say that Athena above all the gods helped Bellerophon in his exploits, and that in particular she handed over to him Pegasus, tamed and bridled with her own hands. Her image is of wood, but the face and hands and
2 feet are of white marble. 2. Like every attentive reader of Homer, I am persuaded that Bellerophon was not an independent monarch, but a vassal of Proetus, king of Argos. Even after Bellerophon had migrated to Lycia, the Corinthians are known to have been still subject to the lords of Argos or Mycenae. Again, in the army which attacked Troy, the Corinthian contingent was not commanded by a general of its own, but was brigaded with the Mycenian and other troops commanded by Agamemnon. 3.
3 Glaucus, the father of Bellerophon, was not the only son of Sisyphus: another son Ornytion was born to him, and afterwards Thersander and Almus. Ornytion had a son Phocus, who was fathered on Poseidon. This Phocus went to dwell in Tithorea, in the land that is now called Phocis; but Thoas, younger son of Ornytion, abode in Corinth. Thoas begat Damophon, and Damophon begat Propodas, and Propodas begat Doridas and Hyanthidas. In the reign of these two last kings the Dorians marched against Corinth. Their leader was Aletes, son of Hippotes, who was the son of Phylas, who was the son of Antiochus, who was the son of Hercules. The kings Doridas and Hyanthidas surrendered the crown to Aletes, and abode in Corinth; but the people stood to their
4 arms, and being worsted were banished by the Dorians. Aletes and his descendants reigned for five generations down to Bacchis, son of Prumnis. 4. Then the Bacchids, as they are called, reigned other five generations. The last of the line was Telestes, son of Aristodemus: he was slain by Arieus and Perantas, who had a grudge against him. Thenceforth there were no longer kings of Corinth, but instead there were annual presidents, chosen from the house of the Bacchids, until Cypselus, son of Eetion, made himself tyrant, and drove the Bacchids into exile. Cypselus was a descendant of Melas, son of Antasus. Melas had come from Gonussa, above Sicyon, to join the expedition of the Dorians against Corinth. At first Aletes, warned of God, bade him retire to some other part of Greece; but afterwards, mistaking the purport of the oracle, he suffered him to settle in Corinth. Such I found to be the history of the kings of Corinth.

5 5. The sanctuary of Athena the Bridler is beside the theatre,

and near it is a naked wooden image of Hercules: they say it is a work of Daedalus. The works of Daedalus are somewhat uncouth to the eye, but there is a touch of the divine in them for all that. Above the theatre is a sanctuary of Zeus, who is called Capitolian in the Roman tongue: in Greek he would be named Coryphaean. 6. Not far from this theatre is the old gymnasium and a spring called Lerna: the spring is surrounded by a colonnade, and there are seats for the refreshment of visitors in summer time. Near this gymnasium are temples of the gods, one of Zeus and one of Aesculapius. The images of Aesculapius and Health are of white marble, but the image of Zeus is of bronze.

7. We now ascend towards the Acro-Corinth, which is the 6
summit of a mountain that rises above the city. Briareus, as arbitrator, awarded the summit to the Sun; but the Sun, according to the Corinthians, resigned it to Aphrodite. On the way up to the Acro-Corinth there is a precinct of the Marine Isis, and another of the Egyptian Isis; and there are two precincts of Serapis, one of which is called 'in Canopus.' After them are altars to the Sun, and a sanctuary of Necessity and Violence, which it is not customary to enter. Above it is a temple of the Mother of the Gods and a 7
throne: the image of the goddess and the throne are both of stone. There is a temple of the Fates, and a temple of Demeter and the Maid: in neither of these temples are the images exposed to view. Here, too, is the sanctuary of Bunaean Hera, founded by Bunus, son of Hermes; hence the goddess herself is called Bunaean.

V

1. On the summit of the Acro-Corinth there is a temple of Aphrodite. Her image represents the goddess armed, and there are images of the Sun, and of Love, the latter bearing a bow. The spring behind the temple is said to have been a gift of Asopus to Sisyphus. For Sisyphus, so runs the tale, knew that Zeus had carried off Asopus' daughter Aegina, but he refused to answer the father's questions till water were given him on Acro-Corinth. Asopus gave him it; so he blabbed, and now in hell, if all tales be true, he pays the penalty of his wagging tongue. I have heard say that this spring is Pirene, and that the water in the city flows from it underground. 2. The Asopus, which I have just 2
mentioned, rises in Phliasia, and flowing through the land of Sicyon falls into the sea there. The Phliasians say that Asopus had three daughters, Corcyra, Aegina, and Thebe, and that from Corcyra and Aegina the islands called Scheria and Oenone received their new names, while Thebe gave her name to the city which lies under the Cadmea. The Thebans, however, do not agree, asserting that Thebe was a daughter of the Boeotian, not the Phliasian Asopus.

3 For the rest, Philasians and Sicyonians affirm that the water of the river is not its own, but comes from abroad: they say that the Maeander, descending from Celaenae through Phrygia and Caria, and falling into the sea near Miletus, comes to Peloponnese and forms the Asopus. I have heard the Delians tell a similar tale, how that the water which they call Inopus comes to them from the Nile. Indeed, the Nile itself, according to one story, is only the Euphrates which vanishes in a swamp to rise again above Ethiopia as the Nile. Such are the tales I heard about the Asopus.

4 3. Following the hill road from the Acro-Corinth we come to the Teneatic gate and a sanctuary of Ilithyia. Tenea is just sixty furlongs off. The people there say that they are Trojans, that they were brought as captives by the Greeks from Tenedos, and that by Agamemnon's leave they settled where they are. That is why they worship Apollo above all the gods.

5 4. Taking the road that leads from Corinth, not inland, but to Sicyon, we come to a burnt temple not far from the city, on the left of the road. Of course there have been more wars than one in the land of Corinth, and houses and sanctuaries lying outside the city walls have naturally been given to the flames; but this particular temple is said to have been a temple of Apollo, and to have been burnt down by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles. Afterwards I heard another version of the story, namely, that the temple was built by the Corinthians in honour of the Olympian Zeus, and that it was accidentally destroyed by fire.

6 5. In this direction the land of Corinth is bounded by the land of Sicyon. The Sicyonians say of their country that its first inhabitant was Aegialeus, an aboriginal; that all the portion of Peloponnese which is still called Aegialus was named after King Aegialeus; that he founded the city of Aegialea in the plain; and that the acropolis was where the sanctuary of Athena now stands. They say that Aegialeus begat Europs, and Europs begat Telchis, and 7 Telchis begat Apis. This Apis grew so powerful before Pelops came to Olympia that all the country south of the Isthmus was called Apia after him. Apis begat Thelxion, Thelxion begat Aegyrus, Aegyrus begat Thurimachus, and Thurimachus begat Leucippus, who had a daughter Calchinia, but no sons. They say that this Calchinia was beloved by Poseidon, and the son she had by him was brought up by Leucippus, who at last bequeathed the 8 throne to him: his name was Peratus. The story told of Plemnaeus, son of Peratus, struck me as surprising: every child his wife bore him used to give up the ghost immediately after uttering its first squall, till Demeter took pity on him, and coming to Aegialea in the guise of a stranger woman, nursed his son Orthopolis. This Orthopolis had a daughter Chrysorthe, and she, they believe, had a child by Apollo. The child was named Coronus, and

he had two sons: the elder was called Corax, and the younger was called Lamedon.

VI

1. Corax died childless, and just about that time Epopeus came from Thessaly and obtained the kingdom. It was in his reign, they say, that a hostile army first invaded the land, which hitherto had always remained at peace. 2. The cause of the invasion was this. Antiope, daughter of Nycteus, was famous in Greece for her beauty, and rumour said that her father was not Nycteus at all, but the river Asopus, which divides the lands of Thebes and Plataea. Now, whether Epopeus had proposed for her hand, or whether from 2 the first he had harboured a more audacious design, I know not; but certain it is he carried off the maid. The Thebans came in arms, and in the fight Nycteus and Epopeus were both wounded, but the victory was with Epopeus. They carried the wounded Nycteus back to Thebes, and on his deathbed he committed the regency of Thebes to his brother Lycus. For Nycteus himself was merely regent on behalf of the boy Labdacus, the son of Polydorus, the son of Cadmus. Thus Nycteus bequeathed the regency to Lycus, and besought him to march with a greater army against Aegialea, to take vengeance on Epopeus, and to do a mischief to Antiope herself if he caught her. Meanwhile Epopeus straightway 3 offered a thankoffering for his victory, and built a temple of Athena. When it was completed he prayed that the goddess would show him by a sign whether the temple was finished to her mind; and they say that after his prayer olive oil flowed in front of the temple. But afterwards Epopeus also died of his hurt, which had been neglected at first. So Lycus needed not to go to war, for Lamedon, son of Coronus, who succeeded Epopeus on the throne, surrendered Antiope. As they were taking her to Thebes by way of Eleutherae, she was there delivered of a child beside the road. Of this event the poet Asius, son of Amphiptolemus, has said:— 4

> And Antiope bore Zethus and divine Amphion,
> She the daughter of Asopus, the deep-eddying river,
> Having conceived by Zeus and by Epopeus, shepherd of peoples.

Homer has given them a grander lineage, and says that they founded Thebes, thereby distinguishing, as I conceive him, the lower city from the Cadmea. When Lamedon came to the throne 5 he married an Athenian wife, Pheno, daughter of Clytius. Afterwards, having gone to war with Archander and Architeles, sons of Achaeus, he induced Sicyon to come from Attica to fight for him, and gave him his daughter Zeuxippe to wife. Then when Sicyon came to the throne the country was called Sicyonia after him, and

the city was named Sicyon instead of Aegialea. 3. They say that Sicyon was the son, not of Marathon, son of Epopeus, but of Metion son of Erechtheus. Asius agrees with them; but Hesiod says that Sicyon was a son of Erechtheus, and Ibycus says that
6 he was a son of Pelops. Sicyon had a daughter Chthonophyle, who, they say, bore a son Polybus to Hermes. Afterwards Phlias, son of Dionysus, married her, and she had a son Androdamas. Polybus gave his daughter Lysianassa in marriage to the king of Argos, Talaus the son of Bias; and when Adrastus fled from Argos, he came to Polybus at Sicyon; and afterwards, when Polybus died, Adrastus sat on the throne of Sicyon. When Adrastus was restored to Argos, Ianiscus, a descendant of Clytius, the father-in-law of Lamedon, came from Attica and became king. And when Ianiscus died, Phaestus, who is said to have been one of the
7 sons of Hercules, reigned in his stead; but when Phaestus, in obedience to an oracle, migrated to Crete, Zeuxippus, son of Apollo and of the nymph Syllis, is said to have succeeded to the throne. 4. After the death of Zeuxippus, Agamemnon led an army against Sicyon and against its king Hippolytus, son of Rhopalus, son of Phaestus. Alarmed at the advance of the army, Hippolytus agreed to be subject to Agamemnon and to Mycenae. This Hippolytus was the father of Lacestades. But Phalces, son of Temenus, with his Dorians seized Sicyon by night; however, as Lacestades was also an Heraclid, Phalces did him no harm, and shared the government with him.

VII

1. From that time the Sicyonians became Dorians, and formed part of Argolis. The city in the plain, which Aegialeus had built, was demolished by Demetrius, son of Antigonus, who built the present city beside what was of old the acropolis. When the power of Sicyon was decayed (of which it would be wrong to ask the cause; rather let us rest content with what Homer says of Zeus:—

> Who the proud head of many a city has brought low),

as I was saying, then, when the power had departed from Sicyon, it was surprised by an earthquake, which nearly depopulated the city and robbed it of much of its splendour. The same earthquake injured also the cities of Lycia and Caria, and the shock was especially felt in the island of Rhodes, so that the Sibylline oracle touching Rhodes appeared to be fulfilled.

2 2. Having passed from Corinthian into Sicyonian territory, we come to the tomb of Lycus a Messenian, whoever he may have been; for I do not find that any Messenian of the name of Lycus

practised the pentathlum or won an Olympic victory. The tomb is a mound of earth. 3. But the native Sicyonians generally bury their dead in a uniform way: they cover the body with earth, build a basement of stone over it, set up pillars on the basement, and place on the pillars a superstructure like the gables of temples: they carve no inscription except the dead man's name (but not his father's) and the word 'Farewell.' 4. After the tomb of 3
Lycus we cross the Asopus and see on the right the Olympium: a little farther on, to the left of the road, is the grave of the Athenian Eupolis, the comic poet. Going on and turning in the direction of the city, we come to the tomb of a woman Xenodice, who died in childbed. The tomb is not in the usual Sicyonian style, but is planned so as to suit the painting with which it is adorned; and certainly the painting is well worth seeing. Farther 4
on is the grave of the Sicyonians who fell at Pellene and Dyme in Achaia, and in Megalopolis and at Sellasia. I will tell their story more fully in the sequel. At the gate is a spring in a grotto, the water of which does not rise from the ground, but flows from the roof of the grotto: so they call it the Dripping Spring.

5. In the present acropolis is a sanctuary of Fortune of the 5
Height, and beyond it a sanctuary of the Dioscuri. The images both of the Dioscuri and Fortune are of wood. The theatre is built at the foot of the acropolis and on the stage of the theatre is the statue of a man with a shield. They say it represents Aratus, the son of Clinias. 6. Beyond the theatre is a temple of Dionysus: the image of the god is of gold and ivory, and beside it are female Bacchantes in white marble. [They say that these women are sacred and that they rave in honour of Dionysus.] The Sicyonians have other images which they keep secret; but on one night every year they convey them from the Tiring-room, as it is called, to the sanctuary of Dionysus, escorting them with lighted torches and the music of their native hymns. The image which they 6
name Bacchius, and which was set up by Androdomas, son of Phlias, leads the way, and it is followed by the image called the Deliverer, which was brought from Thebes by the Theban Phanes, at the bidding of the Pythian priestess. Phanes came to Sicyon at the time when Aristomachus, son of Cleodaeus, mistaking the meaning of the oracle, lost the chance of returning to Peloponnese. On the way from the sanctuary of Dionysus to the market-place there is on the right a temple of Artemis of the Lake. A glance shows that the roof of the temple has fallen; but whether the image was carried elsewhere, or how it perished, they cannot tell.

7. On entering the market-place we come to a sanctuary of 7
Persuasion; it also is without an image. Their worship of Persuasion is explained by the following legend. Apollo and Artemis, after slaying the python, came to Aegialea to be purified. But fear seized

them on the spot, which is still called Terror, and they betook themselves to Carmanor in Crete. At the same time sickness attacked the people of Aegialea, and the seers bade them propitiate Apollo and
8 Artemis. So they sent seven boys and seven maidens to the river Sythas to offer supplication, and they say that, persuaded by the children, the deities came to what was then the acropolis, and the place where they came to first is the sanctuary of Persuasion. A similar ceremony is still observed: on the festival of Apollo the children go to the Sythas, and after bringing (as it is thought) the deities to the sanctuary of Persuasion, they convey them back, they say, to the temple of Apollo. The temple is in the present market-place: they say it was originally built by Proetus, because his daughters here recovered
9 from their madness. 8. They say also that Meleager dedicated in this temple the spear wherewith he despatched the boar. Here, too, they say, are dedicated the flutes of Marsyas. For after the misfortune which befell the Silenus, they say that the river Marsyas swept the flutes down into the Maeander, that they reappeared in the Asopus, were washed ashore on Sicyonian ground, and were presented to Apollo by the shepherd who found them. Of these dedicatory offerings none is left; for when the temple was burned they perished in the flames. The present temple and image were dedicated by Pythocles.

VIII

1. The precinct near the sanctuary of Persuasion is consecrated to the Roman emperors: it was once the house of the tyrant Cleon. For the tyranny of Clisthenes, son of Aristonymus, son of Myron, fell in the time when the Sicyonians still inhabited the lower city, but Cleon was tyrant in the present city.

2. In front of this house is a shrine of the hero Aratus, a man who achieved greater things than any Greek of his time. His history is this.
2 After the tyranny of Cleon, many of the leading men were smitten with such an unbridled rage for power that two men, Euthydemus and Timoclidas, were actually tyrants at the same time. The people, however, put Clinias, father of Aratus, at their head, and drove out these tyrants. But not many years afterwards Abantidas made himself tyrant. Before this happened, Clinias was dead, and Abantidas drove Aratus into exile, or perhaps Aratus withdrew voluntarily. Abantidas was assassinated by some men of Sicyon, but his father Paseas
3 immediately stepped into his place. He too was assassinated, and his assassin, Nicocles, reigned in his stead. To attack this Nicocles Aratus came with Sicyonian exiles and Argive mercenaries. He made the attempt by night, and eluding some of the guards in the darkness and overpowering others, he made his way inside the walls. Dawn was now beginning to glimmer, the people rallied round him,

and at their head he hastened to the tyrant's house. This he captured without difficulty, but Nicocles himself stole away unobserved. 3. To the people of Sicyon Aratus restored a free and equal government, and he made peace between them and the exiles, restoring to the latter their houses and all their possessions which had been sold, and making good the price to the purchasers from his own purse. At this time 4 all Greece stood in fear of the Macedonians under Antigonus the guardian of Philip, son of Demetrius; so Aratus caused the Sicyonians, Dorians though they were, to join the Achaean League. He was immediately elected general by the Achaeans, and leading them against the Locrians of Amphissa, and into the country of their enemies the Aetolians, he laid waste the land. 4. Corinth was held by Antigonus, and there was a Macedonian garrison in the place; but by a sudden attack Aratus disconcerted and defeated them. Amongst the slain was Persaeus, commander of the garrison, who had studied philosophy under Zeno, son of Mnaseus. After the liberation of Corinth by Aratus, the Epidaurians and 5 Troezenians, who inhabit the coast of Argolis, and the Megarians from beyond the Isthmus, joined the League, and Ptolemy formed an alliance with the Achaeans. But the Lacedaemonians under King Agis, son of Eudamidas, by a rapid movement captured Pellene before Aratus could prevent them. When he arrived with his army, the Lacedaemonians gave battle; and being worsted they made terms, evacuated Pellene, and returned home. 5. Thus successful in Peloponnese, Aratus thought shame to leave the Macedonians in undisturbed possession of Piraeus and Munychia, of Salamis and Sunium. Having no hope of capturing these places by force of arms, he bribed Diogenes, the commander of the garrisons, to abandon the places for the sum of one hundred and fifty talents, of which he himself contributed one-sixth to the Athenians. He also prevailed on Aristomachus, tyrant of Argos, to restore the democracy and join the Achaean confederacy; and he captured Mantinea, which was held by a Lacedaemonian garrison. But it is given to no man to see all his wishes fulfilled. Even Aratus was compelled by circumstances to become an ally of the Macedonians and of Antigonus. It happened thus.

IX

1. Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, son of Cleonymus, having succeeded to the kingdom in Sparta, imitated Pausanias in his thirst for absolute power, and his discontent with the existing constitution; and being a man of a more fiery temperament than Pausanias, and no craven, he soon, by his daring spirit, carried all before him. Eurydamidas, the king of the other branch, was a boy. Cleomenes poisoned him; and, through the agency of the ephors, transferred

the sovereignty to his own brother, Epiclidas. Further, he broke the power of the Senate, substituting for it a merely nominal Council of Elders. And now, his ambition taking a higher flight, he aimed at the sovereignty of Greece. The first upon whom he fell were the Achaeans. He hoped that a victory would win them to his side: at all events, he was determined that they should not thwart him in the prosecution of his schemes. Near Dyme, beyond Patrae, he engaged and defeated an Achaean force commanded by Aratus.
2 2. Thus Aratus, alarmed for the safety of the Achaeans and Sicyon itself, was obliged to invoke the aid of Antigonus. Cleomenes meanwhile violated the treaty which he had made with Antigonus. Amongst other acts, by which he openly set the treaty at defiance, he expelled the population of Megalopolis. So Antigonus crossed into Peloponnese, and the Achaeans encountered Cleomenes near Sellasia. Victory rested with the Achaeans: Sellasia was enslaved; and Lacedaemon itself was taken. Accordingly Antigonus and the Achaeans restored to the Lacedaemonians their hereditary con-
3 stitution. 3. But, of the sons of Leonidas, Epiclidas fell in the battle, and Cleomenes fled to Egypt, where he received from Ptolemy the highest marks of honour. However, having been found guilty of conspiring against the king, he was cast into prison, but escaped and stirred up a riot in Alexandria. At last, being taken, he fell by his own hand. In their joy at being rid of Cleomenes the Lacedaemonians resolved to be ruled by kings no longer, but the rest of their old constitution remains in force till this day. Antigonus, grateful to Aratus for his services and his co-operation in
4 achieving so brilliant a success, remained his steady friend. • 4. But when Philip came to the throne, Aratus could not approve of the new king's cruelty to his subjects, and even endeavoured partially to restrain it; so Philip murdered him by administering poison to his unsuspecting victim. From Aegium, where he died, they carried Aratus to Sicyon, and buried him there, and the shrine is still named the shrine of Aratus. Two Athenians, Euryclides and Micon, met with the like treatment at the hand of Philip. They were orators of some influence with the people, and Philip poisoned them.
5 5. After all, the fatal cup was destined to prove disastrous to Philip himself. For his younger son, Perseus, poisoned his brother Demetrius, and this broke his father's heart, and he died. In this digression I have had in view the inspired saying of Hesiod, that the mischief which a man plots against another recoils first upon himself.
6 6. Beyond the shrine of Aratus is an altar to Isthmian Poseidon, an image of Gracious Zeus, and an image of Artemis named Paternal. The images are rude: that of Zeus resembles a pyramid, and that of Artemis a column. Here also is their Council House, and a colonnade called the Colonnade of Clisthenes,

after the man who built it. Clisthenes built it from the spoils of the war against Cirrha, in which he fought on the side of the Amphictyons. In the open part of the market-place is a bronze Zeus, a work of Lysippus, and beside it is a gilded Artemis. 7. Near them is a sanctuary of Wolfish (*Lukios*) Apollo, but it is 7 in ruins and not at all worth seeing. When the flocks of the Sicyonians were so infested by wolves that they got no return from them, the god told them of a place where lay a dry trunk of a tree, and bade them take the bark of this tree, mix it with flesh, and set it out for the wolves. As soon as the wolves tasted it they were poisoned by the bark. This trunk lay in the sanctuary of the Wolfish God, but even the Sicyonian guides did not know what kind of tree it was. Next to this sanctuary are bronze 8 images: they say they are the daughters of Proetus, but the inscription refers to different women. Here is a bronze Hercules, made by Lysippus, the Sicyonian. Near it stands an image of Hermes of the Market.

X

1. In the gymnasium, not far from the market-place, is dedicated a stone image of Hercules, a work of Scopas. Elsewhere there is a sanctuary of Hercules: the whole enclosure they name Paedize: in the middle of the enclosure is the sanctuary, and in the sanctuary is an ancient wooden image, the work of Laphaes, a Phliasian. In sacrificing they observe the following custom. They say that Phaestus, coming to Sicyon, found the people offering to Hercules as to a hero: he would do nothing of the sort, but insisted on sacrificing to Hercules as to a god. And to this day the Sicyonians, after slaying a lamb and burning the thighs on the altar, eat part of the flesh as of a regular sacrificial victim, and offer part of the flesh as to a hero. Of the festival which they celebrate in honour of Hercules the first day is styled Names (*Onomata*), and the second day is called Heraclea.

2. From here a road leads to a sanctuary of Aesculapius. On 2 entering the enclosure we have on the left a double building. In the outer chamber is an image of Sleep, of which nothing is left but the head. The inner chamber is consecrated to Carnean Apollo, and none but the priests are allowed to enter it. In the colonnade is a huge bone of a sea-monster, and beyond it an image of Dream, and one of Sleep lulling a lion to slumber, and the surname of Sleep is Bountiful. Entering the sanctuary of Aesculapius we have on one side of the entrance a sitting image of Pan, and on the other a standing image of Artemis. 3. Inside is an image of the god, 3 beardless: it is of gold and ivory, and is a work of Calamis. In one hand he holds a sceptre, and in the other the fruit of a culti-

vated pine-tree. They say that the god was brought to them from Epidaurus in the likeness of a serpent, riding in a carriage drawn by mules, and that the person who brought him was a Sicyonian woman Nicagora, mother of Agasicles, and wife of Echetimus. There are small images here hanging from the roof. They say that the woman on the serpent is Aristodama, mother of Aratus, and they believe that Aratus was a son of Aesculapius. Such were the objects of note in this enclosure.

4 4. <Near> it is another <enclosure> sacred to Aphrodite. The first image in it is that of Antiope; for they say that her children were natives of Sicyon, and they will have it that through her children Antiope herself also belongs to Sicyon. Beyond it is the sanctuary of Aphrodite. A female sacristan, who is henceforward forbidden to have intercourse with the other sex, and a virgin, who holds the priesthood for a year and goes by the name of the Bath-bearer, enter into the sanctuary: every one else, without distinction, may only see the goddess from the entrance, and pray to her 5 from there. The image was made in a sitting attitude by Canachus, the Sicyonian, who also wrought the Apollo at Didyma, in the land of Miletus, and the Ismenian Apollo for the Thebans. It is made of gold and ivory: on her head the goddess carries a firmament (*polos*), in one hand a poppy, and in the other an apple. They sacrifice the thighs of victims, save those of swine: the other parts of the animal they burn with juniper wood. Along with the 6 thighs they burn the leaf of the *paideros*. 5. The *paideros* is a plant that grows in the enclosure in the open air, but nowhere else, neither in the land of Sicyon nor in any other land. Its leaves are less than those of the oak, but larger than those of the evergreen oak: in shape they resemble oak leaves: one side of them is blackish, the other is white: their colour may be best likened to that of the leaves of the white poplar.

7 6. Going up from here to the gymnasium we have on the right a sanctuary of Pheraean Artemis: they say the wooden image was brought from Pherae. This gymnasium was built for the Sicyonians by Clinias, and here they still train the lads. There is an image of Artemis of white marble, carved only to the waist; and there is a Hercules, the lower part of which is like the square images of Hermes.

XI

1. Turning thence towards the gate called Sacred we come to a temple of Athena not far from the gate. The temple was dedicated by Epopeus, and in size and splendour surpassed all the temples of the time. But of this as of many another temple the memory was doomed in time to pass away; for God <destroyed it> by thunder-

bolts. But no bolt fell on the altar, and it remains to this day as Epopeus made it. 2. In front of the altar is a barrow erected to Epopeus, and near the grave are the Averting Gods: beside their images are performed the ceremonies which the Greeks observe for the purpose of averting evils. They say that Epopeus made the neighbouring sanctuary for Artemis and Apollo, and that the sanctuary of Hera beyond it was made by Adrastus: in neither of the sanctuaries were there images left. Behind the sanctuary of Hera he built altars, one to Pan and one of white marble to the Sun. Descending towards the plain we come to a sanctuary of Demeter: 2 they say it was founded by Plemnaeus as a thanksgiving to the goddess for bringing up his son. A little beyond the sanctuary of Hera, which Adrastus founded, is a temple of Carnean Apollo: only the columns of it are standing, you shall find neither walls nor roof in it, nor yet in the temple of Forerunner Hera. The latter was founded by Phalces, son of Temenus, because he alleged that Hera had been his guide on the way to Sicyon.

3. Following the direct road that leads from Sicyon to Phlius, 3 and turning aside to the left for just ten furlongs, we come to a grove called Pyraea, in which there is a sanctuary of Protecting Demeter and the Maid. Here the men celebrate a festival by themselves; but they leave the Nymphon, as it is called, to the women to celebrate their festival in. In the Nymphon are images of Dionysus, Demeter, and the Maid, of which only the faces are exposed to view.

The road to Titane is sixty furlongs, and impassable for carriages by reason of its narrowness. 4. Having advanced, it seems to 4 me, twenty furlongs and crossed the Asopus to the left, we come to a grove of evergreen oaks and a temple of the goddesses whom the Athenians name Venerable, and the Sicyonians name Eumenides ('kindly'). On one day every year they celebrate a festival in their honour, at which they sacrifice sheep big with young, pour libations of honey mixed with water, and use flowers instead of wreaths. They perform similar ceremonies at the altar of the Fates: it stands in the grove under the open sky.

5. Having returned to the road and again crossed the Asopus, we 5 come to the top of a mountain. Here, according to the natives, Titan first dwelt. They say that he was a brother of the Sun, and that from him the place was called Titane. Methinks that Titan was skilled to mark the seasons of the year, and when the sun quickens and ripens seeds and fruits; and therefore he was deemed a brother of the Sun. 6. Afterwards Alexanor, son of Machaon, son of Aesculapius, came to Sicyon and made the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Titane. People live round about it, mostly suppliants of the 6 god; and within the enclosure are ancient cypress-trees. It is impossible to learn of what wood or metal the image is made; nor

do they know who made it, though one or two refer it to Alexanor himself. Only the face and the hands and feet of the image are visible, for a white woollen shirt and a mantle are thrown over it. There is a similar image of Health: you can hardly see it either, so covered is it with women's hair, which they poll in honour of the goddess, and so swathed in strips of Babylonish raiment. Whoever would here propitiate one of them, is instructed
7 to worship the one which they call Health.[1] 7. There are images also of Alexanor and Euamerion. To the former they make offerings after sunset as to a hero: to Euamerion they sacrifice as to a god. If my conjecture is right, this Euamerion is he whom the Pergamenians, in compliance with an oracle, name Telesphorus ('accomplisher'), and whom the Epidaurians name Acesis ('cure'). There is also a wooden image of Coronis. It does not stand in the temple; but when they are sacrificing a bull, a lamb, and a pig to the god they bring Coronis to the sanctuary of Athena and honour her there. All the portions of the victims which they offer (and they are not content with cutting off the thighs) they burn on the ground, except birds, which they burn on
8 the altar. 8. The gables contain a figure of Hercules and figures of Victories at the ends. In the colonnade are dedicated images of Dionysus and Hecate, Aphrodite and the Mother of the Gods, and Fortune: these images are of wood, but the image of Aesculapius, surnamed Gortynian, is of stone. People are afraid to go in among the sacred serpents; so they set down food for them at the entrance and trouble themselves no more about it. Within the enclosure is a bronze statue of Granianus, a native of Sicyon who won two victories in the pentathlum at Olympia, a third in the single race, and two more in the double course, running both with and without his shield.

XII

1. In Titane there is also a sanctuary of Athena, to which they carry up Coronis: it contains an ancient wooden image of Athena, which is also said to have been struck by lightning. After descending from this hill (for the sanctuary is built on a hill) we come to an altar of the winds, on which the priest sacrifices to the winds one night in every year. He also performs other secret rites at four pits, soothing the fury of the blasts; and he chants, they say, Medea's spells.

2 We now return from Titane to Sicyon. On the way down to the sea we have on the left of the road a temple of Hera. It has no longer an image nor a roof: they say it was dedicated by Proetus, son of Abas. 2. Having descended to what is called the harbour of Sicyon, and bent our steps in the direction of Aristonautae, the sea-

[1] The text is corrupt and the meaning uncertain. See Critical Note.

port of Pellene, we perceive, a little above the road on the left, a sanctuary of Poseidon. Proceeding by the high road we come to the river Helisson, and after it to the Sythas, both rivers falling into the sea.

3. Phliasia borders on the territory of Sicyon. The city of 3
Phlius is just forty furlongs from Titane: a straight road leads to it from Sicyon. That the Phliasians are not related to the Arcadians is proved by the catalogue of the Arcadians in Homer, for the Phliasians are not included in that catalogue. That they were originally Argives and afterwards became Dorians, when the Heraclids had returned to Peloponnese, will appear in the sequel. I know that the accounts given of the Phliasians are mostly discrepant, but I will follow the one which is most generally accepted.
4. They say that the first man born in this land was Aras, an 4
aboriginal. He founded a city round about the hill, which is called the Arantine hill to this day. It is not far from another hill on which the Phliasians have their acropolis and the sanctuary of Hebe. Here then he built a city, and from him both land and city were called Arantia in days of old. 5. It was for this king that Asopus, who is said to have been a son of Celusa and Poseidon, discovered the water of the river which is still called Asopus after its discoverer. The tomb of Aras is in a place Celeae, where they say that Dysaules, an Eleusinian, is also buried. Aras had a 5
son Aoris, and a daughter Araethyrea. The Phliasians say that these two were skilful in the chase and brave in war. Araethyrea died first, and Aoris, in memory of his sister, changed the name of the country to Araethyrea. Hence Homer, enumerating the subjects of Agamemnon, has the verse:—

> They dwelt in Ornea and lovely Araethyrea.

The graves of the children of Aras are, I believe, on the Arantine hill and nowhere else. Round tombstones surmount their graves; and before the Phliasians celebrate the mysteries of Demeter, they look towards these tombs and invite Aras and his children to partake of the libations. 6. Phlias, the third who gave his name to the country, 6
is said by the Argives to have been a son of Cisus, the son of Temenus. But I cannot agree with them, for I know that he is called a son of Dionysus, and is said to have been one of those who sailed in the Argo. And the verses of the Rhodian poet bear me out:—

> After them came Phlias from Araethyrea,
> Where he dwelt in wealth through Dionysus
> His sire: his home was by the springs of Asopus.

They say that the mother of Phlias was Araethyrea, not Chthonophyle, who was his wife and bore him Androdamas.

XIII

1. The return of the Heraclids threw the whole of Peloponnese, except Arcadia, into confusion. Many of the cities received fresh settlers from the Dorian horde, and the changes that befell the inhabitants were still more numerous. Phlius fared as follows. Rhegnidas, a Dorian, son of Phalces, son of Temenus, led an army against it from Argos and Sicyonia. Some of the Phliasians were content with the terms which Rhegnidas offered them, namely, that they should remain in possession, but should accept Rhegnidas as their king, and admit him and his Dorians to a share in the land.
2 But Hippasus and his party urged his countrymen to resist, and not to yield up to the Dorians without a struggle so much that they held dear. However, the people took the opposite view. So Hippasus, with such as cared to join him, fled to Samos. 2. This Hippasus was the great-grandfather of the famous sage, Pythagoras. For Pythagoras was the son of Mnesarchus, who was the son of Euphron, who was the son of Hippasus. This is the account which the Phliasians give of themselves, and in most particulars the Sicyonians agree with them.

3 3. I shall now add a notice of the most remarkable sights. In the acropolis of Phlius there is a grove of cypresses and a sanctuary of awful and immemorial sanctity. The goddess of the sanctuary is named Ganymeda by the most ancient Phliasian authorities, but Hebe by the later authorities. Homer also mentions Hebe in the single combat of Menelaus and Alexander, where he says that she was the cupbearer of the gods; and again, in Ulysses' descent to hell, he says she was the wife of Hercules. Olen in his hymn to Hera says that Hera was nurtured by the Seasons, and was the
4 mother of Ares and Hebe. Of the honours which the Phliasians pay to the goddess the greatest is this: slaves who take sanctuary here are safe, and when prisoners are loosed from their bonds they hang their fetters on the trees in the grove. The Phliasians also hold a yearly festival which they call Ivy-cutters. Image they have none, neither preserved in secret nor shown openly. The reason for this is given in a sacred story of theirs. On the left as we quit the sanctuary is a temple of Hera, containing an image
5 of Parian marble. In the acropolis is another enclosure: it is sacred to Demeter, and contains a temple and image of Demeter and her daughter. There is also a bronze image of Artemis here which appeared to me ancient. Going down from the acropolis we pass on the right a temple of Aesculapius, the image of which represents a young and beardless man. Below this temple is a theatre, and not far from it is a sanctuary of Demeter with ancient seated images.

6 4. In the market-place stands a bronze she-goat, mostly gilded.

It is worshipped by the Phliasians for the following reason:—The constellation which they name the Goat always blights the vines at its rising, and to avert its baleful influence they worship the bronze goat in the market-place, and adorn it with gold. 5. Here is also the tomb of Aristias, son of Pratinas. This Aristias and his father Pratinas composed the most popular satyric dramas ever written except those of Aeschylus. 6. Behind the market-place is a house 7
named by the Phliasians the house of divination. According to them, Amphiaraus coming to this house and sleeping the night in it began for the first time to divine. Up to that time, according to their story, he had been an ordinary person and no diviner. From that time the building has been always shut up. 7. Not far off is what they call the Navel (*Omphalos*): if what they say is true, this spot is the centre of the whole of Peloponnese. Proceeding onward from the Navel we come to an ancient sanctuary of Dionysus, another of Apollo, and another of Isis. The image of Dionysus may be seen by every one, and so may that of Apollo; but only the priests may behold the image of Isis. 8. Here is another story told by 8
the Phliasians. When Hercules returned safely from Libya, bringing the apples called the apples of the Hesperides, he came to Phlius on some private business; and while staying there was visited by Oeneus, from Aetolia, his kinsman by marriage. Oeneus on his arrival either feasted Hercules or was feasted by him. At all events, Oeneus had as cupbearer a boy called Cyathus; and Hercules, being dissatisfied with the draught which Cyathus handed to him, struck the boy on the head with one of his fingers. The blow killed him on the spot, and there is a chapel to his memory at Phlius. It stands beside the sanctuary of Apollo, and contains a group of statuary in stone, representing Cyathus handing a cup to Hercules.

XIV

1. Celeae is distant just about five furlongs from the city. They celebrate the mysteries of Demeter there every third year, not annually. The high-priest of the mysteries is not appointed for life, but at each celebration a new priest is elected, who may, if he chooses, take a wife. In these respects their practice differs from that observed at Eleusis; but the actual mysteries are an imitation of the Eleusinian mysteries, indeed the Phliasians themselves admit that they imitate the rites of Eleusis. 2. They say that the mysteries 2
were instituted by Dysaules, brother of Celeus, who came to their country after he had been expelled from Eleusis by Ion, son of Xuthus, at the time when Ion was chosen commander-in-chief of the Athenians in the war against Eleusis. But I cannot agree with the Phliasians that any man of Eleusis was defeated in battle and driven into exile; for peace was concluded before the war was fought out,

and even Eumolpus himself was suffered to remain in Eleusis.
3 It is possible, however, that Dysaules may have come to Phlius for some other cause than the one alleged by the Phliasians. But he was not, in my opinion, related to Celeus, nor did he belong to any other of the illustrious families of Eleusis. For Homer would never have passed him over in silence in his hymn to Demeter. In that hymn Homer enumerates the men who were taught the mysteries by the goddess, but he knows no Eleusinian of the name of Dysaules. The verses are these :—

She showed to Triptolemus and Diocles, smiter of horses,
And mighty Eumolpus and Celeus, leader of peoples,
The way of performing the sacred rites, and explained to all of them the orgies.

4 However that may be, it was this man Dysaules, according to the Phliasians, who instituted the mysteries here, and he it was who gave to the place the name of Celeae. There is here, as I have said, the tomb of Dysaules. The grave of Aras must therefore be older; for according to the Phliasian tradition Dysaules came after the reign of Aras. 3. For the Phliasians say that Aras was a contemporary of Prometheus, son of Iapetus, and lived three generations before Pelasgus, son of Arcas, and the so-called aborigines of Athens. On the roof of what is called the Anactorum stands a chariot which they say is the chariot of Pelops. These were the chief objects of interest in Phliasia.

XV

1. On the way from Corinth to Argos there is a small city Cleonae. Some say that Cleones was a son of Pelops, others that Cleone was one of the daughters of the river Asopus which flows by Sicyon: at all events it was from one or other of these two that the city got its name. Here is a sanctuary of Athena: the image is a work of Scyllis and Dipoenus. Some say that these two artists were pupils of Daedalus: others maintain that Daedalus took to wife a woman of Gortyna, and that she bore him Dipoenus and Scyllis. Besides this sanctuary there is also at Cleonae the tomb of Eurytus and Cteatus. They were shot here by Hercules when they were on their way from Elis to witness, as ambassadors, the Isthmian games. The charge he brought against them was that in his war with Augeas they had been arrayed against him.

2 From Cleonae there are two roads to Argos. One, a short cut, is a mere footpath: the other is over the pass of the Tretus, as it is called. The latter, like the former, is a narrow defile shut in by mountains on all sides, but it is better adapted for driving.

2. In these mountains is still shown the lion's cave, and about fifteen furlongs from it is Nemea. In Nemea there is a temple of Nemean Zeus, which is worth seeing, though the roof had fallen in, and there was no image left. The temple stands in a grove of cypresses; and it was here, they say, that the serpent killed Opheltes, who had been set down by his nurse on the grass. The 3
Argives sacrifice to Zeus in Nemea as well as in Argos, and they choose a priest of Nemean Zeus. Moreover they announce a race to be run by armed men at the winter celebration of the Nemean festival. 3. Here is the grave of Opheltes enclosed by a stone wall, and within the enclosure there are altars. Here, too, is a barrow, the tomb of Lycurgus, the father of Opheltes. The spring is named Adrastea, perhaps because Adrastus discovered it, or perhaps for some other reason. They say that the district got its name from Nemea, another daughter of Asopus. Above Nemea is Mount Apesas, where they say that Perseus first sacrificed to Apesantian Zeus.

4. Having ascended to the Tretus and resumed the road to Argos, 4
we have on the left the ruins of Mycenae. That Perseus was the founder of Mycenae is known to every Greek, but I will narrate the cause of its foundation and the pretext on which the Argives afterwards destroyed Mycenae. They say that Inachus reigned in the country which is now named Argolis, and that he gave his name to the river and sacrificed to Hera. What happened before his time is forgotten. 5. Another legend is that the first man born in this 5
country was Phoroneus, and that his father Inachus was not a man, but the river of that name. Inachus, so runs the legend, arbitrated in the dispute between Poseidon and Hera for the possession of the country, and he was assisted by Cephisus and Asterion; and because they decided that the country belonged to Hera, Poseidon made their water to disappear. Therefore neither the Inachus nor any of the said rivers has any water, except after rain: in summer their streams are dry, with the exception of the streams at Lerna. It was Phoroneus, son of Inachus, who brought mankind together for the first time; for hitherto they had lived scattered and solitary. And the place where they first assembled was named the city of Phoronicum.

XVI

1. Argos, the son of Phoroneus' daughter, reigned after Phoroneus, and gave his name to the district. Argos begat Pirasus and Phorbas, Phorbas begat Triopas, and Triopas begat Iasus and Agenor. Io, daughter of Iasus, went to Egypt either in the way that Herodotus states, or in the way commonly alleged by the Greeks. Iasus was succeeded on the throne by Crotopus, son of

Agenor, and Crotopus had a son Sthenelas. But Danaus sailed from Egypt against Gelanor, son of Sthenelas, and deposed the house of Agenor. Every one knows the sequel, how the daughters of Danaus wrought a bold bad deed on their cousins, and how
2 Lynceus came to the throne on the death of Danaus. 2. But the sons of Abas, son of Lynceus, divided the kingdom amongst themselves, Acrisius remaining in Argos, and Proetus taking the Heraeum, Midea, Tiryns, and the coast of Argolis. Traces still remain of the house of Proetus at Tiryns. Afterwards Acrisius, learning that Perseus was alive and distinguishing himself, retired to Larisa on the Peneus. But Peneus, bent on seeing his mother's father, and showing him kindness by word and deed, went to him at Larisa. Being in the prime of youthful vigour, and delighting in his invention of the quoit, he was exhibiting his skill in public. But as fate would have it, Acrisius unwittingly got in the way of the
3 quoit as it was being thrown. Thus the prophecy of the god was fulfilled on Acrisius, nor did the precautions which he took with reference to his daughter and her son avail to avert his doom.

3. When Perseus returned to Argos, ashamed at the notoriety of the homicide, he persuaded Megapenthes, son of Proetus, to change kingdoms with him. So when he had received the kingdom of Proetus he founded Mycenae, because there the cap (*mykes*) of his scabbard had fallen off, and he regarded this as a sign to found a city. I have also heard that being thirsty he chanced to take up a mushroom (*mykes*), and that water flowing from it he drank, and
4 being pleased gave the place the name of Mycenae. In the *Odyssey* Homer mentions a woman Mycene in the following verse:—

Tyro and Alcmena and well-crowned Mycene.

That she was the daughter of Inachus and wife of Arestor is affirmed in the epic which the Greeks call the *Great Eoeae*. They say, then, that from her the city got its name. But I cannot accept the account which they attribute to Acuselaus, that Myceneus was a son of Sparton, and Sparton a son of Phoroneus; for the Lacedaemonians themselves do not admit it. The Lacedaemonians certainly have in Amyclae a statue of a woman Sparta, but it would surprise them even to hear of Sparton son of Phoroneus.

5 4. The Argives destroyed Mycenae out of jealousy. For while they remained inactive at the time of the invasion of the Medes, the Mycenaeans sent eighty men to Thermopylae, who fought side by side with the Lacedaemonians. But this spirited conduct of the Mycenaeans proved their ruin, by exasperating the Argives. However, parts of the circuit wall are still left, including the gate, which is surmounted by lions. These also are said to be the work of the
6 Cyclopes, who made the walls of Tiryns for Proetus. 5. Among the ruins of Mycenae is a conduit called Persea, and there are

underground buildings of Atreus and his children, where their treasures were kept. There is a grave of Atreus, and graves of all those who on their return from Ilium with Agamemnon were murdered by Aegisthus after a banquet which he gave them. The tomb of Cassandra is disputed: the Lacedaemonians of Amyclae claim that it is at Amyclae. Another tomb is that of Agamemnon; another is that of Eurymedon the charioteer; another is that of Teledamus and Pelops. The two last are said to have been twin children of 7
Cassandra, who were murdered by Aegisthus in their infancy after he had murdered their parents . . . . for Orestes gave her in marriage to Pylades. Hellanicus adds that Pylades had Medon and Strophius by Electra. But Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus were buried at a little distance from the wall; for they were deemed unworthy to be buried within the walls, where Agamemnon himself and those who had been murdered with him were laid.

XVII

1. To the left of Mycenae, at a distance of fifteen furlongs, is the Heraeum. Beside the road flows a water which is called the Water of Freedom: the women who minister at the sanctuary employ it for purifications and for the secret sacrifices. 2. The sanctuary itself is on the lower slope of Euboea. For they name this mountain Euboea, saying that the river Asterion had three daughters, Euboea, Prosymna, and Acraea, and that they were nurses of Hera. The mountain opposite the Heraeum 2
is called after Acraea: the ground about the sanctuary is called after Euboea; and the district below the Heraeum is called Prosymna. The Asterion flowing above the Heraeum falls into a gully and disappears. On its banks grows a plant which they also name Asterion: they offer the plant to Hera, and twine its leaves into wreaths for her. 3. They say that the architect of the temple was 3
Eupolemus an Argive. The sculptures over the columns represent, some the birth of Zeus and the battle of the gods and giants, others the Trojan war and the taking of Ilium. Before the entrance stand statues of women who have been priestesses of Hera, and statues of heroes, including Orestes; for they say that the statue which the inscription declares to be the Emperor Augustus is really Orestes. In the fore-temple are ancient images of the Graces on the left; and on the right is a couch of Hera, and a votive offering consisting of the shield which Menelaus once took from Euphorbus at Ilium. 4. The image of Hera is seated on a throne, and is of 4
colossal size: it is made of gold and ivory, and is a work of Polyclitus. On her head is a crown with the Graces and the Seasons wrought on it in relief: in one hand she carries a pomegranate, in the other a sceptre. The story about the pomegranate I shall omit

as it is of a somewhat mystic nature; but the cuckoo perched on the sceptre is explained by a story, that when Zeus was in love with the maiden Hera he changed himself into this bird, and that Hera caught the bird to play with it. This and similar
5 stories of the gods I record, though I do not accept them. 5. It is said that beside the image of Hera once stood an image of Hebe, also of ivory and gold, a work of Naucydes. And beside it is an antique image of Hera on a column. But her most ancient image is made of the wood of the wild pear-tree: it was dedicated in Tiryns by Pirasus, son of Argos, and when the Argives destroyed Tiryns they brought the image to the Heraeum. It
6 is a small seated image: I saw it myself. 6. Amongst the remarkable dedicatory offerings is an altar, on which is wrought in relief the fabled marriage of Hebe and Hercules: the altar is of silver. Further, there is a peacock of gold and shining stones dedicated by the Emperor Hadrian, because this bird is considered sacred to Hera. There is also a golden crown and a purple robe, offerings of Nero.

7 7. Above this temple are the foundations of the former temple, together with the few other remains of it that escaped the flames. It was burned down through Chryseis, the priestess of Hera, having fallen asleep, when the flame of the lamp caught the wreaths. Chryseis fled to Tegea and took sanctuary in the temple of Athena Alea. In spite of this great calamity the Argives did not take down the statue of Chryseis, and it still stands in front of the burnt temple.

XVIII

1. On the way from Mycenae to Argos is a shrine of the hero Perseus beside the road on the left. He is honoured here by the people of the neighbourhood; but he is most honoured in Seriphus, and in Athens there is a precinct of Perseus, and an altar of Dictys and Clymene, who are called the saviours of Perseus. 2. In Argolis, going on a little way from this shrine, we come to the grave of Thyestes on the right. Over the grave is the stone figure of a ram, because Thyestes obtained the golden lamb, after he had committed adultery with his brother's wife. Prudence did not restrain Atreus from retaliating: he murdered the children of Thyestes and served up the
2 notorious banquet. Afterwards I cannot say for certain whether Aegisthus was the aggressor, or whether Agamemnon began the feud by murdering Tantalus the son of Thyestes. They say that Tantalus was Clytaemnestra's first husband, Tyndareus having given her to him in marriage. I do not wish to charge them with having been by nature wicked; but if the guilt of Pelops and the avenging ghost of Myrtilus dogged their steps so long, well might the Pythian priestess tell the Spartan Glaucus, son of Epicydes,

when he meditated perjury, that vengeance would pursue his descendants.

3. A little beyond the Rams (for so they name the tomb of 3
Thyestes) we come to a place Mysia and a sanctuary of Mysian Demeter on the left of the road. The name is derived from a man Mysius, one of those mortals, the Argives say, who entertained Demeter. The sanctuary has no roof, but contains another temple, built of burnt bricks, and wooden images of the Maid and Pluto and Demeter. Farther on we come to the river Inachus, and crossing it we come to an altar of the Sun. From this altar you will come to the gate which gets its name from the neighbouring sanctuary of Ilithyia.

4. The Argives are the only Greeks I know who have been 4
divided into three kingdoms. For in the reign of Anaxagoras, son of Argus, son of Megapenthes, the women were smitten with madness, and quitting their houses roamed up and down the land, till Melampus, son of Amythaon, cured them on condition that he and his brother Bias should share the kingdom equally with Anaxagoras. From Bias sprang five kings who reigned for four generations, down to Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus: on the mother's side they were Neleids. Melampus was the ancestor of six kings in six generations, down to Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus. But the native dynasty 5
of the house of Anaxagoras outlasted the other two. For Iphis, son of Alector, son of Anaxagoras, bequeathed the throne to Sthenelus, son of his brother Capaneus. And when, after the capture of Ilium, Amphilochus emigrated and settled among the people now called Amphilochians, and Cyanippus died childless, Cylarabes, the son of Sthenelus, had the kingdom to himself. 5. But as he also left no children, Orestes, son of Agamemnon, made himself master of Argos. For he dwelt near; and, besides the kingdom he inherited from his fathers, he had added a large part of Arcadia to his domains, and had succeeded to the crown of Sparta. Moreover his allies the Phocians furnished him with a body of troops which was kept in constant readiness for service. But if he was king of Lacedaemon, 6
it was by the consent of the Lacedaemonians themselves. For they thought that the sons of the daughter of Tyndareus had a better right to the throne than Nicostratus and Megapenthes, the sons of Menelaus by a slave girl. When Orestes died, his son Tisamenus succeeded him. His mother was Hermione, daughter of Menelaus. Orestes had also a bastard son called Penthilus, whose mother, according to the poet Cinaethon, was Erigone, daughter of Aegisthus.

6. It was in the reign of this Tisamenus that the Heraclids re- 7
turned to Peloponnese. Their names were Temenus and Cresphontes, sons of Aristomachus: the third brother Aristodemus was dead, but his children came with their uncles. In my opinion their claim to Argos and the kingdom of Argos was perfectly just; for whereas

Tisamenus was descended from Pelops, the Heraclids were descendants of Perseus. They declared that Tyndareus had been driven out by Hippocoon, but that Hercules slew Hippocoon and his children, and handed over the country in trust to Tyndareus. They told the same sort of story about Messenia, how that it also had been given in trust to Nestor by Hercules after he had captured
8 Pylus. 7. So they drove Tisamenus out of Lacedaemon and Argos, and expelled the descendants of Nestor from Messenia. These descendants of Nestor were, first, Alcmaeon, son of Sillus, son of Thrasymedes; second, Pisistratus, son of Pisistratus; and, third, the sons of Paeon, son of Antilochus. With them was also expelled Melanthus, son of Andropompus, son of Borus, son of Penthilus, son of Periclymenus. Tisamenus went with his army and his
9 children to the country which is now called Achaia. Where Pisistratus went I know not; but all the rest of the Neleids went to Athens, where they give their names to the house of the Paeonids and the house of the Alcmaeonids. Melanthus even came to the throne, from which he had driven Thymoetus, son of Oxyntes, the last Athenian king of the house of Theseus.

XIX

1. The history of Cresphontes and the sons of Aristodemus it is not material that I should here relate. But Temenus openly employed Deiphontes, son of Antimachus, son of Thrasyanor, son of Ctesippus, son of Hercules, as his general in the battles instead of his own sons, and he took his advice in everything; and as he had previously made him his son-in-law, and loved his daughter Hyrnetho the best of all his children, he was suspected of trying to divert the kingdom to her and Deiphontes. Therefore his sons plotted against him, and Cisus, the eldest of them, mounted the
2 throne. 2. But from time immemorial the Argives have loved equality and freedom; and they now reduced the kingly power so low that Medon, son of Cisus, and his descendants, had nothing but the title of king left them. At last, Meltas, son of Lacedas, ninth descendant of Medon, was condemned by the people and actually deposed.

3 3. The most famous building in Argos is a sanctuary of Wolfish (*Lukios*) Apollo. The present image was made by Attalus, an Athenian, but originally both the temple and the wooden image were dedicated by Danaus; for I am persuaded that in those days all images were of wood, especially the Egyptian images. The reason why Danaus founded a sanctuary of Wolfish Apollo was this. When he came to Argos he claimed the kingdom against Gelanor, son of Sthenelas. The people sat in judgment: many plausible pleas were urged on both sides; and it was thought

that Gelanor had made out quite as good a case as his opponent. But the people deferred their decision, it is said, till the next day. At break of day a herd of kine, browsing before the walls, was 4
attacked by a wolf, who fell upon and fought the bull, the leader of the herd. So it struck the Argives that Gelanor was like the bull and Danaus like the wolf; for just as the wolf does not live among men, so Danaus had not dwelt among them till that day. And since the wolf killed the bull, Danaus got the kingdom. So he founded a sanctuary of Wolfish Apollo, because he thought that Apollo had brought the wolf on the herd. 4. In this sanctuary is the throne of 5
Danaus, and there is a statue of Biton, representing a man carrying a bull on his shoulders. According to the poet Lyceas, when the Argives were driving beasts to Nemea to sacrifice to Zeus, Biton by reason of his vigour and strength took up a bull and carried it. 5. Next to this statue is a fire which they keep burning: they name it the fire of Phoroneus, for they do not admit that Prometheus gave fire to men, but refer the discovery of fire to Phoroneus. 6. Of the wooden images of Aphrodite and Hermes, they say that the 6
one is a work of Epeus, the other an offering of Hypermnestra. For Hypermnestra, as the only one of his daughters who had disregarded his command, was brought to trial by Danaus, who thought his own safety imperilled by the escape of Lynceus, and that by not sharing in the crime of her sisters she had inflamed the infamy that attached to himself as the contriver of the deed. Being tried and acquitted by the Argives, Hypermnestra dedicated an image of Victorious Aphrodite to commemorate her escape. Inside the 7
temple is a statue of Ladas, the fleetest runner of his age; also a Hermes with a tortoise which he has lifted in order to make a lyre. In front of the temple is a pedestal adorned with sculptures in relief: they represent a bull and a wolf fighting and a virgin hurling a rock at the bull: they think that the virgin is Artemis. Danaus dedicated these, also some pillars near from . . . . of Zeus and a wooden image of Artemis.

7. There are also graves: one of them is the grave of Linus, son 8
of Apollo by Psamathe, daughter of Crotopus: the other, they say, is the grave of Linus the poet. The history of the latter Linus can be told more appropriately in another place; so I omit it here. The story of the former has been already told by me in describing Megara. After these graves there is an image of Apollo as God of Streets, and an altar of Rainy Zeus, where the men who banded together to restore Polynices to Thebes swore to take Thebes or die. As to the tomb of Prometheus, the Argives tell a story which to me seems less likely than the story told by the Opuntians. But the Argives stick to their version of it.

XX

1. Passing over a statue of Creugas, a pugilist, and a trophy erected to commemorate a victory over the Corinthians, you come to a seated statue of Gracious Zeus, in white marble, a work of Polyclitus. I was told that it was made for the following reason. From the time that the Lacedaemonians first turned their arms against the Argives, there was no cessation of hostilities till Philip, the son of Amyntas, compelled them to stay within their original boundaries. Before that time, if the Lacedaemonians were not meddling outside Peloponnese, they were sure to be encroaching on the Argive territory; and on the other hand, when the Lacedaemonians were occupied with a foreign war, it was the turn of the
2 Argives to retaliate on them. When feeling on both sides ran very high, the Argives resolved to maintain a regiment of a thousand picked men. The commander of the regiment was one Bryas of Argos. Among other acts of oppression committed by him on the people, this man violated a girl whom he had torn from the arms of her friends as they were escorting her to the house of the bridegroom. When night fell the girl waited till Bryas was asleep, and then put out his eyes. At daybreak, being discovered, she threw herself on the protection of the people. The people refused to give her up to the vengeance of the soldiery. A fight ensued, the popular party were victorious, and in their fury they left not a man of their enemies alive. Afterwards they took various steps to cleanse themselves from the stain of tribal blood: among others, they set up an image of Gracious Zeus.

3 2. Hard by is a relief cut in stone: it represents Cleobis and Biton drawing the wagon with their mother on it to the sanctuary of Hera. 3. Opposite to it there is a sanctuary of Nemean Zeus: the bronze image of the god, who is represented standing, is a work of Lysippus. Beyond it we come to the grave of Phoroneus on the right. Down to the present day they still sacrifice to Phoroneus as to a hero. Over against the sanctuary of Nemean Zeus is a temple of Fortune. It must be very old if it be true that in this temple Palamedes dedicated the dice which he had invented.
4 The neighbouring tomb they name the tomb of Chorea the Bacchanal. They say she was one of the women who marched with Dionysus to Argos, and that Perseus, being victorious in the battle, put most of the women to the sword. The others were buried in a common grave; but in consideration of her higher rank they made a separate tomb for Chorea. 4. At a little distance is a sanctuary of the Seasons.

5 Returning from it you perceive a statue of Polynices, son of Oedipus, and statues of all the captains who perished with him in

the assault on Thebes. Their number is reduced by Aeschylus to seven, but more than seven leaders marched from Argos and Messene, not to speak of some Arcadians. Near these seven (for the Argives also have adopted Aeschylus' account) are statues of the men who captured Thebes. They were Aegialeus, son of Adrastus; Promachus, son of Parthenopaeus, son of Talaus; Polydorus, son of Hippomedon; Thersander; the two sons of Amphiaraus, Alcmaeon and Amphilochus; and Diomede and Sthenelus. Besides these there were present at the siege Euryalus, son of Mecisteus, and Adrastus and Timeas, sons of Polynices. Not far 6
from the statues is shown the tomb of Danaus and a cenotaph of the Argives who met their death at Ilium or on the journey home. 5. Here, too, is a sanctuary of Saviour Zeus. Passing it we come to a building where the Argive women bewail Adonis. On the right of the entrance is a sanctuary of Cephisus. They say that the water of this river was not utterly dried up by Poseidon, but just on the spot where the sanctuary stands they hear it flowing underground. Beside the sanctuary of Cephisus is a head of 7
Medusa made of stone: they say that it too is a work of the Cyclopes. The place behind is still named the Judgment Place, because they say Hypermnestra was here brought to judgment by Danaus. 6. Not far from it is a theatre: among other things worth seeing it contains the statue of one man killing another; the slayer is the Argive Perilaus, son of Alcenor; the slain man is the Spartan Othryadas. Perilaus had previously won a prize for wrestling at the Nemean games.

7. Above the theatre is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and in front 8
of the image of the goddess stands a relief representing Telesilla, the song-writer: her books are lying at her feet, and she is looking at a helmet which she holds in her hand and is about to put on her head. Telesilla was distinguished as a woman, and still more as a poetess. The Lacedaemonians, under Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, had inflicted a dreadful defeat on the Argives. Of the latter, some fell in the battle, others escaped to the grove of Argos, but only to perish miserably. For those who at first came out and surrendered were instantly despatched; and the rest, discovering the snare, were burned to death in the grove. Thus when Cleomenes led the Lacedaemonians against Argos, the city was denuded of its fighting men. 8. But Telesilla took the slaves, and the males 9
who were too old or too young to bear arms, and mounted all of them on the wall. Then she gathered all the weapons that were left in the houses, or preserved in the sanctuaries, and with these she armed all the women who were in the prime of life, and drew them up in array at the point where she knew the enemy would approach. The Lacedaemonians came on; and the women, undismayed by their cheering, stood their ground and fought stoutly.

Then the Lacedaemonians, reflecting that victory, purchased by the slaughter of the women, would be odious and defeat disgraceful,
10 gave ground and left the women in possession of the field. This battle was foretold by the Pythian priestess in an oracle which Herodotus has recorded, whether he understood it or not:—

> But when the female conquers the male
> And drives him away, and wins glory among the Argives,
> Then will she cause many Argive women to scratch both their cheeks.

These were the words of the oracle which referred to the battle of the women.

XXI

1. Having descended thence and turned again towards the market-place, we come to the tomb of Cerdo, wife of Phoroneus, and to a temple of Aesculapius. The sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Persuasion, was also dedicated by Hypermnestra, after her acquittal at the trial to which she had been brought by her father on account of Lynceus. 2. Here, too, is a bronze statue of Aeneas, and a place called Delta. The explanation given of the name did not
2 satisfy me, so I omit it. In front of it is an altar of Zeus, God of Flight, and near it is the tomb of Hypermnestra, mother of Amphiaraus. The other tomb is that of Hypermnestra, daughter of Danaus; and Lynceus is buried with her. Opposite these is the grave of Talaus, son of Bias. I have already told the story of Bias
3 and his descendants. 3. The sanctuary of Trumpet Athena is said to have been founded by Hegeleos. They say that this Hegeleos was a son of Tyrsenus, that Tyrsenus was a son of Hercules by the Lydian woman, that Tyrsenus invented the trumpet, that his son Hegeleos taught the Dorians who accompanied Temenus how to play on the instrument, and that therefore he gave Athena the surname of Trumpet. 4. They say that in front of the temple of Athena is the grave of Epimenides. The Argive story is that the Lacedaemonians, in a war with the Cnosians, took Epimenides prisoner, but put him to death because he did not prophesy good luck to them; and the Argives (according to their own account)
4 removed his body and buried him here. 5. The building of white marble, situated just at the middle of the market-place, is not a trophy of the victory over Pyrrhus the Epirot, as the Argives say: his corpse was burned here, and this you will find is his monument, on which are sculptured in relief the elephants and everything that Pyrrhus used in battle. This building was erected where the pyre stood, but the bones of Pyrrhus are deposited in the sanctuary of Demeter, beside which, as I have shown in my account of Attica, his death took place. At the entrance to this sanctuary of Demeter

you may see the bronze shield of Pyrrhus hanging up over the door.

6. Not far from the building in the market-place of Argos is a 5
mound of earth: they say that in it lies the head of the Gorgon Medusa. If we leave out the mythical element, the story told of her is this: she was a daughter of Phorcus, and when her father died she reigned over the people who dwell round about the Lake Tritonis. She used to go out hunting, and she led the Libyans to battle. But being encamped with her army over against the host of Perseus, who was accompanied by picked troops from Peloponnese, she was assassinated by night, and Perseus, admiring her beauty even in death, cut off her head and brought it to show to the Greeks. 7. But 6
a Carthaginian named Procles, the son of Eucrates, thought that the following account was more plausible. The desert of Libya contains wild beasts, such as a man would not believe in if he were told of them; and amongst these monsters are wild men and wild women. Procles said that he had seen one of these men who had been brought to Rome. He conjectured, therefore, that one of these women had wandered to the Lake Tritonis, and there harried the people of the neighbourhood till Perseus slew her; and because the people who dwell round about the Lake Tritonis are sacred to Athena, it was supposed that the goddess had aided him in his exploit.

8. In Argos beside this monument of the Gorgon is the grave 7
of Gorgophone ('Gorgon-slaying'), daughter of Perseus. The reason why the name was given her is manifest as soon as it is mentioned. They say that she was the first woman who married a second time; for on the decease of her husband Perieres, son of Aeolus, to whom she had been married as a maid, she wedded Oebalus. But before that time it had been the custom for women to remain single after their husbands' death. 9. In front of this grave is a trophy of 8
stone, erected to commemorate a triumph over Laphaes an Argive. He was a tyrant (I give the Argives' own account), and the people rose up and expelled him. He fled to Sparta, and the Lacedaemonians tried to restore him to power. But in the battle the Argives were victorious, and put the tyrant and most of the Lacedaemonians to the edge of the sword. 10. The sanctuary of Latona is
not far from the trophy: the image is a work of Praxiteles. The 9
statue of the virgin beside the goddess is named Chloris ('the pale woman'). They say she was a daughter of Niobe, and that her original name was Meliboea. When the children of Amphion were slain by Apollo and Artemis, she and her brother Amyclas alone were spared of all the brothers and sisters, because they had prayed to Latona. But Meliboea grew so pale with fear at the moment, and continued so pale for the rest of her life, that her name was accordingly changed from Meliboea to Chloris. The Argives say that the temple of Latona was originally built by the brother and

sister. But I prefer to follow Homer, and to suppose that none of the children of Niobe were left alive. In this I am borne out by the verse :—

> But they, though they were but twain, destroyed them all.

Thus Homer knew that the house of Amphion was destroyed root and branch.

XXII

1. The temple of Flowery Hera is on the right of the sanctuary of Latona, and in front of it is a grave of women. These women fell in the battle against the Argives under Perseus. They formed part of the host which Dionysus led thither from the islands of the Aegean; therefore the Argives surname them the Sea-Women. 2. Opposite the tomb of the women is a sanctuary of Demeter, who is surnamed Pelasgian after the founder of the sanctuary, Pelasgus, son of Triopas. The grave of Pelasgus is not far from
2 the sanctuary. Over against the grave is a bronze vessel of no great size: it supports ancient images of Artemis, Zeus, and Athena. 3. Lyceas in his poem says that it is the image of Zeus the Contriver, and that the Argives who went to the Trojan war swore here to continue the war till they should either take Ilium or fall sword in hand. 4. Others have stated that in
3 the bronze vessel are deposited the bones of Tantalus. Now that the Tantalus, who was son to Thyestes or to Broteas (for some say one, some the other), and who was the husband of Clytaemnestra before she married Agamemnon, was buried here, I am not prepared to dispute. But as for the Tantalus who is said to have been the son of Zeus and Pluto, I know that his grave is on Mount Sipylus, for I have seen it there, and well worth seeing it is. Besides, Tantalus was never reduced to flee from Sipylus, as Pelops afterwards was, when Ilus the Phrygian led a host against him. But enough of this disquisition. They say that the ceremony observed at the neighbouring pit was instituted by one Nicostratus, a native, and they still throw burning torches into the pit in honour of the
4 Maid, Demeter's daughter. 5. Here is a sanctuary of Poseidon, surnamed the God of the Dashing Wave. For they say that Poseidon flooded most of the country, because Inachus and his assessors decided that the land was Hera's and not his. Hera prevailed on Poseidon to let the sea retire, and on the spot from which the wave retreated the Argives made a sanctuary to Poseidon of the Dashing Wave.

5 6. A little farther on is the grave of Argus, who is reputed to be a son of Zeus and Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus. Next is a temple of the Dioscuri, containing images of the Dioscuri and their children, Anaxis and Mnasinus, together with images of their mothers, Hilaira and Phoebe. The images are by Dipoenus and

Scyllis, and are made of ebony: the horses are also mostly of ebony, with a few pieces of ivory. 7. Near the sanctuary of the 6
Lords is a sanctuary of Ilithyia. It was dedicated by Helen when she was being taken to Lacedaemon, after Aphidna had been captured by the Dioscuri in the absence of Theseus, who had gone off with Pirithous to Thesprotis. For they say that she was with child at the time, and that she was brought to bed in Argos and founded the sanctuary of Ilithyia. The girl of whom she was delivered she gave to Clytaemnestra, who was by this time the wife of Agamemnon. Helen herself afterwards married Menelaus. In reference to this episode, the poets Eupho- 7
rion the Chalcidian and Alexander the Pleuronian, as well as Stesichorus the Himeraean before them, agree with the Argives in representing Iphigenia as the daughter of Theseus. 8. Over against the sanctuary of Ilithyia is a temple of Hecate: the image is a work of Scopas, and is of stone. The other images of Hecate which face it are of bronze: one of them is by Polyclitus, the other by his brother Naucydes, son of Mothon.

Following a straight street which leads to the gymnasium named 8
Cylarabis after the son of Sthenelus, we come to the grave of Licymnius, son of Electryon: Homer says that he was killed by Tleptolemus, son of Hercules; and on account of this murder Tleptolemus fled from Argos. 9. A little aside from the street that leads to Cylarabis and to the adjoining gate, is the tomb of Sacadas, the first who played the Pythian tune on the flute at Delphi. It is thought that the dislike of flute-players which Apollo 9
had entertained ever since his contest with the Silenus Marsyas was relinquished for the sake of this Sacadas. 10. In the gymnasium of Cylarabes is an image of Capanean Athena, and they point out the graves of Sthenelus and of Cylarabes himself. Not far from the gymnasium the Argives who sailed with the Athenians to conquer Syracuse and Sicily are buried in one common grave.

XXIII

1. Going from here along <Hollow> Street, as it is called, we have on the right a temple of Dionysus: they say that the image came from Euboea. For when the Greeks, returning from Ilium, were shipwrecked at Caphereus, those of the Argives who contrived to escape to land were distressed by cold and hunger. So they prayed that one of the gods would save them in their present strait; and straightway as they went forward they spied a cave of Dionysus, and in the cave was an image of the god and some wild goats, which had sought shelter there from the storm. These the Argives killed and ate, and used their skins as garments. And when the storm was over, and they had refitted their ships and were sailing

for home, they took with them the wooden image from the cave;
2 and they worship it to this day. 2. Close to the temple of Dionysus you will see the house of Adrastus, and a little way from it is a sanctuary of Amphiaraus. Over against the sanctuary is the tomb of Eriphyle. Next after these is a precinct of Aesculapius, and beyond it a sanctuary of Baton. Baton was, like Amphiaraus, of the race of the Melampodids, and when Amphiaraus went forth to battle Baton used to drive his chariot. So when, after the rout under the walls of Thebes, the earth yawned and swallowed Amphiaraus and his chariot, Baton disappeared along with him.

3 3. Returning from Hollow Street you come to what they say is the grave of Hyrnetho. Now if they admit the sepulchre is empty, and is merely a monument to her memory, that is like enough; but if they think the body of Hyrnetho lies here, I for one do not believe them. But any one who does not know about Epidaurus
4 may believe them if he likes. 4. The most famous sanctuary of Aesculapius in Argos contains at the present day a seated image of Aesculapius in white marble. Beside the god stands Health, and there are seated figures of Xenophilus and Strato, the sculptors who made the images. The sanctuary was originally founded by Sphyrus, son of Machaon and brother of that Alexanor who is revered by the Sicyonians at Titane.

5 5. Like the Athenians and Sicyonians, the Argives worship Pheraean Artemis, and like them they say that her image was brought from Pherae in Thessaly. But I cannot agree with the Argives when they assert that the tomb of Dejanira, daughter of Oneus, is in Argos, also the tomb of Helenus, son of Priam, and that they have the image of Athena, which was carried away from Ilium, and the loss of which caused the city to be taken. For the Palladium, as the image is called, was notoriously taken to Italy by Aeneas; and we know that Dejanira died near Trachis, and not at Argos, and her grave is near Heraclea, at the foot of Mount Oeta.
6 6. As to Helenus, son of Priam, I have already shown that he went with Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, to Epirus; that he married Andromache, and acted as guardian to the children of Pyrrhus; and that the district of Cestrine got its name from his son Cestrinus. The Argive guides themselves are aware that not all the stories they tell are true; yet they stick to them, for it is not easy to persuade the vulgar to change their opinions.

7 7. There are other things worth seeing at Argos; for instance, an underground structure, over which was the brazen chamber which Acrisius made to imprison his daughter in. But when Perilaus made himself tyrant he pulled it down. Besides this structure there is the tomb of Crotopus and a temple of Cretan Dionysus. 8. For they say that, after warring with Perseus, the god laid aside his enmity, and was greatly honoured by the Argives, who gave him,

amongst other marks of respect, this special precinct for himself. The epithet Cretan was added afterwards, because, when Ariadne 8
died, Dionysus buried her here. Lyceas says that when the temple was being rebuilt they found an earthenware coffin, and that it was the coffin of Ariadne. He said he saw it himself, and that other Argives saw it also. Near the temple of Dionysus is a temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.

XXIV

1. They call the acropolis Larisa after the daughter of Pelasgus, who gave her name also to two cities of Thessaly, one situated beside the sea, and the other on the river Peneus. On the way up to the acropolis is the sanctuary of Hera of the Height; also a temple of Apollo, said to have been first built by Pythaeus, who came from Delphi. The present image is a standing figure of bronze called Apollo Diradiotes, because the place also is called Diras. His mode of giving oracles—for he gives oracles to this day—is this. A woman, who is debarred from intercourse with the other sex, acts as his mouthpiece. Every month a lamb is sacrificed by night, and the woman tastes of the blood, and becomes possessed by the god. 2. Adjoining the temple of Apollo Diradiotes 2
is a sanctuary of Sharp-sighted Athena, as they call her. It was dedicated by Diomede, because once when he was fighting at Ilium the goddess lifted the darkness from his eyes. Adjoining the temple of Apollo is also the stadium in which they celebrate the games in honour of Nemean Zeus and the games of Hera. 3. As we enter the acropolis there is on the left of the road another tomb of the sons of Aegyptus. Their heads are here, but the headless trunks are at Lerna. For the youths were butchered at Lerna, and their heads were cut off by their wives to show their father that the deed was done. 4. On the summit of Larisa is a temple of Larisian Zeus. 3
The roof is gone, and the image, which is made of wood, no longer stands on its pedestal. There is also a temple of Athena which is worth seeing. 5. Amongst the votive offerings which it contains is a wooden image of Zeus with two eyes in the usual place, and a third eye on the forehead. They say that this Zeus was the paternal god of Priam, son of Laomedon, and stood in the court-yard under the open sky; and when Ilium was taken by the Greeks, Priam fled for refuge to this god's altar. In the division of the spoil Sthenelus, son of Capaneus, got this image, and that is why it stands here. The reason why it has three eyes may be conjectured to be 4
the following. All men agree that Zeus reigns in heaven, and there is a verse of Homer which gives the name of Zeus also to the god who is said to bear rule under the earth :—

> Both underground Zeus and august Proserpine.

Further, Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, applies the name of Zeus also to the god who dwells in the sea. So the artist, whoever he was, represented Zeus with three eyes, because it is one and the same Zeus who reigns in all the three realms of nature, as they are called.

5 6. Of the roads which lead from Argos to various parts of Peloponnese, one goes to Tegea in Arcadia. On the right of the road is Mount Lycone, wooded chiefly with cypresses. On the top of the mountain is built a sanctuary of Artemis of the Steep (*Artemis Orthia*), and there are images of Apollo, Latona, and Artemis made of white marble: they are said to be works of Polyclitus. Having descended from the mountain we see on the left of the high road a 6 temple of Artemis. 7. A little farther on, to the right of the road, is a mountain named Chaon. Cultivated trees grow at the foot of it, and here the water of the Erasinus comes to the surface. Up to this point it flows underground from Stymphalus in Arcadia, just as the Rhiti, near the sea at Eleusis, flow from the Euripus. Where the Erasinus gushes in several streams from the mountain they sacrifice to Dionysus and Pan, and in honour of the former they hold a festival 7 called Tyrbe. 8. Having returned to the road to Tegea we see Cenchreae on the right of what is called the Wheel. How Cenchreae got its name they do not say; but perhaps it too was named after Cenchreus, son of Pirene. The Argives who defeated the Lacedaemonians at Hysiae are buried at Cenchreae, each grave being shared by many men. I found that the combat took place when Pisistratus was archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the . . . Olympiad in which Eurybotus, the Athenian, won the foot-race. Having descended into the lower ground you reach the ruins of Hysiae, once a city of Argolis. It was here, they say, that the Lacedaemonian defeat occurred.

XXV

1. The road from Argos to Mantinea is not the same as that to Tegea, for it starts from the Diras gate. On this road there is a double sanctuary, with one entrance on the west and another on the east. In the eastern sanctuary there is a wooden image of Aphrodite: in the western sanctuary there is a wooden image of Ares. They say that the images were dedicated by Polynices and 2 the Argives who took the field in his cause. 2. Going on from here and crossing a torrent called Charadrus, we come to Oenoë, so named, the Argives say, from Oeneus. They say that Oeneus, king of Aetolia, was dethroned by the sons of Agrius, and came to Diomede at Argos. Diomede marched into Calydonia on behalf of the banished king, but told him that it was not in his power to

stay with him there. He therefore invited the king to return with him, if he chose, to Argos. The invitation was accepted, and henceforth Diomede paid him all the attentions which were due to his father's father; and when he died he buried him here. So the Argives call the place Oenoë. 3. Above Oenoë is Mount Artemi- 3
sius, and there is a sanctuary of Artemis on the top of the mountain. In this mountain are also the springs of the Inachus; for it really has springs though its water does not run far. There was nothing else worth seeing here.

4. Another road leads from the Diras gate to Lyrcea. It was 4
to Lyrcea that Lynceus is said to have escaped alone of all the fifty brothers; and when he got there safe he lit a beacon-fire. For it had been agreed between him and Hypermnestra that he should light the beacon if he escaped Danaus and reached some place of safety. They say that she kindled another beacon on Larisa, to show that she also was now out of danger. Therefore the Argives annually celebrate a festival of beacon-fires. The place was then 5
called Lyncea; but because Lyrcus, a bastard son of Abas, afterwards dwelt there, it took its name from him. Among the ruins there is a likeness of Lyrcus on a monument, as well as some other insignificant remains. From Argos to Lyrcea is just about sixty furlongs, and it is as many from Lyrcea to Orneae. 5. Homer does not mention the city of Lyrcea in the Catalogue, because it already lay desolate at the time of the Greek expedition against Ilium. But Orneae was still inhabited, and Homer mentions it in its geographical order before Phlius and Sicyon. The place was named after 6
Orneus, son of Erechtheus. Orneus had a son Peteos, who had a son Menestheus, who with a body of Athenians helped Agamemnon to conquer the realm of Priam. Thus the city got its name from Orneus; but the inhabitants were afterwards removed by the Argives and settled in Argos. In Orneae there is a sanctuary of Artemis with a standing image of wood, and there is another temple dedicated to all the gods in common. Beyond Orneae are the territories of Sicyon and Phlius.

6. On the way from Argos to Epidauria there is a structure on 7
the right which much resembles a pyramid: on it are sculptured in relief shields of the Argolic shape. Here the fight for the kingdom took place between Proetus and Acrisius. They say that the battle was drawn, and that afterwards the combatants came to terms, neither being able to get decidedly the better. They say, too, that this was the first battle in which generals and common soldiers alike were all armed with shields; and as those who fell on both sides were fellow-citizens and kinsmen, a common tomb was made for them here.

7. Going on from here and turning off to the right, we reach 8
the ruins of Tiryns. Like Orneae, Tiryns was depopulated by the

Argives, who desired to swell their own capital by adding to it the population of Tiryns. They say that the hero Tiryns, from whom the city got its name, was a son of Argus, who was a son of Zeus. Nothing is left of the ruins of Tiryns except the wall, which is a work of the Cyclopes, and is made of unwrought stones, each stone so large that a pair of mules could not even stir the smallest of them. In ancient times small stones have been fitted in so as to bind together the large stones.

9 8. Having descended in the direction of the sea we come to the chambers of the daughters of Proetus. We now return to the high road and come to Midea on the left. They say that Electryon, father of Alcmena, reigned in Midea. But in my time there was 10 nothing of Midea left except the foundation. 9. On the straight road to Epidaurus is a village Lessa, containing a temple of Athena, with a wooden image exactly like the one on Larisa, the acropolis of Argos. Above Lessa is Mount Arachnaeus, which long ago, in the days of Inachus, got the name of Sapyselaton. On the mountain there are altars of Zeus and Hera; and when rain is needed they sacrifice to them here.

XXVI

1. At Lessa are the frontiers of Argolis and Epidauria; but before reaching the city of Epidaurus you will come to the sanctuary of Aesculapius. 2. Who dwelt in the country before Epidaurus came to it, I know not. The natives could not even inform me who were the descendants of Epidaurus. They say, however, that the last king who reigned over them before the Dorians came into Peloponnese was Pityreus, a descendant of Ion the son of Xuthus. 2 He, they say, surrendered the land to Deiphontes and the Argives without striking a blow, and retired with his people to Athens, where he settled, while Deiphontes and the Argives took possession of Epidauria. The latter had separated from the rest of the Argives after the death of Temenus, because Deiphontes and Hyrnetho hated the sons of Temenus, and their army was more attached to them than to Cisus and his brothers. 3. Epidaurus, from whom the country got its name, was a son of Pelops, according to the Eleans; but according to the Argives and the epic called the *Great Eoeae* the father of Epidaurus was Argos, the son of Zeus. But the Epidaurians father Epidaurus upon Apollo.

3 4. The country is sacred in a very high degree to Aesculapius, and this is how it is said to have come about. The Epidaurians say that Phlegyas came to Peloponnese nominally to view the land, but really to spy out the number of the people and see whether they were a fighting race. For Phlegyas was the greatest warrior of the age and made forays

in all directions, carrying off the crops and driving away the cattle. When he came to Peloponnese his daughter came with him; and 4
she, all unknown to her father, was with child by Apollo. In the land of Epidaurus she was delivered of a male child, whom she exposed upon the mountain which is named Titthium ('nipple') in our day, but then it was called Myrgium. But one of the goats that browsed on the mountain gave suck to the forsaken babe; and a dog, the guardian of the flock, watched over it. Now when Aresthanas—for 5
that was the name of the goatherd—perceived that the tale of the goats was not full, and that the dog too kept away from the flock, he went up and down, they say, looking everywhere. At last he found the babe and was fain to take it up in his arms. But as he drew near he saw a bright light shining from the child. So he turned away, 'For surely,' thought he, 'the hand of God is in this,' as indeed it was. And soon the fame of the child went abroad over every land and sea, how that he had all power to heal the sick and that he raised the dead.

5. Another story told of him is this: While he was still in the 6
womb of his mother Coronis, she admitted Ischys, son of Elatus, to her arms; and Artemis avenged the insult offered to Apollo by slaying her. The pyre was already lighted when Hermes, they say, snatched the infant from the flames.

6. The third story, which represents Aesculapius as the son of 7
Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus, is to my mind the most unlikely of them all. For when Apollophanes, the Arcadian, came to Delphi and inquired of the god whether Aesculapius was the son of Arsinoe and therefore a Messenian, the Pythian priestess gave answer:—

> O born to be the world's great joy, Aesculapius,
> Offspring of love, whom Phlegyas' daughter, fair Coronis, bore to me
> In rugged Epidaurus.

This oracle is the best proof that Aesculapius was not the son of Arsinoe, but that Hesiod or some interpolator of Hesiod composed the verses to please the Messenians.

7. Another proof that the god was born in Epidaurus is this: 8
I find that his most famous sanctuaries are offshoots from the one at Epidaurus. For instance, the Athenians professedly assign to Aesculapius a share in the mysteries, and give to the day on which they do so the name of Epidauria; and they date their worship of Aesculapius as a god from the time when this practice was instituted. Again, the worship of Aesculapius was introduced into Pergamus by Archias, son of Aristaechmus, because, hunting on Pindasus, he had strained a limb and had been healed of the strain in Epidauria. 9
And in our time the sanctuary of Aesculapius beside the sea at Smyrna was founded from the one at Pergamus. Again, at Balagrae in the land of Cyrene, Aesculapius is worshipped under the title of

Physician, and this worship also came from Epidaurus. And from this Cyrenian sanctuary, again, is derived the one at Lebene in Crete. The Cyrenians differ from the Epidaurians in this, that whereas the Cyrenians sacrifice goats, it is against the Epidaurian custom to do so.
10 That Aesculapius was held to be a god from the first, and did not merely acquire this reputation in course of time, I find from various evidence, in particular from the words which Homer puts in the mouth of Agamemnon touching Machaon:—

> Talthybius, hither call with speed Machaon,
> The mortal who is son to Aesculapius,

which is as if he said, a man the son of a god.

XXVII

1. The sacred grove of Aesculapius is surrounded by mountains on every side. Within the enclosure no death or birth takes place: the same rule is observed in the island of Delos. The sacrifices, whether offered by a native or a foreigner, are consumed within the
2 bounds. I know that the same thing is done at Titane. 2. The image of Aesculapius is half the size of the image of Olympian Zeus at Athens: it is of ivory and gold. An inscription sets forth that the sculptor was Thrasymedes, a Parian, son of Arignotus. The god is seated on a throne, grasping a staff in one hand, and holding the other over the head of the serpent: a dog crouches at his side. On the throne are carved in relief the deeds of Argive heroes: Bellerophon killing the Chimaera, and Perseus after he has cut off Medusa's head. Over against the temple is the place where the suppliants of
3 the god sleep. 3. Near it is a round building of white marble: it is called the Rotunda (*Tholos*), and is worth seeing. It contains a picture of Love by Pausias: the god has thrown away his bow and arrows, and has picked up a lyre instead. Here, too, is another painting by Pausias: it represents Drunkenness drinking out of a crystal goblet: in the picture you can see the crystal goblet and the woman's face through it.

Tablets stood within the enclosure. There used to be more of them: in my time six were left. On these tablets are engraved the names of men and women who have been healed by Aesculapius, together with the disease from which each suffered, and the manner
4 of the cure. The inscriptions are in the Doric dialect. 4. Apart from the others stands an ancient tablet with an inscription stating that Hippolytus dedicated twenty horses to the god. The people of Aricia tell a tale that agrees with the inscription on this tablet. They say that Hippolytus, done to death by the curses of Theseus, was raised from the dead by Aesculapius; and that being come to life again, he refused to forgive his father, and disregarding his

entreaties went away to Aricia in Italy. There he reigned, and there he consecrated to Artemis a precinct, where down to my time the priesthood of the goddess is the prize of victory in a single combat. The competition is not open to free men, but only to slaves who have run away from their masters.

5. In the Epidaurian sanctuary there is a theatre which in my 5
opinion is most especially worth seeing. It is true that in size the theatre at Megalopolis in Arcadia surpasses it, and that in splendour the Roman theatres far transcend all the theatres in the world; but for symmetry and beauty what architect could vie with Polyclitus? For it was Polyclitus who made this theatre and the round building also.

6. Within the grove is a temple of Artemis and an image of Epione; also a sanctuary of Aphrodite and Themis; and a stadium formed, like most Greek stadiums, by banks of earth; also a water-basin worth seeing for its roof and decorations.

7. The buildings erected in our time by the Roman senator 6
Antoninus include a bath of Aesculapius and a sanctuary of the gods whom they name Bountiful. Further, he built a temple to Health, Aesculapius, and Apollo, the two last under the surname Egyptian. He also rebuilt a colonnade called the Colonnade of Cotys: the roof had fallen in, and the whole edifice was in ruins, having been built of unburnt brick. The Epidaurians who were engaged about the sanctuary suffered much hardship, because their women were not allowed to bring forth under shelter, and their sick were obliged to die under the open sky. To remedy the inconvenience Antoninus had a house built, where a man may die and a woman may lie in without sin. 8. Above the grove is Mount 7
Titthium and another mountain named Cynortium. On the latter is a sanctuary of Maleatian Apollo. The sanctuary itself is ancient, but everything about it, including the cistern in which the rain-water is collected, is a gift of Antoninus to the Epidaurians.

XXVIII

1. The . . . serpents and another sort, of a somewhat yellower hue, are considered sacred to Aesculapius and are tame. They breed nowhere but in Epidauria. I observe that other countries have their characteristic fauna. For example, Libya alone produces land-crocodiles not less than two ells long. From India alone are brought parrots and other strange creatures. But the huge snakes, upwards of thirty ells long, such as are bred in India and Libya, are said by the Epidaurians not to be serpents, but a different species of animal.

2. On the way up to Mount Coryphum there is beside the 2
path an olive-tree called the Twisted Olive, because Hercules

wrenched it with his hand into this shape. Whether he also set it to mark the boundary of Asine in Argolis, I cannot be sure; for when a country has been depopulated it is no longer possible to ascertain the exact boundaries. On the top of the mountain is a sanctuary of Coryphaean Artemis, which is men-
3 tioned in a song of Telesilla. On the way down to the city of Epidaurus there is a place where wild olives grow. They call the place Hyrnethium. 3. The story connected with it I will relate as the Epidaurians tell it and as it probably happened. Cisus and the other sons of Temenus knew that they could not wound Deiphontes more deeply than by parting him from Hyrnetho. So Cerynes and Phalces came to Epidaurus; but the youngest brother Argaeus disapproved of the plot. Reining up their chariot under the city wall, they sent a herald to their sister under colour of desiring
4 to speak with her. But when she came at their call, the young men fell to accusing Deiphontes of many things, and besought her earnestly to come back to Argos, promising her, among the rest, that they would wed her to a far better husband than Deiphontes, lord of a more numerous following and of wealthier lands. But stung by these words Hyrnetho spoke up to them. She said that Deiphontes was a dear husband to her and had been a blameless son-in-law to Temenus; but as for them, if the truth were told, they
5 were the murderers of Temenus rather than his sons. They answered never a word, but laid hold of her, and placing her in the chariot galloped away. But word came to Deiphontes that Cerynes and Phalces were carrying away Hyrnetho against her will. He hastened to the rescue; and getting wind of it the Epidaurians joined in the hue and cry. Coming up with the fugitives Deiphontes shot Cerynes dead. But Phalces clung so tight to Hyrnetho that Deiphontes feared to shoot, lest he should miss him and kill her. So he grappled with him and strove to wrench him away. But Phalces held on, and in that iron grip his sister expired; for she was with child.
6 When he saw what he had done to his sister, he drove the chariot more furiously, to gain upon his pursuers before the whole countryside should gather on his track. But Deiphontes and his children—for sons and a daughter had been born to him: the sons were Antimenes, Xanthippus, and Argeus; the daughter was Orsobia: they say she afterwards married Pamphilus, the son of Aegimius — took up Hyrnetho's dead body and bore it to the spot
7 which was afterwards called Hyrnethium. And they made a shrine for her, and bestowed honours on her: in particular a rule was made that of the olives and all the trees that grew there, no man might take home with him the broken boughs, or use them for any purpose whatever; but they leave the branches where they lie,
8 because they are sacred to Hyrnetho. 4. Not far from the city is the tomb of Melissa, wife of Periander, son of Cypselus; also

the tomb of Procles, father of Melissa. Procles was tyrant of Epidaurus, just as his son-in-law Periander was tyrant of Corinth.

XXIX

1. In the city of Epidaurus the most noteworthy objects are the following. There is a precinct of Aesculapius with images of the god himself and Epione, who, they say, was his wife. These images are of Parian marble and stand under the open sky. There are temples in the city, one of Dionysus, and another of Artemis, in which the goddess appears to be represented hunting; and there is a sanctuary of Aphrodite. The sanctuary near the harbour on the headland jutting out into the sea is said to belong to Hera. The image of Athena in the acropolis is of wood and is worth seeing: they surname it Cissaean.

2. The Aeginetans inhabit the island opposite Epidauria. 2
They say that at first it was uninhabited; but when Zeus brought Aegina, daughter of Aesopus, to the desert island, the name of the island was changed from Oenone to Aegina. Being grown to man's estate, Aeacus asked Zeus for inhabitants; so Zeus, they say, caused the people to spring up from the ground. They cannot tell of any king who reigned in the land except Aeacus, and even of his children not one is known to have abode in the island. Peleus and Telamon had to flee for the murder of Phocus, and the children of Phocus in their turn settled near Parnassus in the country that is now called Phocis. 3. The region had already received its 3
name before they settled in it; for Phocus, son of Ornytion, had gone there a generation before. But whereas in the time of Phocus it was only the district about Tithorea and Parnassus that was called Phocis, in the time of Aeacus the name was extended to the whole people, from the borders of the Minyae, in Orchomenus, to Scarphea in Locris. 4. From Peleus sprang the kings of Epirus. Telamon 4
had two sons, Ajax and Teucer. Ajax remained in a private station, and was the ancestor of a less illustrious line, though two of its members rose to fame—Miltiades, who led the Athenians at Marathon, and Cimon his son. But the house of Teucer were kings of Cyprus down to Evagoras. The epic poet Asius says that Phocus had two sons, Panopeus and Crisus. Panopeus had a son Epeus who, according to Homer, made the wooden horse; and Crisus was the grandfather of Pylades. The father of Pylades was Strophius, son of Crisus: his mother was Anaxibia, sister of Agamemnon. Such are the families of the Aeacids as they are called. From the beginning they went forth to other lands.
5. Afterwards some of those Argives, who under the command of 5
Deiphontes had seized Epidaurus, crossed over to Aegina, and settling amongst the old inhabitants established the Dorian customs

and language in the island. Aegina rose to such a pitch of power that her fleet was more than a match for that of Athens; and in the Persian war she fitted out more vessels than any Greek state except Athens. But her prosperity was not permanent: the people were expelled by the Athenians, and settled at Thyrea in Argolis, which the Lacedaemonians bestowed on them. When the Athenian fleet was captured at the Hellespont the exiles regained possession of the island, but they never attained to their former wealth or power.

6 Of all the Greek islands Aegina is the most difficult of approach; for sunken rocks and reefs rise all round it. They say that Aeacus contrived that it should be so, from fear of the inroads of pirates and to make it dangerous for a foe. 6. Near the harbour in which vessels mostly anchor is a temple of Aphrodite; and in the most conspicuous part of the city is the Aeaceum, as it is called, a quad-
7 rangular enclosure of white marble. At the entrance is a relief representing the envoys once sent by the Greeks to Aeacus. The cause of the embassy is explained by the Aeginetans, with whom every one else is in accord. A drought had for some time afflicted Greece, and no rain fell on Peloponnese or on the rest of Greece, till they sent messengers to Delphi to inquire the cause and to beg for a riddance of the evil. The Pythian priestess told them to propitiate Zeus, and that, if their prayers were to be answered, Aeacus
8 must be their intercessor. So from every city they sent men to petition Aeacus. And he by sacrifices and prayers to Panhellenian Zeus procured rain for Greece; and the Aeginetans caused these likenesses to be made of the envoys who came to him. Within the enclosure grow ancient olives, and there is an altar that rises but little above the ground: it is told as a secret that this altar is the
9 tomb of Aeacus. 7. Beside the Aeaceum is the grave of Phocus, consisting of a mound of earth surrounded by a basement and surmounted by a rough stone. When Telamon and Peleus challenged Phocus to a match at the pentathlum, and it came to the turn of Peleus to heave the stone (for they used a stone instead of a quoit), he threw and hit Phocus purposely. This they did to please their mother. For she was Endeis, daughter of Sciron, but Phocus was the son of a different mother, a sister of Thetis, if the Greeks say true. I believe it was as much to wipe out this old score as from friendship to Orestes that Pylades afterwards
10 plotted the murder of Neoptolemus. So when Phocus was killed by the blow of the quoit, the sons of Endeis embarked on a ship and fled. Afterwards Telamon, by mouth of herald, denied that he had plotted the death of Phocus. However, Aeacus would not suffer him to set foot on the island, but bade him plead his defence from the deck of a ship, or, if he pleased, he might make a mole in the sea and plead from it. So he sailed into what is called the Secret Harbour, and set about making a mole by

night. The mole was completed and remains to our day. But being judged not guiltless of Phocus's death, he sailed away the second time to Salamis. 8. Not far from the Secret Harbour is a 11
theatre that is worth seeing: in size and style it closely resembles the Epidaurian theatre. Behind the theatre is built one side of a stadium: it mutually supports and is supported by the theatre.

XXX

1. There are temples not far from each other, one of Apollo, one of Artemis, and the third of Dionysus. The image of Apollo is naked and made of wood; it is of native workmanship: the image of Artemis is clothed, and so is that of Dionysus, who is represented with a beard. The sanctuary of Aesculapius is not here, but in another place: his image is a seated figure in stone. 2. Of all the 2
gods the most honoured by the Aeginetans is Hecate. Every year they celebrate mysteries of Hecate which they affirm to have been instituted by Orpheus the Thracian. Within the enclosure is a temple. The wooden image is a work of Myron: it has one face and one body. Alcamenes, it seems to me, was the first who made three images of Hecate attached to each other. There is such a triple image of her at Athens: it stands beside the temple of the Wingless Victory, and the Athenians call it Hecate on the Tower.

3. In Aegina, on the way to the mountain of Panhellenian Zeus, 3
there is a sanctuary of Aphaea, about whom Pindar composed a song for the Aeginetans. The Cretans say (for her legend is native to Crete) that Carmanor, who purified Apollo for the slaughter of the python, had a son Eubulus, whose daughter Carme became the mother of Britomartis by Zeus. Britomartis delighted in running and hunting, and she was very dear to Artemis. But Minos fell in love with her, and she, flying from him, flung herself into some nets that were let down to catch fish. Artemis made her a goddess, and she is worshipped not only by the Cretans, but also by the Aeginetans, who say that Britomartis appears to them in their island. Her surname is Aphaea in Aegina, and Dictynna ('she of the nets') in Crete. 4. There is nothing remarkable on Mount 4
Panhellenius except the sanctuary of Zeus. They say that Aeacus made this sanctuary for Zeus. 5. But the story of Auxesia and Damia —how no rain fell on the land of Epidaurus, how in obedience to an oracle the people caused these images to be made out of olive-wood which they got from the Athenians, how the Epidaurians left off paying the dues which they had covenanted to pay to Athens on the ground that the images were in possession of the Aeginetans, and how the Athenians who crossed over to Aegina to recover the images perished miserably—all this has been accurately and circumstantially narrated

by Herodotus, and I have no mind to tell over again what has been already told so well. I will only say that I saw the images and sacrificed to them according to the ritual observed in sacrificing at Eleusis.

5 6. This account of Aegina may suffice: I have given it for the sake of Aeacus and his exploits. Epidauria is bordered by Troezenia, the inhabitants of which are as much given to magnifying their native land as any people I know. They say that the first man born in the country was Orus. Now to me Orus looks like an Egyptian, not a Greek name. However that may be, they affirm that he reigned, and that the country was called Oraea after him. But, they continue, Althepus, son of Poseidon by Leis, daughter of Orus, succeeded Orus on the throne, and named the country Althepia.
6 They say that in his reign Athena and Poseidon had a dispute for the possession of the land, but ended by holding it in common; for such was the command of Zeus. So they worship Athena under the titles of Polias ('urban') and Sthenias ('strong'), and Poseidon under the title of King. Moreover, their ancient coins have for
7 device a trident and a face of Athena. 7. Althepus was succeeded on the throne by Saron. They said that it was Saron who built the sanctuary to Saronian Artemis on the shore where the sea is so swampy and shallow that it was called the Phoebaean lagoon. Saron took the greatest delight in hunting, and one day it befell that he chased a doe which fled from him into the sea. He plunged in after it. The doe swam far from land, and Saron after it, till, transported by the ardour of the chase, he found himself in the open sea. Then his strength failed, the waves washed over him, and he was drowned. His body was cast ashore at the grove of Artemis on the Phoebaean lagoon: they buried it within the sacred enclosure; and from that time the arm of the sea has been known as the Saronic,
8 instead of the Phoebaean, lagoon. What kings reigned after him they do not know till you come to Hyperes and Anthas. These, they say, were sons of Poseidon and Alcyone, daughter of Atlas, and founded the cities of Hyperea and Anthea in the land. But Aetius, son of Anthas, having succeeded to the dominions both of his father and of his uncle, named one of the cities Posidonias. 8. When Troezen and Pittheus joined Aetius there were three kings instead of one, but the balance of power inclined to the sons of
9 Pelops. A proof of it is this: when Troezen died, Pittheus united Hyperea and Anthea, and, gathering the people into the present city, named it Troezen after his brother. Many years afterwards the descendants of Aetius, son of Anthas, set out from Troezen to plant a colony, and founded Halicarnassus and Myndus in Caria. But Anaphlystus and Sphettus, the sons of Troezen, migrated to Attica, and the townships are named after them. The history of Theseus, the son of Pittheus' daughter, is too well known to be told here.

9. This much, however, it is necessary that I should add. After 10
the return of the Heraclids, Troezen, like other places, received a colony of Dorians from Argos. Even before that event, however, Troezen had been subject to Argos: Homer in the Catalogue says that the Troezenians were commanded by Diomede. For Diomede and Euryalus, son of Mecisteus, as guardians of the young Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus, led the Argives to Troy. But Sthenelus, as I showed before, came of a more illustrious house, being one of the Anaxorids, as they were called, and he had the best title to the kingdom of Argos. Such is the history of Troezen, omitting a list of the cities which claim to be its colonies. I will now describe the appointments of the sanctuaries and the other sights of Troezen.

XXXI

1. In the market-place of Troezen there is a temple with images of Saviour Artemis. The story was that Theseus founded the temple and named the goddess Saviour when he returned from Crete, after vanquishing Asterion, son of Minos. He esteemed this the most notable of his exploits, not so much, I think, because Asterion was braver than all the other men who met their death at his hand, as because nothing less than the hand of Providence could reasonably be supposed to have brought him and his comrades safe back, guiding him through all the mazy intricacies of the labyrinth, and leading him unseen, when his work was done, through the midst of his enemies. 2. In this temple there are altars of the gods 2
who are said to bear sway underground. Hither, they say, Semele was brought from hell by Dionysus; and hither Hercules dragged up the hound of hell. But I do not believe that Semele ever died, seeing that she was the wife of Zeus; and as for the hound of hell, as they call it, I shall state my views of that animal in another place.

3. Behind the temple is the tomb of Pittheus, whereon stand 3
three chairs of white marble. They say that Pittheus and two men with him sat as judges on these chairs. 4. Not far off is a sanctuary of the Muses: they said it was made by Ardalus, son of Hephaestus. They think that this Ardalus invented the flute, and they call the Muses Ardalides after him. Here, they say, Pittheus gave lessons in the art of rhetoric. I have myself read a book, published by a man of Epidaurus, which purports to be a treatise by Pittheus. 5. Not far from the sanctuary of the Muses is an ancient altar, which is also said to have been dedicated by Ardalus. On this altar they sacrifice to the Muses and to Sleep, because, say they, Sleep is to the Muses the dearest god. 6. Near 4
the theatre is a temple of Wolfish (*Lukeia*) Artemis, built by Hippolytus. Touching the surname I could learn nothing from the

guides; but it occurred to me that Hippolytus may have extirpated wolves which were ravaging Troezenia, or that this surname of Artemis may have been current among the Amazons, from whom he was descended on his mother's side. But there may very well be some other explanation which I do not know. 7. The stone in front of the temple, called the sacred stone, is said to be the stone on which nine men of Troezen once purified Orestes after the murder
5 of his mother. 8. Not far from the temple of Wolfish Artemis are altars at no great intervals from each other. The first is the altar of Dionysus, called Saviour in obedience to an oracle. The second is named the altar of the Themides ('laws'): Pittheus dedicated it, they say. The third is an altar to the Sun of Freedom; and well might they set up such an altar after escaping the yoke of Xerxes and his Persians.

6 9. The sanctuary of Thearian Apollo was built, they said, by Pittheus, and it is the oldest sanctuary I know. The temple of Athena at Phocaea in Ionia, which was burned by Harpagus the Mede, is undoubtedly ancient, and so is the temple of Pythian Apollo at Samos; but both were built long after the sanctuary at Troezen. The present image is an offering of Auliscus: the artist was Hermon, a native of Troezen. The wooden images of the
7 Dioscuri are also by Hermon. 10. In a colonnade in the market-place are statues of women and children, all in stone. They represent the women and children whom the Athenians entrusted for safe keeping to the Troezenians at the time when they had made up their minds to evacuate Athens and not to await the attack of the Persians on land. But it is said that they set up statues, not of all the women (for the statues are not numerous), but only of the ladies
8 of high degree. 11. In front of the sanctuary of Apollo is a building called the booth of Orestes. For till he was purified of his mother's blood none of the Troezenians would receive him in his house; but here they lodged and fed and purified him, till they had cleansed all his guilt away. And still the descendants of the men who purified him dine here on set days. They say that the things which were used in purifying him were buried a little way from the booth, and that from them a laurel sprang up, the very laurel which still stands
9 in front of the booth. They say that amongst the things used in purifying Orestes was water from Hippocrene ('the Horse's Fount'). 12. For the Troezenians have also a fountain called Hippocrene, and the legend told of it does not differ from the Boeotian legend. For the Troezenians also say that the horse Pegasus stamped on the ground with his hoof and the water gushed out: Bellerophon, they say, had come to Troezen to ask Aethra in marriage from Pittheus; but before he could marry her, he was forced to flee from Corinth.

10 13. There is a Hermes here called Polygius. They say that Hercules leaned his club against this image, and the club, which was of

wild olive wood, struck root in the ground, if you please, and sprouted afresh, and the tree is still growing. According to them, Hercules cut the club from the wild olive-tree which he discovered beside the Saronic Sea. 14. There is also a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Saviour: they say it was made by King Aetius, son of Anthas. There is a water which they name the Golden Stream. They say that after a drought of nine years in which no rain fell, all the other waters were dried up, but even then the Golden Stream flowed on the same as ever.

XXXII

1. A precinct of great renown is consecrated to Hippolytus, son of Theseus: it contains a temple and an ancient image. They say that these were made by Diomede, and that he was besides the first who sacrificed to Hippolytus. There is a priest of Hippolytus at Troezen who holds office for life, and there are annual sacrifices. Further, they observe the following custom:—Every maiden before marriage shears a lock of her hair for Hippolytus, and takes the shorn lock and dedicates it in the temple. They will not allow that Hippolytus was killed by being dragged by his horses, and though they know his grave they do not show it. They think that the constellation called the Charioteer in the sky is Hippolytus, and that he receives this honour from the gods. 2. Within this enclosure is a temple of Seafaring Apollo: it was 2
dedicated by Diomede after his escape from the storm which burst on the Greeks as they were sailing back from Ilium. And they say that Diomede was the first to celebrate the Pythian games in honour of Apollo. The Troezenians also honour Damia and Auxesia, but they do not tell the same story about them which the Epidaurians and Aeginetans tell. They say that Damia and Auxesia were maidens who came from Crete, and that in a faction fight, in which the whole city turned out to take part, these damsels were stoned to death by the opposite party. And they hold a festival in their honour, which they name the Stone-throwing. 3. In the other part of the enclosure there is a stadium called 3
the stadium of Hippolytus, and above it is a temple of Peeping Aphrodite; for from this very spot the amorous Phaedra used to watch Hippolytus at his manly exercises. Here still grows the myrtle with the pierced leaves, as I told before. For being at her wit's end and finding no ease from the pangs of love, she used to wreak her fury on the leaves of this myrtle. Here, too, is 4
Phaedra's grave near the tomb of Hippolytus, which is a mound of earth not far from the myrtle-tree. The image of Aesculapius was made by Timotheus; however, the Troezenians say that it is not Aesculapius, but a statue of Hippolytus. I saw, too, the

house of Hippolytus. In front of it is a fountain called the fountain of Hercules, because Hercules, according to the Troezenians, discovered the water.

5 4. In the acropolis there is a temple of Athena, who is called Sthenias ('strong'). The wooden image of the goddess was wrought by Callon of Aegina. Callon was a pupil of Tectaeus and Angelion, the artists who made the image of Apollo for the Delians, and who were themselves trained in the school of Dipoenus
6 and Scyllis. 5. Descending from the acropolis, we come to a sanctuary of Pan the Deliverer. For once when the plague had ravaged Athens and crossed over into Troezenia, Pan revealed to the magistrates in dreams a remedy for the plague. 6. There is also a temple of Isis, and above it a temple of Aphrodite of the Height. This latter temple was built here by the Halicarnassians because Troezen was their mother-city; but the image of Isis was dedicated by the people of Troezen.

7 7. On the road that leads through the mountains to Hermionis is a spring of the river Hyllicus, originally called the Taurius. There is also a rock named the rock of Theseus: it was formerly called the altar of Strong Zeus, but the name was changed after Theseus had picked up from under it the boots and sword of Aegeus. Near the rock is a sanctuary of Bridal Aphrodite, made by Theseus when he took Helen to wife.

8 Outside the walls there is also a sanctuary of Poseidon the Nurturer. For they say that, being wroth with them, Poseidon blasted the country, by causing the salt water to reach the seeds and roots of plants; till at last, softened by sacrifices and prayers, he no longer sent the salt water over the land. Above the temple of Poseidon is a temple of Demeter the Lawgiver: it was founded, they say, by Althepus.

9 8. The harbour is at a place called Celenderis. On the way down to it we come to a place which they name Genethlium ('birthplace'): they say Theseus was born there. In front of this place is a temple of Ares: it marks the scene of one of Theseus' victories over the Amazons. These Amazons were probably some of the host that fought against Theseus and the Athenians in Attica.

10 On the road to the Psiphaean Sea there grows a wild olive named the Twisted *Rhachos*. *Rhachos* is the name given by the Troezenians to every species of olive that does not bear fruit, whether it be the *kotinos*, the *phulia*, or the *elaios*. This particular *rhachos* they surname Twisted, because Hippolytus' chariot was upset through the reins getting entangled in the tree. Not far from it is the sanctuary of Saronian Artemis, the story of which I have already told. I will only add that every year they celebrate in her honour a festival called Saronia.

XXXIII

1. Troezenia includes some islands. One of them is near the land, and you can wade out to it. It was formerly called Sphaeria, but got the name of the Sacred (*Hiera*) Isle for the following reason. In the isle is the tomb of Sphaerus, who is said to have been the charioteer of Pelops. Now Aethra, in obedience forsooth to a dream sent by Athena, crossed over to the island with libations for the dead man; and in the island Poseidon, it is said, embraced her. Therefore she founded here a temple of Apaturian Athena, and changed the name of the island from Sphaeria to the Sacred Isle. She also made it a rule that before marriage the Troezenian maidens should dedicate their girdles to Apaturian Athena. 2. They say that in the olden 2
days, when Delphi was sacred to Poseidon, Calauria was sacred to Apollo, and that the two gods exchanged the places. In proof of it they still quote an oracle :—

'Tis as good to dwell at Delos and Calauria
As at holy Pytho and windy Taenarum.

3. However that may be, there is here a holy sanctuary of Poseidon; and the service of the sanctuary is performed by a girl till she is old enough to wed. Within the enclosure is the tomb of 3
Demosthenes. Never, I think, did fortune show her spiteful nature so plainly as in her treatment, first of Homer, and afterwards of Demosthenes. For Homer was first struck blind, and then, as if this great calamity were not enough, came pinching poverty, and drove him forth to wander the wide world a beggar. And Demosthenes lived to taste of exile in his old age, and his end was violent. 4. Abundant evidence has been produced by Demosthenes himself and by others to show that he never fingered a penny of the gold that Harpalus brought from Asia; but here I will tell the sequel of the tale. When Harpalus fled from Athens he sailed to Crete, where 4
he was murdered not long afterwards by the slaves who waited on him. But some say that he was assassinated by Pausanias, a Macedonian. The steward of his treasures fled to Rhodes, where he was arrested by Philoxenus, a Macedonian, who had demanded the surrender of Harpalus himself from the Athenians. Having this slave in his power, Philoxenus questioned him till he had fully ascertained who had received any of Harpalus' money. When he had informed himself of the facts, he sent letters to Athens. In these letters, 5
though he gave a list of the men who had taken bribes from Harpalus, with the amount each had received, he did not so much as mention Demosthenes, though Demosthenes was bitterly hated by Alexander, and had given personal offence to himself. So honours are paid to Demosthenes by the inhabitants of Calauria and in other parts of Greece also.

XXXIV

1. In Troezenia there is a peninsula which runs far out into the sea, and on the peninsula is built a little town, Methana, beside the sea. Here is a sanctuary of Isis; and in the market-place there are two images, one of Hermes, the other of Hercules. 2. About thirty furlongs from the town are warm baths. They say that the water first made its appearance in the reign of Antigonus, son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia, but that before the water appeared a great flame burst up from the ground, and when it had died down the water gushed forth. To this day the water still wells up hot and intensely salt. If you bathe in it you will find no cold water near, and it is not safe to take a plunge and a swim in the sea,
2 for it swarms with sharks, not to speak of other sea beasts. 3. But what surprised me most at Methana was this. When the vines are budding, and a south-wester sweeps down on them from the Saronic Gulf, it blights the tender shoots. So, while the squall is still coming, two men take a cock, every feather of which must be white, rend it in two, and run round the vines in opposite directions, each carrying a half of the cock, and when they come back to the place from which
3 they started they bury the pieces there. This is their device for counteracting a south-wester. 4. The islets, nine in number, which lie off the coast are called the Isles of Pelops, and there is one of them on which they say that no rain falls when it is raining everywhere else. Whether this be so I know not, but the people at Methana said so, and I have seen folk before now trying to keep off hail by sacrifices and spells.

4 5. Methana, then, is a peninsula of Peloponnese. Inside of it Troezenia is bounded by Hermionis. The Hermionians say that the founder of the ancient city was Hermion, son of Europs. Europs was a son of Phoroneus, but according to Herophanes, the Troezenian, he was a bastard; for if Phoroneus had had a legitimate son the kingdom of Argos would never have devolved
5 on his daughter's son, Argus, son of Niobe. But even supposing Europs was legitimate, and died before Phoroneus, sure am I that his son would not have ranked with Niobe's son, whose reputed father was Zeus. Afterwards the town of Hermion, like other places, received an influx of Dorian settlers from Argos. But there was no fighting, I take it, or the Argives would have told of it.

6 6. There is a road from Troezen to Hermion by the rock which was formerly called the altar of Strong Zeus, but which the moderns have named the rock of Theseus ever since Theseus picked up the tokens there. Following a mountain road which runs by this rock we pass a temple of Apollo, surnamed Apollo of the Plane-tree Grove; and a place Ilei, in which there are sanctuaries

of Demeter and her daughter the Maid. Towards the sea on the borders of Hermionis there is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Warmth. 7. Just eighty furlongs off is Cape Scyllaeum, called 7
after the daughter of Niseus. For when Minos had taken Nisaea and Megara through her treason, he declared that never should she be his wife, and bade the Cretans pitch her overboard. The drowned woman was washed ashore by the waves on this cape. But no grave of her is shown; for they say that the corpse was left to be mangled by the birds of the sea. 8. Sailing from 8
Scyllaeum towards the capital you round another cape named Bucephala ('ox-head'), and after it there are islands. The first island is Haliussa ('salt island'): it has a harbour where there is good anchorage for ships. The next is Pityussa ('pine-tree island'), and the third is that which they name Aristerae. Having sailed past these islands you come to another cape called Colyergia, running out from the mainland, and after it to an island called Tricrana ('three-headed'), and to a mountain jutting out into the sea from Peloponnese. The mountain is Buporthmus ('ox-ferry'), and on it is a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter, and a sanctuary of Athena, who bears the surname of Guardian of the Anchorage. 9. Off Buporthmus lies an island called Aperopia, and not far from 9
Aperopia is another island, Hydrea.

After Hydrea there is a long crescent-shaped beach on the mainland; and after the beach a spit of land runs eastward into the sea. On this promontory there are harbours. The length of the spit is about seven furlongs: its greatest breadth is not more than three. 10. Here stood the former city of Hermion, and there are 10
still some sanctuaries on the spot. On the seaward end of the spit stands a sanctuary of Poseidon. Farther inland is a temple of Athena; and beside it are foundations of a stadium, in which the sons of Tyndareus are said to have contended. There is also another small sanctuary of Athena, but its roof has fallen in. Further, there is a temple to the Sun, another to the Graces, and another to Serapis and Isis. There are also enclosures formed of large unhewn stones: within these enclosures they perform secret rites in honour of Demeter. Such are the remains of Hermion on 11
this site.

The present city is just four furlongs from the cape on which the sanctuary of Poseidon stands. The town begins on flat ground, but rises gradually up the slope of Mount Pron; for that is the name of the mountain. 11. A wall runs all round the town. Hermion presented a number of notable objects. Those which struck me personally as most worthy of mention were as follows. There is a temple of Aphrodite, surnamed Goddess of the Deep Sea and Goddess of the Haven. Her image is of white marble; it is of colossal size and admirable workmanship. There is also another

12 temple of Aphrodite. Various honours are paid to the goddess of this temple by the Hermionians. Amongst others, it is the custom that every maid and every widow who is about to wed shall offer sacrifice here before her marriage. There are also two sanctuaries of Demeter, surnamed Warmth: one of them is on the frontier of Troezenia, as I said before: the other is here in the city.

XXXV

1. Near the latter sanctuary is a temple of Dionysus of the Black Goatskin: in his honour they hold a musical contest annually, and offer prizes for swimming-races and boat-races. 2. There is also a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Iphigenia, and a bronze Poseidon with one foot on a dolphin. Entering the shrine of Hestia we find no image but an altar, on which they sacrifice to
2 Hestia. There are three temples of Apollo with three images. One of these Apollos has no surname: another is called Pythaean Apollo; and the third is called Apollo of the Borders. The name Pythaean they borrowed from the Argives; for Telesilla says that Argolis was the first place in Greece visited by Pythaeus, the son of Apollo. Why they call Apollo the god of the Borders I cannot say for certain; but I infer that in some dispute about boundaries, whether submitted to the arbitration of the sword or of justice, the Hermionians were successful, and hence instituted the worship
3 of Apollo of the Borders. The sanctuary of Fortune is, according to the Hermionians, the newest in their city: the image is a standing figure of Parian marble and colossal size. There are cisterns in the city. One of them is very ancient: the water runs into it from an unseen source. Yet the whole town might go down and draw water from that cistern and it would never run dry. Another cistern has been made in our time: the water which flows into it is brought from a place called Limon ('meadow').

4 3. But the most remarkable object of all is a sanctuary of Demeter on Mount Pron. The Hermionians say that the founders of this sanctuary were Clymenus, son of Phoroneus, and his sister Chthonia. But the Argive story is this. When Demeter came to Argolis she was hospitably received by Athera and Mysius. However, Colontas neither opened his house to the goddess nor paid her any other mark of respect. But this churlish behaviour was not to the mind of his daughter Chthonia. They each had their reward: the house of Colontas was burnt down and he in it; but Chthonia was brought by Demeter to Hermion and founded the sanctuary. 4.
5 However that may have been, the goddess herself is certainly called Chthonia ('subterranean'), and they celebrate a festival called Chthonia every year in summer-time. The manner of it is this:— The procession is headed by the priests of the gods and the annual

magistrates for the time being, and they are followed by both women and men. And it is the custom for boys also to do honour to the goddess by joining in the procession: they wear white robes and garlands on their heads. The garlands are twined of the flower which the people here call Cosmosandalum; in size and colour it seems to me a hyacinth, and it is even inscribed with the same mournful letters. The procession is brought up by some men 6
driving a fine, full-grown cow from the herd, fastened with cords, but still wild and frisky. Having driven it to the temple, some of them slip the cords and let the cow rush into the sanctuary. Others meanwhile hold the doors open, and as soon as they see the cow inside the temple, they clap them to. Four old women 7
remain inside: it is they who butcher the cow. Whichever of them gets the chance cuts the beast's throat with a sickle. Then the doors are opened, and the men whose business it is drive up a second cow, and after it a third, and then a fourth. The old women butcher them all in the same way. Another odd thing about the sacrifice is this: on whichever side the first cow falls, all must fall. Such is the way in which the sacrifice is performed by 8
the Hermionians. In front of the temple stand a few statues of women who have been priestesses of Demeter. Inside the temple there are chairs on which the old women await the cows as they are driven in one by one. There are also images, not very old, of Athena and Demeter. But the thing they reverence above everything else I did not see; indeed no man, native or foreigner, has seen it. The old women alone may be presumed to know what it is.

5. There is also another temple, and statues stand all round it. 9
This temple is opposite the one of Chthonia: it is called the temple of Clymenus, and here they sacrifice to him. For myself I do not believe that Clymenus was an Argive who came to Hermion: the name is a title of the god who is said to reign underground. Beside the temple of Clymenus there is another temple with an image of Ares. 6. On the right of the sanctuary of Chthonia is a 10
colonnade called by the natives the Colonnade of Echo: if you speak, the echo repeats the words at least thrice. 7. Behind the temple of Chthonia are places, one of which the Hermionians call the place of Clymenus, another the place of Pluto, and the third the Acherusian Lake. All of them are enclosed by stone walls. In the place of Clymenus there is a chasm in the earth, through which Hercules, as the Hermionians tell the tale, dragged up the hound of hell. 8. At the gate, through which a straight road leads 11
to Mases, there is a sanctuary of Ilithyia within the city wall. They propitiate the goddess on a great scale daily with sacrifices and incense; and besides all this a vast number of votive offerings are made to her. But no one, unless perhaps the priestesses, is allowed to see the image.

XXXVI

1. Going along the straight road to Mases about seven furlongs, and turning to the left, we strike the road to Halice. Though Halice in our day is deserted, it was once inhabited. Mention is made of natives of Halice on the Epidaurian tablets, which record the cures wrought by Aesculapius; but I know of no other authentic document in which mention is made of the town or its inhabitants. 2. But however that may be, a road runs to Halice between Mount Pron and another mountain, known of old as Thornax, but which took the name of Cuckoo Mountain, because, they say, the transformation of Zeus into a cuckoo was fabled to have here taken
2 place. There are still sanctuaries on the tops of these two mountains: on Cuckoo Mountain there is a sanctuary of Zeus, and on Mount Pron there is a sanctuary of Hera. There is also a temple at the foot of Cuckoo Mountain; but it has neither doors nor roof, and there is no image in it. It was said to be a temple of Apollo. 3. Beside it runs a road to Mases, which those who have diverged from the straight road may take. In the olden time Mases was a city, as Homer represents it in his list of the Argives, but in our
3 day it is used by the Hermionians as a seaport. From Mases a road on the right leads to Cape Struthus ('cape of sparrows'). From this cape it is two hundred and fifty furlongs by the crest of the mountains to Philanorium and to the Bolei. These Bolei are heaps of unhewn stones. 4. Twenty furlongs from the Bolei is another place named Didymi ('twins'), where are sanctuaries of Apollo, Poseidon, and Demeter. The images are standing figures of white marble.

4 5. From this point begins a district once called Asinaea; it belongs to Argos. There are ruins of the town of Asine beside the sea. When King Nicander, son of Charilus, son of Polydectes, son of Eunomus, son of Prytanis, son of Eurypon, marched at the head of a Lacedaemonian army into Argolis, the Asinaeans joined him and helped to lay waste the country. But when the Lacedaemonian force had retired home, the Argives under King Eratus
5 took the field against Asine. For a while the Asinaeans made a stand behind their walls; and some of the Argives fell, including Lysistratus, one of their foremost men. But when the walls were carried the Asinaeans embarked with their wives and children on shipboard, and abandoned their native land. The Argives razed the city to the ground and annexed its territory to their own, but they suffered the sanctuary of Pythaean Apollo to stand, and it may be seen to this day. Beside it they buried Lysistratus.

6 6. The sea at Lerna is not more than forty furlongs from the city of Argos. Going down from Argos towards Lerna we first

come to the Erasinus, which falls into the Phrixus, which again falls into the sea between Temenium and Lerna. Turning to the left from the Erasinus we come, after a walk of about eight furlongs, to a sanctuary of the Lords Dioscuri: their wooden images are in the same style as those in Argos. 7. Having returned 7
to the direct road, you will cross the Erasinus and come to the Chimarrhus river. Near it is an enclosure of stones: they say that when Pluto, as the story goes, ravished Demeter's daughter, the Maid, he here descended to his supposed subterranean realm. Lerna is, as I said before, beside the sea, and they celebrate mysteries here in honour of Lernaean Demeter. 8. There is a sacred grove begin- 8
ning at a mountain which they call Pontinus. This mountain does not let the rain-water flow off, but absorbs it. A river, also called Pontinus, flows from it. And on the top of the mountain there is a sanctuary of Athena Saitis, now a mere ruin, and foundations of a house of Hippomedon, who went to Thebes to uphold the cause of Polynices, son of Oedipus.

XXXVII

1. Beginning at this mountain, the grove, which consists mostly of plane-trees, reaches down to the sea. It is bounded on the one side by the river Pontinus, and on the other side by another river, called Amymone, after the daughter of Danaus. 2. In the grove are images of Demeter, surnamed Prosymne, and of Dionysus: there is also a small seated image of Demeter. These images 2
are made of stone. In another temple there is a seated wooden image of Saviour Dionysus. There is also a stone image of Aphrodite beside the sea. They say that it was dedicated by the daughters of Danaus, and that Danaus himself made the sanctuary of Athena on the banks of the Pontinus. 3. The Lernaean mysteries are said to have been instituted by Philammon. The stories told about the rites are clearly not ancient. Other stories, I am told, purporting to be 3
by Philammon, have been found engraved on a piece of copper fashioned in the shape of a heart. But these stories also have been proved not to be by Philammon. The discovery was made by Arrhiphon, an Aetolian of Triconium by descent, but now one of the most distinguished men in Lycia. He is a man quick to detect what had eluded every one else before him. The way in which he detected the spuriousness of the verses in question was this. The composition, a medley of verse and prose, was wholly in the Doric dialect. But before the return of the Heraclids to Peloponnese the Argives spoke the same dialect as the Athenians; indeed, in Philammon's time, the very name of the Dorians was probably not universally known in Greece. All this Arrhiphon proved.

4 4. At the source of the Amymone grows a plane-tree: they say that under this plane-tree the hydra was bred. I believe that this beast was larger than other water-snakes, and that its venom was so deadly that Hercules poisoned the barbs of his arrows with its gall; but I do not think it had more than one head. The poet Pisander, of Camirus, multiplied the hydra's heads to make the monster more terrific, and to add to the dignity of his own
5 verses. 5. I saw also a spring, called the spring of Amphiaraus, and the Alcyonian Lake. Through this lake, the Argives say, Dionysus went to hell to fetch up Semele; and they say that Polymnus showed him this way down to hell. The lake is bottomless. I never heard of any one who was able to sound its depth. Nero himself made the experiment, taking every precaution to ensure success. He had lines made many furlongs long: these he joined
6 together and weighted with lead, but he could find no bottom. I was told, too, that smooth and still as the water of the lake looks to the eye, it yet has the property of sucking down any one who is rash enough to swim in it: the water catches him, and sweeps him down into the depths. The circuit of the lake is not great, about a third of a furlong. Grass and rushes grow on the brink. The lake is the scene of certain yearly rites, performed by night, in honour of Dionysus. But it would be sinful for me to divulge them.

XXXVIII

1. On the way from Lerna to Temenium we pass the mouth of the River Phrixus. Temenium belongs to Argos, and was named after Temenus, the son of Aristomachus, because in the war with the Achaeans, under Tisamenus, the place was seized and fortified by Temenus and the Dorians, who used it as a base of operations. In Temenium there is a sanctuary of Poseidon, another of Aphrodite, and the tomb of Temenus, at which the Dorians of Argos pay their devotions.

2 2. From Temenium to Nauplia I judge the distance to be fifty furlongs. Nauplia is now uninhabited. Its founder was Nauplius, said to be a son of Poseidon and Amymone. Some remains of walls are still left, and there is a sanctuary of Poseidon, also harbours, and a spring called Canathus. The Argives say that every year
3 Hera recovers her virginity by bathing in this spring. This story is a secret one and is borrowed from a mystery, which they celebrate in honour of Hera. 3. The people of Nauplia tell a tale about an ass, how, by browsing on a vine-shoot, it made the grapes more plentiful ever after; and therefore they have an ass carved on a rock, because that animal taught them to prune the vines. But the story is not worth repeating, so I omit it.

4 4. From Lerna another road runs by the seaside to a place

which they name Genesium. Beside the sea is a small sanctuary of Genesian Poseidon. Adjoining Genesium is another place, named Apobathmi ('landing-place'), where they say Danaus and his daughters first landed in Argolis. From here we pass through what is called Anigraea by a rough and narrow road, and come to a tract of country on the left, reaching down to the sea, where trees, especially olives, thrive well. 5. Going up inland . . . we reach a 5
place where a battle was fought between three hundred picked Argives and as many picked Lacedaemonians for the possession of the district. All fell, save one Spartan and two Argives; and the earth was heaped over the slain on this spot. But the Lacedaemonians took the field with their whole forces, and, gaining a decisive victory over the Argives, possessed themselves of the district. Afterwards they assigned it to the Aeginetans, who had been driven from their island by the Athenians. In my time Thyreatis belonged to the Argives, who say that they recovered it by the award of an arbitration. 6. Leaving the graves in which so 6
many men are buried together, we come to Athene, once an Aeginetan settlement, and to another village, Neris, and to a third, Eva, the largest of all. In this last village there is a sanctuary of Polemocrates. Polemocrates is one of the sons of Machaon, and brother of Alexanor. He heals the people here and is worshipped by the neighbourhood. 7. Above the villages rises Mount Parnon. 7
On it the Lacedaemonian boundary meets the boundaries of Argolis and Tegea. Stone images of Hermes stand on the frontier, and the place gets its name from them. A river called Tanaus flows through Argolis into the Gulf of Thyrea: it is the only stream that comes down from Mount Parnon.

BOOK THIRD

LACONIA

I

1. LACONIA begins immediately to the west of the images of Hermes. According to the Lacedaemonians themselves, the first king who reigned in this country was Lelex, an aboriginal, and from him the people over whom he ruled were named Leleges. Lelex had a son Myles, and a younger son Polycaon. Where Polycaon departed to, and why, I will show elsewhere. 2. After the death of Myles his son Eurotas succeeded to the throne. By means of a canal he carried down to the sea the stagnant water of the plain; and the stream that was left after the swamp had been drained he
2 named the Eurotas. Having no male issue he left the kingdom to Lacedaemon. The mother of Lacedaemon was Taygete, after whom the mountain was named: his father, according to common fame, was Zeus. 3. Lacedaemon married Sparta, a daughter of Eurotas. When he came to the throne he first of all gave the country and people new names derived from his own, and next he founded and named after his wife the city which is called Sparta to
3 this day. His son, Amyclas, desirous like his father of leaving some memorial of himself, founded a city in Laconia. Sons were born to him, of whom Hyacinth, the youngest and the fairest of all, was cut off before him. Hyacinth's tomb is at Amyclae under the image of Apollo. When Amyclas died, the kingdom devolved on his eldest son Argalus, and on his death it passed to Cynortas.
4 4. Cynortas had a son, Oebalus, who married an Argive wife, Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus, and had a son Tyndareus. The succession of Tyndareus to the throne was disputed by Hippocoon, who claimed it as the elder, and being joined by Icarius and his party he was far more than a match for Tyndareus, whom he put in fear and forced to quit the country. The Lacedaemonians say that Tyndareus fled to Pellana. But the Messenians have a tradition that the banished Tyndareus came to Messenia to his half-brother by the mother's side, Aphareus, son of Perieres; and they say that he

settled at Thalamae in Messenia, and that his children were born to him there. Afterwards he was brought back by Hercules and recovered the sovereignty. His sons also sat on the throne, and so did his son-in-law Menelaus, the son of Atreus, and Orestes, who had married Menelaus' daughter, Hermione. 5

On the return of the Heraclids in the reign of Tisamenus, son of Orestes, Temenus and Cresphontes assumed the reins of government in Argos and Messene respectively. 5. But in Lacedaemon, as the children of Aristodemus were twins, two royal houses arose; for such, they say, was the pleasure of the Pythian priestess. They 6 say that Aristodemus himself died in Delphi before the Dorians returned to Peloponnese. Those who wish to invest him with a halo of glory say that he was shot by Apollo for not consulting the oracle, and for learning, from a chance encounter with Hercules, the future return of the Dorians to Peloponnese. But the truer story is that he was murdered by the children of Pylades and Electra, the cousins of Tisamenus, son of Orestes. 6. The names of his 7 children were Procles and Eurysthenes. Twins though they were, they were at bitter feud. But their mutual hatred, deep as it was, did not prevent them from co-operating with their guardian Theras, son of Autesion, and brother of their mother Argia, in his scheme of founding a colony. 7. Theras directed the colony to the island which was then named Calliste, hoping that the descendants of Membliarus would voluntarily resign the kingdom in his favour, and so they did; for they reflected that Theras could trace his lineage 8 to Cadmus himself, whereas they themselves were descendants of Membliarus, a common man whom Cadmus had left in the island to govern the colony. Theras called the island Thera after himself; and the people of Thera still sacrifice to him yearly as a hero and the founder of their country. But while Procles and Eurysthenes agreed in heartily forwarding the plans of Theras, their ideas in every other respect were diametrically opposed. And even if they had been of 9 one mind, I would not have huddled their descendants together in one catalogue. For in the two houses the generations did not succeed each other at equal intervals, such that cousin was always contemporary of cousin, cousins' children always contemporary of cousins' children, and so on. I will therefore trace the pedigree of each house separately, instead of shuffling them up together.

II

1. Eurysthenes, the elder of Aristodemus' sons, is said to have had a son Agis, from whom the house of Eurysthenes are called the Agids. In his time the Lacedaemonians assisted Patreus, son of Preugenes, in founding a city in Achaia, which is still called Patrae after him. Public aid was also given to Gras, when he set sail to

found a colony. This Gras was the son of Echelas, who was the son of Penthilus, who was the son of Orestes. He was destined to occupy the country between Ionia and Mysia, which is now called Aeolis. His ancestor Penthilus before him had conquered the
2 island of Lesbos lying off that very same coast. 2. When Echestratus, son of Agis, reigned in Sparta, the Lacedaemonians expelled all the Cynurians of military age, alleging as a reason that the lands of their kinsmen the Argives were harried by freebooters from Cynuria, and that the Cynurians themselves openly made raids across the border. The Cynurians are said to be Argives by descent: they say that their founder was Cynurus, son of Perseus. 3.
3 Not many years afterwards Labotas, son of Echestratus, came to the throne of Sparta. Herodotus, in his history of Croesus, says that the young Labotas (whom, however, he calls Leobotes) had for his guardian the lawgiver Lycurgus. It was in that age that the Lacedaemonians first resolved to make war on Argos. They charged the Argives with perpetually encroaching on Cynuria, which was theirs by right of conquest, and with stirring up their vassals to revolt. In the wars of that age, they say, neither side distinguished
4 itself by any memorable feats of arms; and the reigns of the next two kings of this house, Doryssus, son of Labotas, and Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, were soon cut short by death.

4. It was in the reign of Agesilaus that Lycurgus gave the Lacedaemonians their laws. Some say that in framing them he followed the instructions of the Pythian priestess: others aver that he borrowed his legislation from Crete. The Cretans maintain that the laws in question were drawn up for them by Minos, whose deliberations were assisted by the inspiration of God. An allusion to the legislation of Minos may be found, I think, in the following verses of Homer:—

> And among them is the mighty city of Cnosus, where Minos
> Reigned for nine years, the familiar friend of great Zeus.

5 To Lycurgus I shall recur hereafter.

5. Agesilaus had a son Archelaus, in whose reign the Lacedaemonians after a successful war reduced the population of Aegys, one of the vassal cities, to slavery, because they suspected the people of favouring the Arcadian interest. In this conquest Archelaus was aided by Charillus, the king of the other royal house. The martial deeds performed by Charillus, when he held an independent command, will be chronicled by me when I pass to the history of
6 the Eurypontids. 6. Archelaus had a son Teleclus. In his reign the Lacedaemonians, after a successful war, captured the vassal cities of Amyclae, Pharis, and Geranthrae, which up to that time had been still held by the Achaeans. The inhabitants of the two latter towns, seized with panic at the approach of the Dorians,

capitulated on condition of being suffered to withdraw from Peloponnese. But the people of Amyclae were not expelled so easily; for they offered a long and not inglorious resistance. The trophy which the Dorians erected for the fall of Amyclae proves that the victors regarded this as the proudest triumph of their arms. Not long afterwards Teleclus was assassinated by some Messenians in a sanctuary of Artemis, which stood at a place called Limnae ('lakes') on the frontiers of Laconia and Messenia. 7. The murdered 7
king was succeeded by his son Alcamenes. The Lacedaemonians now despatched Charmidas, son of Euthys, to Crete. He was a man of standing and repute in Sparta. The object of his mission was to compose the civil dissensions that raged in Crete, to persuade the people to abandon all the towns which, on account of their distance from the sea or other circumstances, could not easily be defended, and to assist them in founding new cities conveniently situated on the coast. They also destroyed the Achaean city of Helos by the sea, and defeated in battle an Argive force which had attempted to relieve the town.

III

1. Alcamenes died, and his son Polydorus succeeded to the throne. The Lacedaemonians now sent colonies to Crotona in Italy, and to Locri at Cape Zephyrium. 2. It was in the reign of Polydorus, too, that the Messenian war, as it is called, raged most hotly. Messenians and Lacedaemonians differ in the accounts which they respectively give of the origin of the war. I shall notice 2
these accounts, and narrate the final issue of the war hereafter: for the present I shall content myself with mentioning that in the first Messenian war the Lacedaemonians were generally led by Theopompus, son of Nicander, the king of the other house. The war was over, and Messene had been reduced to subjection, when King Polydorus fell by the hand of an assassin. The assassin was one Polemarchus, a Lacedaemonian of respectable birth, but, as his action proved, of a bold and desperate temper. At the time of his 3
death the king's reputation stood high both in Sparta and throughout Greece, and he had endeared himself to his people by his mild and affable deportment, and by a series of judgments in which he had tempered justice with mercy. Honours were heaped on his memory. But his assassin has also a tomb in Sparta. Perhaps his former character had been fair: perhaps his friends buried him secretly. 3. During the reign of Polydorus' son, Eurycrates, the 4
Messenians submitted to the Lacedaemonian yoke, and Argos also gave no trouble. 4. But in the reign of Anaxander, son of Eurycrates, fate began to drive the Messenians from Peloponnese, and they revolted from the Lacedaemonians. For a time they held their

own, but being overpowered they were suffered to leave Peloponnese under a safe conduct. The remnant that was left in the land, with the exception of the inhabitants of the maritime towns, became
5 serfs of the Lacedaemonians. A full account of the Messenian rebellion would be out of place here.

5. Anaxander had a son Eurycrates, and Eurycrates the second had a son Leon. In their reigns the Lacedaemonians were generally unsuccessful in the war with Tegea. But in the reign of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, they got the better of the Tegeans. It happened thus. A Lacedaemonian, named Lichas, came to Tegea at a time when there chanced to be a truce between the two states.
6 6. At the time of his arrival the Spartans were searching for the bones of Orestes in compliance with the injunction of an oracle. Well, then, Lichas perceived that the bones were buried in a smithy. This is how he made the discovery. He compared the things he saw in the smithy with the words of the Delphic oracle. Thus the 'winds,' spoken of by the oracle, were the smith's bellows, because the bellows also gave out a strong blast: the 'blow,' to which the oracle referred, was the hammer, and the 'counterblow' was the anvil; and the 'woe to man' was naturally the iron, because in that age iron was already in use for weapons of war. But in the heroic age the god would have said that bronze was 'a woe to man.'
7 The oracle which the Lacedaemonians received touching the bones of Orestes resembled an oracle which was afterwards given to the Athenians. They were told that they could not conquer Scyros unless they brought back Theseus from Scyros to Athens. The bones of Theseus were discovered, as in the parallel case, by the shrewdness of one man, Cimon, son of Miltiades, and not long
8 afterwards he conquered Scyros. That weapons in the heroic age were all of bronze is shown by Homer's lines about the axe of Pisander and the arrow of Meriones; and I am confirmed in this view by the spear of Achilles, which is dedicated in the sanctuary of Athena at Phaselis, and by the sword of Memnon in the temple of Aesculapius at Nicomedia; for the blade and the spike at the butt-end of the spear and the whole of the sword are of bronze. This
9 I know to be so. 7. Anaxandrides, son of Leon, was the only Lacedaemonian who had two wives and inhabited two houses at the same time. His first wife was excellent, but she had no children. When the ephors ordered him to divorce her, he would not promise to do so, but yielded to them so far as to take a second wife in addition to his first. The second wife had a son Cleomenes, after whose birth the first wife, who had never conceived before, gave
10 birth successively to Dorieus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus. 8. On the death of Anaxandrides the Lacedaemonians reluctantly rejected Dorieus, whom they esteemed a wiser man and a better soldier than Cleomenes, and gave the kingdom to the latter, to which, as the elder, he had a legal right.

IV

1. Dorieus could not brook to stay in Lacedaemon as a subject of Cleomenes, so he set out to found a colony. No sooner was Cleomenes on the throne than he mustered an army of Lacedaemonians and their allies and invaded Argolis. The Argives gave him battle, but Cleomenes was victorious. Near the battlefield was a sacred grove of Argus, son of Niobe. Here about five thousand of the routed army took refuge. Cleomenes, who was generally out of his mind, seems to have been so on the present occasion, for he ordered the Helots to set fire to the grove. It was soon all in a blaze, and the men who had taken sanctuary perished with it in the flames. 2. Cleomenes also twice led an army to Athens. On the 2
first occasion he freed Athens from the tyranny of the sons of Pisistratus, thereby winning golden opinions for himself and the Lacedaemonians. The object of his second expedition was to abet Isagoras, an Athenian, in an attempt to make himself despot of Athens. But the Athenians defended their freedom gallantly, and the baffled Cleomenes contented himself with laying waste the country. He is even said to have ravaged what they call the Orgas, or sacred land of the Eleusinian goddesses. 3. He also went to Aegina and arrested the influential men who had sided with the Medes, and had persuaded the citizens to give earth and water to King Darius, son of Hystaspes. While he tarried in Aegina, 3
Demaratus, the king of the other house, traduced him to the Lacedaemonian multitude. 4. On his return from Aegina Cleomenes intrigued to have Demaratus deposed. For this purpose he bribed the prophetess at Delphi to utter oracles about Demaratus which he dictated, and he raised up a rival claimant to the crown in the person of Leotychides, a man of the blood royal and of the same branch as Demaratus. It happened that when Demaratus was 4
born, his father Aristo had blurted out some silly words about the brat not being his. These words were now laid hold of by Leotychides. The Lacedaemonians referred the question, as usual, to the Delphic oracle, and the prophetess answered them as Cleomenes wished. So Demaratus was unjustly deposed 5
through the enmity of Cleomenes. 5. But Cleomenes afterwards incurred his death in a mad fit: seizing a sword he wounded himself, and then proceeded to hack and mangle his whole body. In his miserable end the Argives profess to see a retribution for his treatment of the men who took sanctuary in the grove of Argus: the Athenians declare it was a punishment for ravaging the Orgas; and the Delphians maintain that it was a penalty for bribing the prophetess to utter lies about Demaratus. But it may be 6
that heroes and gods concurred in wreaking their wrath on the head

of Cleomenes. We know that at Eleus the hero Protesilaus avenged himself single-handed on a Persian named Artayctes; yet Protesilaus, as a hero, certainly does not rank above Argus. Again, the Megarians incurred the displeasure of the Eleusinian goddesses by tilling some of the sacred land, and never succeeded in appeasing the offended divinities. But, barring Cleomenes, we know of no man who ever dared to tamper with the oracle.

7 As Cleomenes had no sons the kingdom devolved on Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides and full brother of Dorieus. 6. Xerxes now led his host against Greece, and Leonidas, with three hundred Lacedaemonians, met him at Thermopylae. There have been many wars of the Greeks, and many of the barbarians, but there have been few, indeed, which owed their brightest glory to the valour of a single arm, as the Trojan war was ennobled by Achilles, and the battle of Marathon by Miltiades. But, to my mind, the exploit of Leonidas outdid all the exploits that have been performed
8 before or since. For of all the kings that reigned, first over the Medes, and afterwards over the Persians, Xerxes gave proof of the highest spirit, and he distinguished himself brilliantly on the march. Yet Leonidas with a handful of men whom he led to Thermopylae would have prevented the great king from so much as setting eyes on Greece and from burning Athens, if the man of Trachis had not led the army of Hydarnes by the path over Mount Oeta, and so enabled them to surround the Greeks. Thus Leonidas was crushed,
9 and the barbarians entered Greece. 7. Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, was never king. As guardian of Plistarchus, the orphan son of Leonidas, he led the Lacedaemonians to Plataea, and he afterwards conducted a fleet to the Hellespont. I give high praise to Pausanias' treatment of the Coan lady. She was the daughter of a man of some note in Cos, Hegetorides, son of Antagoras; and a Persian named Pharandates, the son of Teaspis, kept her against
10 her will as his concubine. But when Mardonius fell at the battle of Plataea, and the barbarians were cut to pieces, Pausanias sent the lady to Cos with the ornaments which the Persian had bestowed on her and the rest of her baggage. And Pausanias would not mutilate the dead body of Mardonius, as Lampon the Aeginetan advised him to do.

V

1. Plistarchus, son of Leonidas, died very soon after he had come to the throne; and he was succeeded by Plistoanax, son of the Pausanias who commanded at Plataea. 2. Plistoanax had a son Pausanias. This Pausanias repaired to Attica, ostensibly as a foe of Thrasybulus and the Athenians, and with the intention of placing on a secure basis the tyranny of the cabal to whom Lysander had

entrusted the government. He defeated in battle the Athenians who held Piraeus; but immediately after the battle he resolved to lead his army home, rather than draw upon Sparta the foul disgrace of bolstering up the tyranny of wicked men. 3. Returning from 2
Athens with these barren laurels, he was impeached by his enemies. Now when a king of Lacedaemon was put upon his trial, the court was composed of the elders, as they were styled, eight-and-twenty in number, the whole bench of ephors, and the king of the other royal house. Well, fourteen of the elders, and with them Agis, the king of the other house, found Pausanias guilty; but the rest of the court acquitted him. 4. Not long afterwards the Lacedaemonians 3
mustered an army to attack Thebes. The pretext will be related hereafter when I come to speak of Agesilaus. Lysander repaired to Phocis and, having called the whole population to arms, marched instantly into Boeotia, and proceeded to assault the walls of Haliartus, because the people refused to renounce their allegiance to Thebes. But some Thebans and Athenians had secretly thrown themselves into the town: they now sallied out and drew up in front of the walls, and among the Lacedaemonians who fell before them was Lysander himself. 5. Meantime the task of mustering the Tegean 4
and other Arcadian levies had detained Pausanias so long, that he was too late to take part in the action. When he reached Boeotia and learned of the defeat and death of Lysander, he advanced upon Thebes, meaning to offer battle. The Thebans took the field to meet him, and a body of Athenian troops under Thrasybulus was reported to be hovering in the neighbourhood, ready to fall on the rear of the Lacedaemonian army as soon as it should be engaged with the enemy. Alarmed at the prospect of being caught betwixt two 5
hostile forces, Pausanias concluded a truce with the Thebans, and carried off his dead from under the walls of Haliartus. His conduct was disapproved of at home. But in my judgment he acted wisely. For he knew that to be taken at once in front and rear had been the source of every disaster to the Lacedaemonian arms: he remembered the defeats of Thermopylae and Sphacteria, and he feared to add a third calamity to the list. 6. However, being 6
censured by his countrymen for the tardiness of his advance into Boeotia, he did not dare to stand his trial, but with the leave of the Tegeans took sanctuary in the temple of Athena Alea. From of old this sanctuary had been looked upon with awe and veneration by the whole of Peloponnese, and had afforded the surest protection to all who took refuge in it. This was shown by the Lacedaemonians in the case of Pausanias and of Leotychides before him, and by the Argives in the case of Chrysis; for while these persons remained in the sanctuary, neither Lacedaemonians nor Argives would so much as demand their surrender.

7. After the flight of Pausanias, the guardianship of his sons Agesi- 7

polis and Cleombrotus, both very young, devolved upon Aristodemus their next of kin; and the Lacedaemonian success at Corinth was gained
8 under his command. 8. When Agesipolis grew up and assumed the government, the first of the Peloponnesians upon whom he made war were the Argives. On marching from Tegean into Argive territory he was met by a herald, whom the Argives had sent for the purpose of ratifying afresh a treaty which they alleged had existed between the different branches of the Dorian race from time immemorial. But the king refused to treat, and advancing laid waste the country. A shock of earthquake was now felt; but still, though the Lacedaemonians were the most superstitious of all the
9 Greeks, he would not retire. Indeed, he sat down before the walls of Argos. But when the earth continued to quake and the thunder to roll, killing some of his men and driving others crazy, he at last sullenly broke up his camp and retreated from Argolis. 9. He next directed his march against Olynthus. Victory attended his arms, most of the towns of Chalcidice had fallen, and he was in hopes of taking Olynthus itself, when suddenly he sickened and died.

VI

1. Agesipolis dying childless, the kingdom devolved on Cleombrotus. Under his command the Lacedaemonians fought the battle of Leuctra against the Boeotians. Cleombrotus behaved himself bravely on that occasion, but fell at the beginning of the battle. It seems to be the will of fate that, when an army is about to sustain a great defeat, the general should be the first to fall. Thus at the battle of Delium the Athenian commander Hippocrates, son of Ariphoron, was cut off; and so at a later time was Leosthenes,
2 another Athenian general, in Thessaly. Of the sons of Cleombrotus, Agesipolis the elder did nothing worthy of record; and when he died his younger brother Cleomenes succeeded to the throne. Two sons were born to Cleomenes, first Acrotatus and next Cleonymus. 2. Acrotatus died before his father; and on the decease of Cleomenes, a dispute as to the succession arose betwixt Cleonymus, the son of Cleomenes, and Areus, son of Acrotatus. The elders decided that the throne belonged by right of descent
3 to Areus, not to Cleonymus. The heart of Cleonymus swelled high with rage at being excluded from the throne; and to soothe him and reconcile him to his native land, the ephors loaded him with honours, and appointed him to the command of the forces. But it ended in his proving a traitor to his country: amongst his many treasons he induced Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides to invade the land.

4 3. It was in the reign of Areus, son of Acrotatus, that Antigonus, son of Demetrius, attacked the Athenians by land and

sea. Athens was supported by an Egyptian fleet under Patroclus; and the Lacedaemonians put all their forces into the field, under the command of King Areus, to protect her. But Antigonus drew 5
his lines so closely round the city, that it was impossible for the relieving forces to effect an entrance. In these circumstances, Patroclus sent messengers to Areus urging him to attack Antigonus, and promising to support the attack by falling upon the Macedonian rear. But till that attack was made, Patroclus thought it too much to expect his Egyptian sailors to charge down on Macedonian troops. The Lacedaemonians were eager to be led into action, for they liked the Athenians and thirsted for military glory. But Areus, 6
thinking it a pity to waste so much good courage on other people's business, resolved to bottle it up and preserve it for home consumption. So when supplies ran short he led his army to the right-about. The Athenians, after holding out for a very long time, were granted peace by Antigonus on condition of allowing him to establish a garrison on the Museum hill; however, in course of time he voluntarily withdrew it.

Areus had a son Acrotatus, and he had a son Areus, who sickened and died at the age of eight. 4. Leonidas, son of 7
Cleonymus, a very old man, was the only surviving descendant of the house of Eurysthenes in the male line; so the Lacedaemonians gave the kingdom to him. At bitter feud with Leonidas was Lysander, a descendant of Lysander, son of Aristocritus. This Lysander gained over Leonidas' son-in-law, Cleombrotus; and having secured him, he brought various charges against Leonidas, amongst others that in his youth he had sworn to his father Cleonymus that he would be the ruin of Sparta. So Leonidas 8
was deposed, and Cleombrotus reigned in his stead. Now, if Leonidas had yielded to passion and gone away like Demaratus, the son of Ariston, to the king of Macedonia or the king of Egypt, it would have profited him nothing if the Spartans had afterwards changed their minds. But as it was, when his countrymen sentenced him to exile, he went to Arcadia, and not many years afterwards the Lacedaemonians brought him back from thence and made him their king again. 5. The valour and daring of his son 9
Cleomenes have been already described by me in my account of Aratus the Sicyonian, where I also mentioned that after Cleomenes there were no more kings of Sparta. And I recorded besides the manner of his death in Egypt.

VII

1. Thus of the race of Eurysthenes, known as the Agids, Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, was the last king in Sparta. The history of the other house, as I have been informed, is as follows.

Procles, the son of Aristodemus, had a son whom he named Sous, and Sous had a son Eurypon, who is said to have become so famous that the family were named Eurypontids after him, instead of Proclids,
2 as they had been called before. 2. Eurypon had a son, Prytanis, in whose reign the hostility of Lacedaemon to Argos first broke out. Even before this quarrel the Lacedaemonians had made war on the Cynurians. But in the succeeding generations, while Eunomus, son of Prytanis, and Polydectes, son of Eunomus, sat upon the
3 throne, Sparta remained at peace. 3. But Charillus, son of Polydectes, ravaged the Argive territory, and not many years afterwards he led the Spartan expedition against Tegea, at the time when the Lacedaemonians, lured on by a deceitful oracle, hoped to capture that city, and so to sever the Tegean plain from Arcadia.
4 4. On the death of Charillus his son Nicander succeeded to the throne. It was in the reign of Nicander that the Messenians murdered Teleclus, the king of the other house, in the sanctuary of the Lady of the Lake. Nicander also invaded Argolis, and laid most of the country waste. For the share which the Asinaeans took in this Lacedaemonian invasion, they were soon afterwards punished by the Argives with exile and the total ruin of their country. 5.
5 An account of Theopompus, who succeeded his father, Nicander, on the throne, will be given when I come to treat of Messenia. He was still reigning when the Lacedaemonians fought the Argives for the possession of the Thyrean district. In that conflict the king, broken by age and still more by sorrow, took no part; for he had
6 lived to see his son Archidamus cut off before him. However, Archidamus did not die childless, but left a son Zeuxidamus, who was succeeded on the throne by his son Anaxidamus. 6. It was in the reign of Anaxidamus that the Messenians, after being vanquished a second time by the Spartans, were driven forth from Peloponnese into exile. Anaxidamus had a son Archidamus, and Archidamus had a son Agesicles, and both father and son were privileged to spend all their days in quietness and
7 peace. 7. Aristo, son of Agesicles, married a woman who is said to have been the foulest maid and the fairest wife in Lacedaemon, for Helen transformed her. Only seven months after Aristo wedded her she bore him a son Demaratus. He was sitting with the ephors in council when a servant came with tidings that a child was born to him. But Aristo, forgetting the verses in the *Iliad* about the birth of Eurystheus, or perhaps because he had never heard of them, said that considering the number of months the
8 child was not his. He afterwards repented of his words; but his thoughtlessness, coupled with the hatred of Cleomenes, sufficed to drive his son Demaratus from the throne, on which he had won for himself a fair reputation, particularly by aiding Cleomenes to free Athens from the Pisistratids. Demaratus betook himself

to the court of King Darius in Persia, and they say that his descendants long survived in Asia. 8. Leotychides, being 9
made king in room of Demaratus, fought at the battle of Mycale on the side of the Athenians, who were commanded by Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron. Afterwards he marched into Thessaly against the Aleuads; but when he might have conquered the whole of Thessaly, for victory always attended his arms, he suffered himself to be bribed by the Aleuads. Being impeached at 10
home he withdrew into exile at Tegea, where he took sanctuary in the temple of Athena Alea. His son Euxidamus had died before his father's banishment, leaving, however, a son Archidamus, who, when Leotychides retired to Tegea, succeeded to the throne. 9. This Archidamus wrought sad havoc in Attica, invading it year after year, and marching from one end of it to the other with fire and sword. He also besieged and took the town of Plataea, which had been on kindly terms with Athens. It is fair to add that he had not been 11
one of the promoters of the war, but had done all in his power to maintain the treaty. 10. The chief instigator of the war was one Sthenelaidas, a man of some influence in Sparta, who happened to be ephor at the time. Greece had been stable and strong before, but this war shook it to its foundations, and afterwards Philip, son of Amyntas, brought the rickety and decaying structure with a crash to the ground.

VIII

1. Archidamus at his death left two sons. Agis was the elder, and succeeded to the throne rather than Agesilaus. Archidamus had also a daughter, Cynisca, who was passionately fond of the Olympic games, and was the first woman who bred horses and won an Olympic victory. After Cynisca other women, chiefly Lacedaemonian, have won Olympic victories, but none of them was more famous for her victories than she. It seems to me that in all the wide world there is no people 2
so dead to poetry and poetic fame as the Spartans. For, bating the epigram that somebody concocted upon Cynisca, and another which Simonides wrote for Pausanias to be graved on the votive tripod at Delphi, there is never a poet that sang the praises of the kings of Lacedaemon. 2. In the reign of Agis, son of Archidamus, the 3
Lacedaemonians had various grudges against the Eleans: in particular they were very sore at being debarred from the Olympic games and from the sanctuary at Olympia. So they sent a herald to the Eleans, commanding them to set free Lepreum and all their other vassal states. The Eleans replied that whenever they saw the vassal states of Sparta free they would have no hesitation in liberating theirs. So the Lacedaemonians, under King Agis, invaded Elis. The army had advanced as far as Olympia and the Alpheus 4

when a shock of earthquake induced it to retire. But next year Agis ravaged the country and carried off much booty. Hereupon a certain man of Elis called Xenias put himself at the head of the wealthy classes, and revolted against the democracy. He was a private friend of Agis and a public friend of the Lacedaemonian state. But before Agis could bring up an army to his aid, the popular leader Thrasydaeus defeated and expelled Xenias and
5 his faction from the city. Agis led back his army, leaving, however, behind him a corps under Lysistratus a Spartan, which was to co-operate with the Elean exiles and the people of Lepreum in harrying the land of Elis. In the third year of the war the Lacedaemonians under Agis were preparing to invade Elis once more. But the exhausted Eleans, with Thrasydaeus at their head, now consented to resign the suzerainty of their vassal states, to dismantle the walls of their city, and to suffer the Lacedaemonians to offer sacrifice to the god in Olympia and to compete in the
6 Olympic games. 3. Agis used also perpetually to invade Attica, and he built the fort at Decelea as a standing menace to Athens. But when the naval power of Athens was shattered at Aegospotami, Agis and Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, in defiance of the faith which Sparta had publicly plighted to Athens, proposed to the allies, of their own motion, and without the sanction of the Spartan state,
7 that Athens should be destroyed root and branch. Such were the feats of arms that most redounded to the honour of Agis.

4. The indiscretion of which Aristo had been guilty in reference to his son Demaratus was repeated by Agis in reference to his son Leotychides; for some devil put it into his head to say in the hearing of the ephors that he did not think Leotychides was his own son. However, like Aristo, he afterwards repented, and when they were carrying him home from Arcadia on a bed of sickness, and he was come to Heraea, he took the people of the town to witness that he believed Leotychides to be his very son, and with prayers and tears he charged them to convey this message to the Lacedaemonians. 5.
8 When he was gone, Agesilaus endeavoured to exclude Leotychides from the succession by reminding the Lacedaemonians of what Agis had once said about him. But the Arcadians came from Heraea and witnessed in favour of Leotychides all that they had heard from
9 the dying lips of Agis. The dispute between Agesilaus and Leotychides was further embroiled by the Delphic oracle, which ran thus:—

> Proud Sparta! beware
> Lest from thee, the sound-footed, should grow a lame reign.
> Too long shall toils unlooked-for hold thee down,
> And baleful billows of tumultuous war.

10 Leotychides would have it that this was a poetical allusion to

Agesilaus, who halted on one foot; but Agesilaus applied it to his rival's bastardy. The Lacedaemonians might, if they chose, have referred the issue to Delphi. That they did not do so was due, I suspect, to the intrigues of Lysander, the son of Aristocratus, who left no stone unturned to secure the crown for <Agesilaus>.

IX

1. So Agesilaus, son of Archidamus, was king; and the Lacedaemonians resolved to cross the sea to Asia and conquer Artaxerxes, son of Darius; for they were informed by their leading men, and especially by Lysander, that in the war with Athens it was not Artaxerxes, but Cyrus, who had furnished them with the subsidy for their fleet. Being appointed to transport the army to Asia, and to command the land force, Agesilaus sent envoys all over Peloponnese and the rest of Greece, except Argos, calling for contingents. The 2
Corinthians were most eager to join in the Asiatic expedition; but their temple of Olympian Zeus was suddenly destroyed by fire, and taking this as an evil omen they reluctantly stayed at home. The pretext assigned by the Athenians was that, exhausted by the Peloponnesian war and the plague, their city was only in process of recovering its former prosperity; but their chief reason for keeping quiet was the information they had received through messengers that Conon, son of Timotheus, had repaired to the Persian court. To Thebes also an envoy was sent in the person of Aristomenidas, 3
the maternal grandfather of Agesilaus: he was on excellent terms with the Thebans, and had been one of the judges who voted death to the prisoners when Plataea fell. The Thebans gave the same reply as the Athenians: they refused to assist. 2. When the whole allied army was mustered, and the fleet was ready to put to sea, Agesilaus repaired to Aulis to sacrifice to Artemis, because Agamemnon had there propitiated the goddess before he led the armada against Troy. But Agesilaus, it seems, set up for being king of 4
a greater city than Agamemnon ruled: like Agamemnon, he claimed the headship of Greece; and he flattered himself that to vanquish King Artaxerxes and gain the wealth of Persia would be a more signal triumph than to have conquered the realm of Priam. While he was sacrificing, some armed Thebans came up, flung the burning thigh-bones from the altar, and hustled his majesty out of the sanctuary. Agesilaus was 5
vexed that the sacrifice was not completed; nevertheless he crossed over to Asia and marched on Sardes. 3. In that age Lydia was the most important region of Lower Asia. The wealth and pomp of its capital, Sardes, had no rival, and the city was the official seat of the satrap of the Sea-board, just as Susa was the residence of the king. A battle was fought in the plain of the Hermus with Tissaphernes, 6

satrap of Ionia, who had massed a larger body of infantry than had ever been brought together since the time when the hosts of Darius and Xerxes had marched against the Scythians and Athens. But Agesilaus defeated this Persian host, horse and foot. Delighted with his energy, his countrymen promoted him to the command of the fleet also. He appointed Pisander, whose sister he had married, admiral of the fleet, while he applied himself
7 vigorously to the conduct of the operations by land. But some envious god suffered not Agesilaus to carry his plans to a successful issue. 4. For when Artaxerxes heard of the victories of Agesilaus, and how continually he marched forward carrying everything before him, he caused Tissaphernes, in spite of his former services, to be put to death, and sent down to the sea Tithraustes, a shrewd man,
8 who bore the Lacedaemonians a grudge. No sooner had Tithraustes reached Sardes than he began scheming how he might compel the Lacedaemonians to recall their army from Asia. Accordingly he placed a sum of money in the hands of Timocrates, a Rhodian, and sent him to Greece with instructions to stir up a war in Greece against the Lacedaemonians. Those who fingered his money are said to have been Cylon and Sodamas at Argos, and Androclides, Ismenias, and Amphithemis at Thebes. Cephalus, the Athenian, also got a share, and so did Epicrates, and such of the Corinthians as favoured the Argive interest, to wit, Polyanthes and
9 Timolaus. But it was the Locrians of Amphissa who brought about an open rupture. There was a piece of land in possession of the Phocians to which the Locrians asserted a rival claim. Instigated by the Theban faction of which Ismenias was the head, the Locrians now cut down the ripe corn of the district and drove off the cattle. The Phocians retaliated by invading Locris with all their forces and
10 laying the country waste. So the Locrians got the Thebans to help them, and ravaged Phocis. 5. Then the Phocians repaired to Lacedaemon and denounced the Thebans, setting forth the wrongs they had suffered at their hands. The Lacedaemonians decided on war with Thebes, and amongst the grounds of complaint which they put forward was the insult which the Thebans had offered to
11 Agesilaus when he was sacrificing at Aulis. The Athenians, being early apprised of the intention of the Lacedaemonians, sent to Sparta, praying them not to take up arms against Thebes, but to submit the quarrel to arbitration. However, the Lacedaemonians angrily dismissed the Athenian embassy. The events which followed, comprising the expedition of the Lacedaemonians and the death of Lysander, have already been included in the account I gave of
12 Pausanias. 6. Beginning with the march of the Lacedaemonians into Boeotia, the war known as the Corinthian war continued steadily to assume larger proportions. This, therefore, was the cause which compelled Agesilaus to lead back his army from Asia. He crossed

the straits from Abydus to Sestos, marched through Thrace, and reached Thessaly. Here the Thessalians, moved by a regard for Thebes and a friendship of long standing with Athens, attempted to stop him. 7. But he drove their cavalry before him, and 13
marched through their country from end to end. A victory over the Thebans and their allies at Coronea opened for him a passage through Boeotia. When the day was lost, some of the Boeotians sought refuge in the sanctuary of Itonian Athena. Agesilaus had been wounded in the action, but hurt though he was, he respected the right of sanctuary.

X

1. Not long afterwards the Corinthian exiles, who had been banished for siding with Sparta, celebrated the Isthmian games. Cowed by the presence of Agesilaus, Corinth submitted in silence. But no sooner had Agesilaus broken up his camp and taken the road for Sparta than the Corinthians and Argives together celebrated the Isthmian games afresh. Once more Agesilaus marched against Corinth at the head of an army. But the festival of Hyacinth now drawing near, he gave the Amyclaean battalion leave to go home and celebrate the customary rites of Apollo and Hyacinth. That battalion was attacked on the march by the Athenians under Iphicrates and cut to pieces. 2. Agesilaus also went to Aetolia to 2
succour the Aetolians who were hard bestead by the Acarnanians. He forced the Acarnanians to conclude a peace, though they were near taking Calydon and all the other cities of Aetolia. 3. Afterwards he sailed to Egypt to aid the Egyptians in their revolt from the King of Persia. In Egypt he signalised himself by many memorable deeds. But he was now grown old, and death overtook him on the journey. The body was brought home, and laid in the grave with more splendid marks of honour than had ever dignified the funeral of a Spartan king.

4. In the reign of Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, the Phocians 3
seized the sanctuary at Delphi. This involved them in war with Thebes. The prospect of pay drew mercenaries to the Phocian standards; and both Sparta and Athens publicly espoused the same cause. The Athenians professed to recollect some service, God knows what, which the Phocians had done them in days of old. The Spartans also made a pretext of friendship for Phocis; but they were really animated, I believe, by hatred of Thebes. Theopompus, son of Damasistratus, says that King Archidamus himself had a finger in the sacred pie, and that his zeal for the Phocian alliance was whetted by his wife Dinicha, who had been bribed by the Phocian leaders. Now, to be a resetter of sacred moneys, 4
and to back up men who have rifled the seat of the most famous

oracle in the world, is not what I should call meritorious. Still it is to his credit that when the reckless Phocians would have put the men of Delphi to the sword, sold the women and children into slavery, and razed the city to the ground, Archidamus, by his inter-
5 cession, saved the Delphians from this dreadful doom. 5. Afterwards he crossed to Italy to fight for the Tarentines in a border war with barbarians. Here he met his death at the hands of the barbarians, and the wrath of Apollo prevented his corpse from receiving burial. 6. His elder son Agis fell fighting Antipater and the Macedonians; but his younger son, Eudamidas, sat on the throne of Lacedaemon, and his reign was peaceful. Of Agis, the son of Eudamidas, and Eurydamidas, the son of Agis, I have spoken in the section on Sicyon.

6 7. On the way from the images of Hermes the whole country-side is clothed with oak-woods. The name of the place, however, Scotitas ('dark'), is not derived from the thickness of the woods, but from Zeus Scotitas, whose sanctuary we reach by turning out of the road to the left for a distance of just about ten furlongs. Returning thence, and going on a little, and then again turning to the left, we come to an image of Hercules and a trophy: it was said to have been erected by Hercules after he had
7 slain Hippocoon and his sons. 8. A third cross-road leads on the right to Caryae, and to the sanctuary of Artemis; for Caryae is sacred to Artemis and the nymphs, and an image of Artemis Caryatis stands here under the open sky. Here every year the Lacedaemonian maidens dance in troops their national dance. 9. Returning and going along the highway you come to the ruins of Sellasia. The inhabitants, as I mentioned before, were carried away into slavery by the Achaeans after the battle in which they defeated the Lacedaemonians and their king Cleomenes, son of Leoni-
8 das. 10. Going on you will come to Thornax, where there is an image of Pythaean Apollo, just like the one at Amyclae: I shall describe its form in speaking of the latter. For the Lacedaemonians think more of the Amyclaean one; and so when Croesus the Lydian sent an offering of gold to the Pythaean Apollo they employed it to adorn the image at Amyclae.

XI

1. Proceeding from Thornax you reach the capital. Its original name was Sparta, but in course of time it acquired the additional name of Lacedaemon, which had hitherto been applied to the country. To prevent misconceptions, I stated in my *Attica* that I had not described everything, but only a selection of the most memorable objects. This principle I will now repeat before I proceed to describe Sparta. From the outset I aimed at sifting

the most valuable traditions from out of the mass of insignificant stories which are current among every people. My plan was adopted after mature deliberation, and I will not depart from it. 2. The Lacedaemonians of Sparta have a market-place that is 2
worth seeing, and in the market-place are the Council House of the Senate, and the offices of the Ephors, of the Guardians of the Laws, and of the so-called Bidiaeans. The Senate is the supreme assembly of the Lacedaemonian constitution: the rest are magistrates. The Ephors and Bidiaeans are each five in number. The duties of the latter are to arrange the athletic games of the lads, especially the games at the Plane-tree Grove. The Ephors transact the most important executive business, and one of their number gives his name to the year, just as is done at Athens by one of the nine Archons. 3. The most striking ornament of the market-place is 3
a colonnade which they name the Persian Colonnade. Built originally from the spoils of the Persian war, it grew in course of time into the spacious and splendid edifice which it now is. On the pillars are figures of Persians in white marble: one of them is Mardonius, son of Gobryas. Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, and queen of Halicarnassus, is also represented. They say she freely joined Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, and distinguished herself by her prowess in the sea-fight at Salamis. 4. In the market-place there is a temple of Caesar, the first Roman 4
who aspired to the throne, and the founder of the present system of government. There is also in the market-place a temple to Caesar's son Augustus, who placed the monarchy on a firmer basis, and attained a height of dignity and power which his father never reached. [His name Augustus is equivalent in Greek to *sebastos* ('august,' 'reverend').] 5. Beside the altar of Augustus they 5
show a bronze statue of Agias. They say that the predictions which this Agias delivered to Lysander were the means of capturing the whole Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, all but ten galleys which escaped to Cyprus. The rest of the ships, with their crews, were taken by the Lacedaemonians. Agias was a son of Agelochus, who was a son of Tisamenus. 6. Tisamenus was one of the Iamids 6
of Elis. It was foretold to him that he would engage in five most famous contests. So he trained for the pentathlum at Olympia, but was beaten. He won two events, however; for he beat Hieronymus the Andrian in running and leaping. But being vanquished by him in wrestling, and so losing the prize, he perceived that what the oracle meant was this, that the god would allow him, as a soothsayer, to win five victories in war. The Lacedaemonians, getting 7
wind of what the Pythian priestess had prophesied to Tisamenus, persuaded him to emigrate from Elis and serve the Spartan commonwealth in the capacity of soothsayer. So he won for Sparta five victories in war, first, over the Persians at Plataea; second, over

the Tegeans and Argives at Tegea; third, over all the Arcadians (except the Mantineans) at Dipaea, a town in the Arcadian district
8 of Maenalia; fourth, over the rebel Helots who had established themselves in Ithome. It was not all the Helots who revolted, but only the Messenians, who separated themselves from the old Helots. These events I will describe presently. On that occasion the Lacedaemonians, hearkening to Tisamenus and the Delphic oracle, granted the rebels terms and suffered them to depart. Last of all Tisamenus acted as soothsayer at the battle of Tanagrá, in which the Lacedaemonians encountered the Argives and Athenians.
9 Such I ascertained to be the history of Tisamenus. 7. In the market-place at Sparta there are images of Pythaean Apollo, Artemis, and Latona. This whole place is called Chorus, because at the festival of the Gymnopaediae, to which the Lacedaemonians attach the greatest importance, the lads dance choral dances in honour of Apollo. 8. Not far from these is a sanctuary of Earth and of Market Zeus; another of Market Athena and Poseidon, whom they surname Asphalius ('securer'); and a third of Apollo and Hera.
10 There is also a colossal statue of the Spartan People. The Lacedaemonians have also a sanctuary of the Fates, and beside it is the grave of Orestes, son of Agamemnon. For in obedience to an oracle they brought the bones of Orestes from Tegea and buried them here. Beside the grave of Orestes is a statue of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes: the Spartans honour King Polydorus so highly that his likeness is graved on the signet with which the magistrates
11 seal everything that needs sealing. There is also a Market Hermes carrying the infant Dionysus; also what is called the old Ephorea (office of the Ephors), containing the tombs of Epimenides the Cretan, and of Aphareus, son of Perieres. The story which the Lacedaemonians tell about Epimenides is in my opinion more probable than the one which the Argives tell. Here the Fates . . . . the Lacedaemonians have also some. . . . There is also a Hospitable Zeus and a Hospitable Athena.

XII

1. Going from the market-place by the street which they name Apheta, we come to the so-called Booneta ('bought with oxen'). I must first tell the story about the name of the street. 2. They say that Icarius set the wooers of Penelope to run a race. Of course Ulysses won; and it is said that they started to run
2 down the street called Apheta ('started'). It seems to me that in instituting the race Icarius copied Danaus; for Danaus hit upon this device to get his daughters married. When no man would wed one of these blood-stained damsels, Danaus gave out that he would bestow them in marriage, without requiring wedding presents, upon

such as might choose them for their beauty. A few men came, and Danaus set them to run a race. He who came in first had the first choice, and the second had the second, and so on to the last; and the daughters that were left had to wait till other wooers came and had run another race. 3. On this street there is, as I have said, 3
what is called the Booneta: it was once the house of King Polydorus, and when he died they bought it from his widow, and paid the price in oxen. For as yet there was no silver or gold money, but after the ancient fashion people bartered oxen and slaves, and ingots of silver and gold. And those who sail to India say 4
that the Indians give goods in exchange for Greek wares, but know nothing of money, though they have plenty of gold and bronze. 4. Over against the office of the Bidiaeans is a sanctuary of Athena. Ulysses is said to have set up her image and named her Goddess of Paths, after he had vanquished the wooers of Penelope in the race. He founded three sanctuaries of the Goddess of Paths at some distance from each other. Proceeding by the street Apheta we 5
come to shrines of heroes: there is a shrine of Iops, who is supposed to have lived about the time of Lelex or Myles; and a shrine of Amphiaraus, son of Oicles, which the Spartans think was made for Amphiaraus by the sons of Tyndareus, because he was their cousin. There is also a shrine of the hero Lelex himself. 5. Not far from these is a precinct of Taenarian Poseidon: they surname him Taenarian . . . Not far off is an image of Athena, which they say was dedicated by the Spartan colonists of Tarentum in Italy. The 6
place called Hellenium is said to have received its name because it was here that the Greeks (*Hellenes*), who were preparing to resist the passage of Xerxes into Europe, met and concerted a plan of resistance. The other story is that here the men who went to the Trojan war for the sake of Menelaus deliberated how they might sail to Troy and avenge upon Alexander the rape of Helen. 6. Near the Hellenium they point out the tomb of Talthybius. The 7
people of Aegium in Achaia also show a tomb in their market-place which they assert to be the tomb of Talthybius. When the heralds whom King Darius sent to Greece to demand earth and water were murdered, the wrath of Talthybius at the crime was manifested against Lacedaemon as a state; but at Athens it fell on the house of a private man, Miltiades, son of Cimon. For it was Miltiades who caused the Athenians to kill the heralds that came to Attica. 7. The Lacedaemonians have an altar of Apollo Acritas, and a 8
sanctuary of Earth which is called Gaseptum. Above it is Maleatian Apollo. At the end of Apheta Street, and close to the city wall, is a sanctuary of Dictynna, and the royal graves of the Eurypontid line. Beside the Hellenium is a sanctuary of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus, and sister of the wives of Pollux and Castor. Beside what are called the Phruria ('watch-posts') is a temple of Artemis, and a

little farther on is the tomb of the Iamids, the soothsayers who
9 came from Elis. There is also a sanctuary of Maron and Alpheus, who, next to Leonidas himself, are thought to have fought best of all the Lacedaemonians who marched to Thermopylae. The sanctuary of Tropaean ('turner to flight') Zeus was made by the Dorians after they had conquered the Amyclaeans and the rest of the Achaeans, who in those days possessed Laconia. The sanctuary of the Great Mother is venerated exceedingly. After it are shrines of the heroes Hippolytus, son of Theseus, and Aulon the Arcadian, son of Tlesimenes. Some say that Tlesimenes was a brother, others that he was a son of Parthenopaeus, son of Melanion.

10 8. There is another way out of the market-place, and here is what they call the Scias, where the public assemblies are still held. They say that this Scias was a work of Theodorus the Samian, who discovered how to smelt iron and to mould images out of it. Here the Lacedaemonians hung the lute of Timotheus the Milesian after they had condemned him for adding four new strings to the seven
11 strings of the old lute. 9. Beside the Scias is a round building in which are images of Zeus and Aphrodite, both surnamed Olympian. The Spartans say it was built by Epimenides, but their account of him does not tally with that of the Argives, for the Spartans even deny that they made war on the Cnosians at all.

XIII

1. Near it is the grave of Cynortas, son of Amyclas, and the tomb of Castor, over which a sanctuary has been made. For they say that it was not till forty years after the battle with Idas and Lynceus that the sons of Tyndareus were ranked with the gods. Beside the Scias is shown the grave of Idas and Lynceus. It is natural to suppose that they were buried in Mes-
2 senia rather than here. But though the Messenian exiles have been restored to their homes, their calamities and long exile from Peloponnese have effaced from their memory much of the ancient history of their country, so that it is now open to any one to lay claim to traditions to which the true heirs have forgotten their right. 2. Opposite to Olympian Aphrodite is a temple of the Saviour Maid (*Kore*). Some say that it was made by Orpheus the Thracian, others that it was the work of Abaris, who came from the land
3 of the Hyperboreans. Carneus, whom they surname Domestic, was worshipped in Sparta even before the return of the Heraclids. He had a shrine in the house of Crius, son of Theocles, a soothsayer. As the daughter of Crius was filling her pitcher with water, some spies of the Dorians fell in with her and talked with her, and
4 came to Crius, who told them how Sparta should be taken. 3. All the Dorians have been wont to worship Carnean Apollo from the

time of Carnus, an Acarnanian, who was inspired with the gift of soothsaying by Apollo. This Carnus was slain by Hippotes, son of Phylas, and therefore the wrath of Apollo fell on the Dorian camp. Hippotes fled on account of the murder, and from that time the Dorians have been wont to propitiate the Acarnanian seer. But the Domestic Carneus of the Lacedaemonians is not this Carnus, but the deity who was worshipped in the house of the soothsayer Crius, while the Achaeans still held Sparta. The poetess Praxilla says 5
that Carneus was the son of Europa, and was brought up by Apollo and Latona. Another story is that in the grove of Apollo, on the Trojan Mount Ida, there grew some cornel-trees (*kraneiai*) which the Greeks cut down to make the Wooden Horse; but perceiving that the god was wroth with them they appeased him with sacrifices, and named him Carnean Apollo after the cornel-trees, transposing the letter R, which is assumed to have been an ancient trick of speech.

4. Not far from Carneus is an image called the image of Aphe- 6
taeus. Here they say was the starting-point from which the wooers of Penelope began to run. There is also a square flanked with colonnades, where small wares used to be sold long ago. Beside it is an altar of Ambulian Zeus, Ambulian Athena, and the Ambulian Dioscuri. 5. Opposite is the place named Colona, and a temple 7
of Dionysus Colonatas. Beside the temple is the precinct of a hero who is said to have guided Dionysus on his way to Sparta. To this hero the women who are called the Dionysiades and the Leucippides sacrifice before they sacrifice to the god; but the other eleven women, whom they also name Dionysiades, are set to run a race. This practice was derived from Delphi. Not far from the temple of Dionysus is a sanctuary of Zeus 8
of the Fair Wind, on the right of which is a shrine of the hero Pleuron. The sons of Tyndareus are descended on their mother's side from Pleuron; for Areus in his epic poem says that Thestius the father of Leda was the son of Agenor, who was the son of Pleuron. 6. Not far from the shrine of the hero is a hill, and on the hill is a temple of Argive Hera. They say the temple was founded by Eurydice, daughter of Lacedaemon and wife of Acrisius, the son of Abas. The sanctuary of Protectress Hera was made by the direction of an oracle at a time when the Eurotas was flooding the country far and wide. There is an ancient wooden image called 9
Aphrodite Hera: it is the custom for a mother, at the marriage of her daughter, to sacrifice to the goddess. 7. On the road to the right of the hill is a statue of Hetoemocles. Hetoemocles and his father Hipposthenes between them carried off eleven prizes at Olympia for wrestling, the father gaining one more prize than his son.

XIV

1. Going westward from the market-place we come to a cenotaph of Brasidas, son of Tellis. Not far from the grave is the theatre: it is built of white marble, and is worth seeing. Opposite the theatre is the tomb of Pausanias, who commanded at Plataea: the other tomb is that of Leonidas. Every year speeches are spoken over the graves, and games are held, in which none but Spartans may compete. The bones of Leonidas were removed from Thermopylae by Pausanias forty years after the battle. There is also a tablet with the names of the men who looked the Persians in the face at Thermopylae: the names of their fathers are also
2 recorded. 2. There is a place in Sparta that goes by the name of Theomelida. In this quarter of the city are the graves of the Agid kings, and near them is what is called the Club-room of the Crotanians, the Crotanians being a division of the Pitanatians. Not far from the Club-room is a sanctuary of Aesculapius, called 'In Agids.' Farther on we come to the tomb of Taenarus: they say that the cape which juts out into the sea was named after him. There are also sanctuaries of Horse-tending Poseidon and Aeginaean Artemis. Having returned to the Club-room we come to a sanctuary of Artemis Issora: they surname her also the Lady of the Lake. But in reality she is not Artemis, but Britomartis of Crete. I have
3 told her story in describing Aegina. 3. Close to the tombs of the Agids you will see a tablet inscribed with a list of the Olympic and other prizes for running won by Chionis, a Lacedaemonian. He gained seven victories at Olympia, four in the single and the rest in the double race. In his time the shield race at the close of the games was not yet instituted. They say that Chionis joined Battus of Thera in his expedition, and helped him to found Cyrene and
4 subdue the neighbouring Libyans. 4. The sanctuary of Thetis, they say, was constructed for the following cause. In the war with the Messenian rebels, King Anaxander invaded Messenia, and among the women who fell into his hands was Cleo, priestess of Thetis. Anaxander's wife, Leandris, asked him to give her Cleo. She found that the priestess was in possession of the wooden image of Thetis, and with Cleo's help she founded a temple in honour of the goddess. Leandris did this, being warned by a vision in a
5 dream. The wooden image of Thetis is still preserved in secret. 5. The Lacedaemonians say that the worship of Subterranean (*Chthonia*) Demeter was taught them by Orpheus; but in my opinion they, like other people, derived it from the sanctuary at Hermion. There is also a sanctuary of Serapis (the newest sanctuary in Sparta), and another of Olympian Zeus.

6 6. The Lacedaemonians give the name of the Course to the

place where the youths are still in the habit of practising running. On the left of the way, as you go from the grave of the Agids to the Course, is the tomb of Eumedes, one of the sons of Hippocoon. There is also an ancient image of Hercules, to which the Sphaereans sacrifice. The Sphaereans are the lads just entering on manhood. There are also two gymnasiums in the Course, one of which was built as a votive offering by Eurycles, a Spartan. Outside the Course and opposite the image of Hercules is a house which at present belongs to a private man, but was of old the house of Menelaus. Going forward from the Course you come to a sanctuary of the Dioscuri and the Graces, and to another of Ilithyia, Carnean Apollo, and Leader Artemis. 7. The sanctuary 7
of Agnitas is built on the right of the Course. Agnitas is a surname of Aesculapius, because the image of the god was of *agnos* wood. The *agnos* is a kind of willow just like the *rhamnos*. Not far from Aesculapius stands a trophy: they say that it was erected by Pollux for his victory over Lynceus. This seems to me to strengthen the probability that the sons of Aphareus are not buried in Sparta. At the beginning of the Course are the Dioscuri, Starters of the Race, and a little farther on is a shrine of the hero Alcon: they say that Alcon was a son of Hippocoon. Beside the shrine of Alcon is a sanctuary of Poseidon, whom they surname Poseidon of the House.

8. There is a place, Plane-tree Grove, so called from the 8
tall plane-trees which grow in an unbroken line around it. The place where the lads fight is surrounded by a moat as an island is surrounded by the sea. It is entered by two bridges. On each of the bridges is an image of Hercules on one side, and a statue of Lycurgus on the other. For amongst the laws which Lycurgus laid down for the framing of the constitution were rules regulating the fighting of the lads. 9. The following customs are 9
also observed by the lads. Before the fight they sacrifice in the Phoebaeum, which is outside the city, not far from Therapne. Here each of the two divisions of the lads sacrifices a puppy to Enyalius (the War-god), judging that the most valiant of domestic animals must be acceptable to the most valiant of the gods. I know of no other Greeks except the Colophonians who are in the habit of sacrificing puppies. The Colophonians sacrifice a black female puppy to the Wayside Goddess. Both the Colophonian sacrifice and the sacrifice offered by the lads at Lacedaemon are offered by night. After the sacrifice the lads pit tame boars 10
against each other, and the side whose boar wins generally conquers in Plane-tree Grove. All this is done in the Phoebaeum. On the morrow, a little before noon, they enter by the bridges into the said place. The entrance by which each of the two bands passes into the arena is decided by lot during the previous

night. In fighting they strike, and kick, and bite, and gouge out each other's eyes. Thus they fight man against man. But they also charge in serried masses, and push each other into the water.

XV

1. At Plane-tree Grove is a shrine of the heroine Cynisca, daughter of Archidamus, king of Sparta. She was the first woman who bred horses and gained a chariot victory at Olympia. 2. Behind the colonnade which is built beside Plane-tree Grove there are shrines of heroes: one of Alcimus, another of Enaraephorus, and not far off one of Dorceus, and next to it one of
2 Sebrus: these are said to have been sons of Hippocoon. From Dorceus the fountain near his shrine gets its name of Dorcea, and the place Sebrium is called after Sebrus. On the right of Sebrium is the tomb of Alcman, the sweetness of whose songs was not impaired by the Laconian dialect, the least musical
3 of languages. 3. There are sanctuaries of Helen and Hercules. That of Helen is near the grave of Alcman: that of Hercules is close to the city wall, and in it is an armed image of Hercules; the attitude of the image is said to have been suggested by the fight with Hippocoon and his sons. The hatred of Hercules for the house of Hippocoon is said to have originated in this, that when he came to Sparta to be purified after the murder of
4 Iphitus they refused to purify him. The following circumstance also helped to kindle the feud. A boy named Oeonus, a cousin of Hercules (for he was a son of Licymnius, the brother of Alcmena), came to Sparta with Hercules. The lad was going about looking at the town, and had come opposite the house of Hippocoon, when a watch-dog flew at him. Oeonus threw a stone at the dog and knocked him over. So the sons of Hippocoon rushed out and despatched
5 Oeonus with their clubs. This goaded Hercules to fury against Hippocoon and his sons; and, in the heat of passion, he attacked them at once. But he was wounded and slunk away. However, afterwards he marched against Sparta and succeeded in punishing Hippocoon and his sons for the murder of Oeonus. The tomb of Oeonus stands beside the sanctuary of Hercules.

6 4. Going from the Course eastward you have on the right a path and a sanctuary of Athena, called Athena Serve-them-right. For when Hercules meted out to Hippocoon and his sons the punishment which their wanton aggression had deserved, he founded a sanctuary of Athena with the surname of Serve-them-right (*Axiopoinos*), because the ancients called punishments *poinai*. There is also another sanctuary of Athena to which a different road leads from the Course. It is said to have been dedicated by Theras, son of Autesion, son of Tisamenus, son of Thersander,

when he was on the point of leading a colony to the island which is now called after him, but which of old was known as Calliste. 5. Near it is a temple of Hipposthenes, who won so many 7
victories in wrestling. They worship him in obedience to an oracle, paying honours to him as to Poseidon. Opposite this temple is an ancient image of Enyalius in fetters. The notion of the Lacedaemonians about this image is that, being held fast by the fetters, Enyalius will never run away from them; just as the Athenians have a notion about the Victory called Wingless, that she will always stay where she is because she has no wings. That is why Athens and Sparta have set up these wooden images after this fashion. 6. In Sparta 8
there is a club-room called the Painted Club-room. Beside it there are shrines of heroes, to wit, of Cadmus, son of Agenor, and of his descendants Oeolycus, son of Theras, and Aegeus, son of Oeolycus. They say that the shrines were made by Maesis, Laeas, and Europas, who were sons of Hyraeus, son of Aegeus. They also made the shrine to the hero Amphilochus because their ancestor Tisamenus was a son of Demonassa, sister of Amphilochus. 7. The Lacedaemonians are 9
the only Greeks who surname Hera Goat-eating, and sacrifice goats to the goddess. They say that Hercules founded the sanctuary and was the first to sacrifice goats, because in the fight with Hippocoon and his sons he had not been hampered by Hera, who had thwarted him, as he fancied, in all his other adventures. And the reason why he sacrificed goats was, they say, because he had no other victims to offer.

Not far from the theatre is a sanctuary of Poseidon Genethlius 10
('of the race or family'), and shrines of two heroes, Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, and Oebalus. The most famous of the Spartan sanctuaries of Aesculapius is near the Booneta, and to the left is a shrine of the hero Teleclus. I shall mention him hereafter in treating of Messenia. 8. A little way farther on is a small hill, on which is an ancient temple with a wooden image of armed Aphrodite. This is the only temple I know that has an upper story: the upper story is sacred to Morpho. Morpho is a 11
surname of Aphrodite: she is seated wearing a veil and with fetters on her feet. They say that Tyndareus put the fetters on her, meaning to symbolise by these bonds the fidelity of women to their husbands. The other explanation, that Tyndareus punished the goddess with fetters because he thought it was she who had brought his daughters to shame, is one that I cannot accept for a moment. It would have been too silly to imagine that by making a cedar-wood doll and dubbing it Aphrodite, he could punish the goddess.

XVI

1. Hard by is a sanctuary of Hilaira and Phoebe: the author of the epic called the *Cypria* says they were daughters of Apollo. Young maidens act as their priestesses, who, like the goddesses, are called Leucippides. One of these priestesses decorated one of the images by replacing the ancient face with a face in the style of art of to-day; but a dream forbade her to decorate the other image also. 2. An egg is here hung by ribbons from the roof: they say it is the
2 famous egg which Leda is reported to have given birth to. Every year the women weave a tunic for the Apollo of Amyclae, and they give the name of Tunic to the building where they weave it. 3. Near it is a house which the sons of Tyndareus are said to have originally inhabited; but afterwards it was acquired by one Phormio, a Spartan. To him came the Dioscuri in the likeness of strangers. They said they had come from Cyrene, and desired to lodge in his house, and they begged he would let them have the chamber which
3 they had loved most dearly while they dwelt among men. He made them free of all the rest of his house; only that one chamber he said he would not give, for it was his daughter's bower, and she was a maiden. On the morrow the maiden and all her girlish finery had vanished, and in the chamber were found images of the Dioscuri and a table with silphium on it. So runs the tale.

4 4. Going in the direction of the gate from the Tunic you come to a shrine of the hero Chilon, the reputed sage, and of the Athenians . . . who sailed with Dorieus, son of Anaxandrides, on his expedition to Sicily. They went on the expedition in the belief that the land of Eryx belonged of right to the descendants of Hercules, and not to the barbarians who occupied it. For the story goes that Hercules wrestled with Eryx on these terms: if Hercules won, the land of Eryx was to be his; but if he were beaten, Eryx was to take the kine of Geryon and depart.
5 For Hercules was driving these kine; they had swum across to Sicily, and Hercules had crossed over to find them. But the favour of the gods did not attend Dorieus, son of Anaxandrides, as it had attended Hercules before; for Hercules slew Eryx, but Dorieus and most of his army with him were slain by the Egestaeans.
6 5. The Lacedaemonians have also made a sanctuary for the lawgiver Lycurgus as for a god. Behind the temple is the grave of his son Eucosmus, and beside the altar is the grave of Lathria and Anaxandra. They were twin sisters, and therefore the sons of Aristodemus, being also twins, took them to wife. They were daughters of Thersander, son of Agamedidas. Thersander was king of the Cleestonaeans, and was a grandson of Ctesippus, son of Hercules. Opposite the temple is the tomb of Theopompus, son of

Nicander; also the tomb of Eurybiadas, who commanded the Lacedaemonian galleys in the sea-fights with the Medes at Artemisium and Salamis. Hard by is what is called the shrine of the hero Astrabacus.

6. The place called Limnaeum is a sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. 7
The wooden image is said to be the famous one which Orestes and Iphigenia once stole from the Tauric land. The Lacedaemonians say it was brought to their country because Orestes was king of the country. This story seems to me more likely than the one which the Athenians tell. For what could have induced Iphigenia to leave the image at Brauron? or why, when the Athenians were preparing to evacuate the country, did they not take the image with them on board ship? To this day the name of the Tauric goddess stands 8
so high that the Cappadocians on the Euxine claim to possess the image, and a like claim is set up by the Lydians who own the sanctuary of Artemis Anaeitis. And yet we are asked to believe that the Athenians calmly allowed the image to fall into the hands of the Mede! For the image at Brauron was carried to Susa, and was afterwards presented by Seleucus to the Syrians of Laodicea, who possess it to this day. There are, besides, the following proofs 9
that the Orthia at Lacedaemon is the very wooden image that was brought from the land of the barbarians. In the first place, Astrabacus and Alopecus, the sons of Irbus, who was the son of Amphisthenes, who was the son of Amphicles, who was the son of Agis, went mad as soon as they found the image. In the second place, when the Spartan Limnatians, the Cynosurians, and the people of Mesoa and Pitane were sacrificing to Artemis they fell out, and from words they came to bloodshed, and after many had been slain on the altar a plague wasted the rest. 7. Thereupon they were 10
bidden by an oracle to wet the altar with human blood. A man upon whom the lot fell was sacrificed; but Lycurgus changed the custom into that of scourging the lads, and so the altar reeks with human blood. The priestess stands by them holding the wooden image. It is small and light; but if the scourgers lay on lightly because a lad is handsome or noble, then the image grows so heavy in the woman's hands that she can hardly hold it, and she lays the blame on the scourgers, saying they are weighing her down. Thus has the relish for human blood continued ingrained in the image since the days when the sacrifices were offered to it in the Tauric land. They call the image Lygodesma ('willow-bound') as well as Orthia ('upright'), because it was found in a thicket of willows, and the willows twining round it kept the image upright.

XVII

1. Not far from the sanctuary of Orthia is a sanctuary of Ilithyia. They say that they built it and recognised Ilithyia as a goddess in obedience to an oracle they received from Delphi.

2. The Lacedaemonians have not an acropolis rising to a conspicuous height like the Cadmea at Thebes and the Larisa at Argos; but there are several hills in the city, and the highest of them they
2 name the acropolis. 3. Here there is a sanctuary of Athena, who is surnamed both Protectress of the City and She of the Brazen House. The construction of the sanctuary was begun, they say, by Tyndareus. After his death his children wished to complete the edifice, and the spoils of Aphidna were destined to furnish the means of carrying it on. But they also left it unfinished, and many years elapsed before the Lacedaemonians had it completed, both the temple and the image of Athena being made of bronze. The artist was Gitiadas, a native of Laconia. He also composed
3 some Doric songs, including a hymn to the goddess. On the bronze are wrought in relief many both of the labours of Hercules, and of the tasks which he voluntarily achieved; also some of the deeds of the sons of Tyndareus, particularly the rape of the daughters of Leucippus. Hephaestus, too, is portrayed unloosing his mother from her bonds (I narrated this legend in my account of Attica). Perseus, too, is seen setting out for Libya to attack Medusa: the nymphs are giving him the cap and the shoes which were to bear him through the air. The reliefs include also Amphitrite, Poseidon, and the birth of Athena. These last are the largest, and, in my opinion, the best worth seeing.

4 4. There is also another sanctuary of Athena here: it is the sanctuary of Athena the Worker. Near the southern colonnade is a temple of Zeus surnamed Orderer, and in front of the temple is the tomb of Tyndareus. The western colonnade has two eagles with two Victories upon them. These were dedicated by Lysander to commemorate his two battles, the battle of Ephesus, in which he beat the Athenian galleys under Antiochus, pilot of Alcibiades, and the later battle of Aegospotami, in which
5 he destroyed the navy of Athens. 5. On the left of the sanctuary of Athena of the Brazen House they founded a sanctuary of the Muses, because the Lacedaemonians used to march out to battle, not with trumpets blowing, but to the melody of flutes and the harping of lyres and lutes. Behind the sanctuary of Athena of the Brazen House is a temple of Warlike Aphrodite: the wooden
6 images here are as ancient as any in Greece. 6. On the right of the sanctuary of Athena of the Brazen House is an image of Supreme Zeus, which is the oldest bronze image in existence.

For it is not made in one piece, but the parts have been hammered separately, then fitted to each other, and fastened with nails to keep them together. They say that the image was made by Clearchus of Rhegium; some say that Clearchus was a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis, others say that he was a pupil of Daedalus himself. Near what is called the Scenoma ('tent') is a statue of a woman: the Lacedaemonians say that it represents Euryleonis who won an Olympic victory with a two-horse chariot.

7. Beside the altar of the Goddess of the Brazen House stand 7
two statues of Pausanias, who commanded at Plataea. His history is well known, and I will not repeat it: the accurate narratives of previous writers are sufficient. I will content myself with supplementing their accounts by what I heard from a man of Byzantium. He said that the cause why the intrigues of Pausanias were detected, and why he alone failed to find protection in the sanctuary of the Goddess of the Brazen House, was simply that he was sullied with an indelible stain of blood. 8. For when he was at the Helles- 8
pont with the allied fleet, he took a fancy for a Byzantine maiden; and at nightfall Cleonice, for that was the girl's name, was brought to him by the men to whom his orders had been given. Pausanias, who had meantime been slumbering, was wakened by the noise; for in approaching him the girl had accidentally upset the light. Now, conscious as he was that he was betraying Greece, Pausanias was haunted by an ever-present sense of uneasiness and alarm. So he started up and stabbed the girl with his sword. This guilt 9
Pausanias was never able to expiate. He tried all sorts of purifications, he offered supplications to Zeus, God of Flight, and he had recourse to the wizards at Phigalia in Arcadia. But all in vain. He paid to Cleonice and the god the penalty of his crime. And at the bidding of the Delphic oracle the Lacedaemonians caused the bronze statues to be made; and they revere a spirit called Epidotes, because they say he averts the wrath which the God of Suppliants cherishes at their treatment of Pausanias.

XVIII

1. Near the statues of Pausanias is an image of Aphrodite Ambologera ('she who staves off old age'). It was set up at the behest of an oracle. There are also images of Sleep and Death, whom, in harmony with the lines in the *Iliad*, they believe to be brothers. Going towards what is called the Alpium, we come to a 2
temple of Athena Ophthalmitis ('goddess of eyes'). They say that it was dedicated by Lycurgus when Alcander knocked out one of his eyes because he happened not to like the laws which Lycurgus made. Lycurgus escaped to this place, and the Lacedaemonians saved him from losing the other eye also. So he built a temple of

3 Athena Ophthalmitis. 2. Going farther on, you come to a sanctuary of Ammon. From the earliest times the Libyan oracle is known to have been consulted by the Lacedaemonians more frequently than by the rest of the Greeks. It is said that when Lysander was besieging Aphytis in Pallene, Ammon appeared to him by night and foretold him that it would be better for him and for Lacedaemon to desist from the war with the Aphytaeans. So Lysander raised the siege and induced the Lacedaemonians to revere the god more than ever; and the Aphytaeans are not a whit behind the Libyans of Ammon themselves in their respect for Ammon.
4 3. The story of Cnagian Artemis is as follows. They say that Cnageus, a native of Laconia, marched with the Dioscuri to Aphidna. In the battle he was taken prisoner and sold into slavery in Crete. Now in the place of his bondage there was a sanctuary of Artemis; and in course of time he made his escape, carrying off with him the virgin priestess, who took the image with her.
5 They say that is why they name the goddess Cnagian Artemis. But it seems to me that this Cnageus must have come to Crete in some other way than the Lacedaemonians say he did; for I do not believe that there was a battle at Aphidna at all. How could there be, when Theseus was a prisoner in Thesprotis, and the Athenians were not unanimous for him, but leaned rather to the side of Menestheus? Even if a battle did take place, it is incredible that some of the victors were taken prisoners, especially as their victory proved so decisive that Aphidna itself fell into their hands. But enough of this.
6 4. On the way down from Sparta to Amyclae we come to a river Tiasa. They think Tiasa is a daughter of the Eurotas. Beside it is a sanctuary of the Graces, Phaenna and Cleta, as the poet Alcman calls them. They believe that it was Lacedaemon who founded the
7 sanctuary of the Graces here and gave them their names. 5. The things worth seeing at Amyclae are these. On a monument is the likeness of a man named Aenetus, who practised the pentathlum: they say that he won the prize at Olympia, and that even while they were placing the crown on his head he expired. So there is a likeness of him. And there are bronze tripods, the more ancient of which, they say, are a tithe-offering of the spoils of the Messenian
8 war. Under the first tripod stood an image of Aphrodite, and under the second tripod an image of Artemis. The tripods and the reliefs on them are both by Gitiadas. The third tripod is by Callon of Aegina: under it stands an image of the Maid, the daughter of Demeter. There is also an image of a woman, supposed to be Sparta, holding a lyre: it is by Aristander of Paros. Further, there is an image of Aphrodite called 'the Aphrodite beside the Amyclaean god': it is by Polyclitus of Argos. These tripods are larger than the others, and were dedicated from the spoils

taken at the victory of Aegospotami. 6. There are offerings by 9
Bathycles the Magnesian, who made the throne of the Amyclaean
god. He offered them on the completion of the throne, and they
consist of the Graces and an image of Leucophryenian Artemis.
From whom Bathycles learned his art, and in the reign of what
king of Lacedaemon he made the throne, I omit to inquire. But I
saw the throne, and I will describe it as I saw it. 7. It is supported 10
both in front and behind by two Graces and two Seasons: on the
left hand stand Echidna and Typhos, and on the right Tritons.
To describe all the reliefs in detail would be tedious to my readers;
but I may say in brief (most of the work being tolerably well known)
that Poseidon and Zeus are represented carrying away Taygete,
daughter of Atlas, and her sister Alcyone. There are also reliefs
representing Atlas, and the single combat of Hercules with Cycnus,
and the battle of the Centaurs at the home of Pholus. But why 11
Bathycles represented the Bull of Minos (the Minotaur), as it is called,
bound and led along alive by Theseus, I do not know. And on the
throne is a troop of Phaeacians dancing and Demodocus is singing.
Perseus, too, is represented slaying Medusa. Passing over Hercules'
fight with the giant Thurius, and Tyndareus' fight with Eurytus,
we have the rape of the daughters of Leucippus. Here, too, are
Dionysus and Hercules: Hermes is seen bearing the infant Dionysus
to heaven, and Athena is leading Hercules to dwell thenceforward
with the gods. And Peleus is giving Achilles to be reared by Chiron, 12
who is said to have also taught him. And Cephalus is carried
off by Day for the sake of his beauty; and to the wedding of
Harmonia the gods are bringing gifts. And Achilles' combat
with Memnon is also wrought, and Hercules punishing Diomede
the Thracian, and punishing Nessus, too, at the river Evenus.
And Hermes is leading the goddesses to Alexander to be judged.
And Adrastus and Tydeus are stopping the fight between Amphiaraus
and Lycurgus, son of Pronax. Io, daughter of Inachus, is changed 13
into a cow, and Hera is looking at her. And Athena is fleeing
from Hephaestus, who is pursuing her. Besides these there are
wrought some of the deeds of Hercules; what he did to the Hydra,
and how he dragged up the hound of hell. And Anaxis and
Mnasinus are seated on horseback; but one horse is carrying
Nicostratus and Megapenthes, son of Menelaus. And Bellerophon
is slaying the Lycian monster, and Hercules is driving the kine of
Geryon. 8. At the upper extremities of the throne are, at either 14
side, the sons of Tyndareus on horseback; and there are sphinxes
under the horses and wild beasts running upwards, on the side of
Castor a leopard, and on the side of Pollux a lion. Highest of all a
dance is wrought on the throne: the dancers are the Magnesians who
helped Bathycles to make the throne. 9. Going under the throne, 15
you see, inwards from the Tritons, the hunt of the Calydonian boar

and Hercules slaying the sons of Actor. And Calais and Zetes are driving the Harpies from Phineus. And Pirithous and Theseus have carried off Helen, and Hercules is throttling the lion. And
16 Apollo and Artemis are shooting arrows at Tityus. Here, too, is wrought Hercules' fight with Oreus the Centaur, and Theseus' combat with the Bull of Minos (the Minotaur). And there is represented the wrestling of Hercules with Achelous, and the story how Hera was bound fast by Hephaestus, and the games which Acastus held in memory of his father, and the story of Menelaus and the Egyptian Proteus in the *Odyssey*. Last of all there is Admetus yoking a boar and a lion to his car, and the Trojans offering libations to Hector.

XIX

1. The part of the throne where the god would sit is not continuous, but contains several seats. Beside each seat a wide space is left: the middle space is widest of all, and here the image
2 stands. 2. I know of no one who has measured the size of the image, but one would guess it to be quite thirty cubits. It is not the work of Bathycles, but is an ancient and rude image; for except that it has a face and feet and hands, it otherwise resembles a bronze pillar. On its head it has a helmet, and in its hands a
3 spear and bow. 3. The pedestal of the image is in the form of an altar, and they say that Hyacinth is buried in it; and at the Hyacinthian festival, before sacrificing to Apollo, they bring a sacrifice for Hyacinth, as for a hero, into this altar through a bronze door. The door is on the left side of the altar. 4. On the altar is an image of Biris wrought in relief, also images of Amphitrite and Poseidon. Zeus and Dionysus are conversing with each other, and near them
4 stand Dionysus and Semele, and beside Semele is Ino. Upon the altar are also represented Demeter and the Maid and Pluto, and besides them the Fates and the Seasons, and likewise Aphrodite and Athena and Artemis. They are carrying to heaven Hyacinth and Polybaea: the latter, they say, was Hyacinth's sister and died a maid. Hyacinth is here represented with a beard; but Nicias, son of Nicomedes, painted him as the pink of youthful beauty,
5 hinting at the love of Apollo for him. Further, on the altar is represented Hercules, also in the act of being led to heaven by Athena and the rest of the gods. And on the altar are also the daughters of Thestius, and the Muses, and Seasons. The story of the Zephyr wind, and how Hyacinth was unwittingly slain by Apollo, and the legend about the flower, may not be literally true, but let them pass.

6 5. Amyclae was destroyed by the Dorians, and has since remained a mere village, but it contained a sanctuary of Alexandra

and an image of her, which are worth seeing. The Amyclaeans say that Alexandra is no other than Cassandra, the daughter of Priam. Here, too, is a likeness of Clytaemnestra and the reputed tomb of Agamemnon. 6. The deities worshipped by the people here are the Amyclaean god and Dionysus. The latter they surname Psilax, and very rightly, I think. For the Dorians call wings *psila*, and wine uplifts men and raises their spirits, as wings do birds. Such were the notable objects at Amyclae.

7. Another road leads from the capital to Therapne. On this 7
road there is a wooden image of Athena Alea. Before you cross the Eurotas, a little above the bank, they show you a sanctuary of Wealthy Zeus. Having crossed the river we come to a temple of Cotylean Aesculapius, which was built by Hercules. He gave Aesculapius the name of Cotylean, because he had himself been healed of the wound which he received in the hollow of his hand (*kotule*) in the first battle with Hippocoon and his sons. The oldest building on this road is a sanctuary of Ares. It is on the left of the road: they say that the image was brought by the Dioscuri from Colchis. 8. They surname him Theritas, from Thero; for 8
they say that Thero was the nurse of Ares. But perhaps they learned the name Theritas from the Colchians; for certainly the Greeks know of no nurse of Ares called Thero. However, it seems to me that Ares got the surname Theritas, not because of his nurse, but because a man must needs be fierce when he fights a foe, as Homer says of Achilles:—

And fierce as a lion is he.

9. Therapne got its name from the daughter of Lelex. It 9
contains a temple of Menelaus, and they say that Menelaus and Helen were buried here. 10. The story told by the Rhodians is different. They say that when Menelaus was dead, and Orestes was still roaming, Helen was driven forth by Nicostratus and Megapenthes, and betook herself to Rhodes, where she had a friend in Polyxo, the wife of Tlepolemus. For Polyxo was an 10
Argive by birth, and when her husband Tlepolemus fled to Rhodes, she had fled with him. She was now the queen of the island, having been left a widow with an orphan son. They say she wished to avenge her husband's death on Helen; and she now had Helen in her hands. So when Helen was bathing, the queen sent some handmaidens in the guise of Furies, who seized her and hanged her on a tree. Hence there is in Rhodes a sanctuary of Helen of the Tree. 11. I know that the people of Crotona tell another story 11
about Helen, and that the people of Himera agree with them. I will record it also. In the Euxine Sea there is an island over against the mouths of the Danube: it is sacred to Achilles, and is called the White Isle. Its circumference is twenty furlongs,

and all the isle is wooded, and full of beasts, both wild and tame; and there is in it a temple of Achilles, with an image of
12 him. The first who sailed to this island is said to have been a Crotonian named Leonymus. War had broken out between the Crotonians and the Italian Locrians, who, being akin to the Opuntian Locrians, call upon Ajax, son of Oileus, to help them in battle. Leonymus, as general of the Crotonian army, attacked the enemy at the point where he had heard that Ajax was posted in the van. He received, we are told, a wound in the breast, and being enfeebled by it he repaired to Delphi. When he was come, the Pythian priestess bade him sail to the White Isle, telling him that Ajax would there
13 appear to him and would heal him of his wound. In time he came back from the White Isle sound and well, and used to tell that he had seen Achilles, and Ajax the son of Oileus, and Ajax the son of Telamon. And Patroclus and Antilochus, he said, were with them; and Helen was wedded to Achilles, and she had bidden him sail to Himera, and tell Stesichorus that the loss of his eyesight was a consequence of her displeasure. Therefore Stesichorus composed his palinode.

XX

1. In Therapne I saw the fountain Messeis. Some of the Lacedaemonians, however, have asserted that it is the fountain now named Polydeucia, not the fountain at Therapne, which was called Messeis of old. The fountain Polydeucia and a sanctuary of Pollux (Polydeuces) are on the right of the road to Therapne.
2 Not far from Therapne is what is called the Phoebaeum, in which is a temple of the Dioscuri; and here the lads sacrifice to Enyalius. 2. At no great distance from it is a sanctuary of Poseidon, surnamed Earth-holder. Going on thence in the direction of Taygetus, you come to a place which they name Alesiae: they say that Myles, son of Lelex, was the first man who invented a mill, and that he ground corn (*alesai*) in this place Alesiae. Here is a shrine of the hero Lace-
3 daemon, son of Taygete. 3. From this place we cross a river Phellia, and then passing Amyclae and pursuing the straight road in the direction of the sea, we come to the site of Pharis, once a Laconian city. Turning away from the Phellia to the right is the road that goes to Mount Taygetus. In the plain is a precinct of Messapian Zeus. They say that he was so surnamed after a priest of his. 4. From this point leaving Taygetus we come to a place where once stood the city of Bryseae. There is still left here a temple of Dionysus, and an image under the open sky. But the image in the temple may be seen by women only; for women alone
4 perform in secrecy the sacrificial rites. 5. Above Bryseae rises Mount Taletum, a peak of Taygetus. They call this peak sacred

to the Sun, and amongst the sacrifices which they here offer to the Sun are horses. The same sacrifice, I am aware, is offered by the Persians. Not far from Mount Taletum is a place called Euoras, where wild animals, especially wild goats, are to be found. Indeed, wild goats and boars may be hunted all over Mount Taygetus, and it swarms with deer and bears. Between Taletum and Euoras is 5
a place which they name Therae: they say that Latona from the heights of Taygetus . . . There is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Eleusinian. Here, Lacedaemonians say, Hercules was hidden by Aesculapius while he was being healed of his wound. There is a wooden image of Orpheus in it, a work, they say, of Pelasgians. 6. I know also of the following custom which is observed here. There was a city by the sea called Helos, which Homer mentions 6
in his list of the Lacedaemonians:—

Who dwelt in Amyclae and Helos, the city by the sea.

It was founded by Heleus, the youngest of the sons of Perseus, and the Dorians afterwards besieged and took it. Its people were the first slaves of the Lacedaemonian commonwealth, and they were the first who were called Helots, as indeed Helots they were. The name Helots was extended to the slaves subsequently acquired, though these were Dorians of Messenia; just as the whole Greek race were called Hellenes from the district in Thessaly once called Hellas. But to 7
return: from this Helos a wooden image of the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, is brought up on stated days to the sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter. 7. Fifteen furlongs from this sanctuary is Lapithaeum, so called from a native man of the name of Lapithus. Lapithaeum is in Taygetus, and not far off is Dereum, where is an image of Dereatian Artemis in the open air, and beside it is a spring which they name Anonus. Going on beyond Dereum about twenty furlongs you come to Harplea, which extends to the plain.

8. On the road from Sparta to Arcadia there stands in the 8
open air an image of Athena surnamed Parea. Beyond it there is a sanctuary of Achilles, which it is not customary to open. But the lads who are about to take part in the combat in Plane-tree Grove are wont to sacrifice to Achilles before the fight. The Spartans say that the sanctuary was made by Prax, a grandson of Pergamus, son of Neoptolemus. 9. Going on we come to 9
a place called the Horse's Tomb. For here Tyndareus sacrificed a horse and swore the suitors of Helen, making them stand on the pieces of the horse. The oath was to defend Helen and him who might be chosen to marry her, if ever they should be wronged. Having sworn them he buried the horse here. The seven pillars which are not far from this tomb . . . in accordance, I believe, with an ancient fashion, which they say are images of the planets. On the road is a precinct of Cranius, surnamed Stemmatian, and a

10 sanctuary of Mysian Artemis. 10. The image of Modesty, distant about thirty furlongs from the city, is said to be an offering of Icarius and to have been made for the following reason. After Icarius had given Penelope in marriage to Ulysses, he tried to induce his son-in-law to take up his abode in Lacedaemon. Failing in the attempt, he next besought his daughter to stay behind. And when she was setting
11 out for Ithaca, he followed the chariot, entreating her. Ulysses stood it for a time, but at last he told Penelope either to follow him freely, or, if she liked her father better, to go back to Lacedaemon. They say that she answered nothing, but simply drew down her veil in reply to the question. So Icarius, seeing that she wished to depart with Ulysses, let her go, and set up an image of Modesty; for they say that Penelope had reached this point of the road when she drew down her veil.

XXI

1. Twenty furlongs farther on the stream of the Eurotas approaches very near the road, and here is the tomb of Ladas, the fleetest runner of his day. He was crowned at Olympia for a victory in the long race; and being taken ill, I suppose, immediately after the victory, he was on his way home, but died here, and his grave is above the high road. His namesake, who also won a victory at Olympia, but in the short race, not the long, was a native of Aegium in Achaia, according to the Elean register of Olympic
2 victors. 2. Farther on in the direction of Pellana is the Characoma ('entrenchment'), as it is called; and after it is Pellana, which was a city in days of old. They say that Tyndareus dwelt here when he fled from Sparta before Hippocoon and his sons. The objects of interest which I here observed were a sanctuary of Aesculapius and the Pellanian spring. They say that, drawing water at this spring, a girl fell into it and vanished; but the hood that she wore on her
3 head appeared in another spring called Lancea. 3. A hundred furlongs distant from Pellana is Belemina, the best watered place in Laconia; for it is traversed by the river Eurotas, and is abundantly supplied with springs of its own.

4 4. Going down to the sea in the direction of Gythium, we come to the Lacedaemonian village of Croceae. The stone quarry is not one continuous mass of rock, but the stones are dug out in the shape of pebbles. They are hard to work, but once worked they might grace sanctuaries of the gods, and they are especially fitted to adorn swimming-baths and fountains. In front of the village stands a stone image of Croceatian Zeus, and at the quarry there are bronze
5 images of the Dioscuri. 5. After Croceae, turning off to the right from the straight road to Gythium, you will come to the town of Aegiae: they say that this is the town which Homer names Augeae.

Here is a lake called the Lake of Poseidon, and at the lake is a temple with an image of the god. But they fear to fish in the lake, for they say that he who catches fish in it is turned into the fish called the Fisher.

6. Gythium is thirty furlongs from Aegiae: it is built beside the 6
sea, and now belongs to the Free Laconians, whom the Emperor Augustus released from the relation of serfdom in which they had stood to the Lacedaemonians of Sparta. The whole of Peloponnese, except the Isthmus of Corinth, is surrounded by sea; but the finest shell-fish for the manufacture of the purple dye, next to the shell-fish of the Phoenician Sea, are furnished by the coast of Laconia. The Free Laconians have eighteen cities. The first, 7
which we reach by descending from Aegiae to the sea, is Gythium; after it are Teuthrone and Las and Pyrrhichus; and on Taenarum are Caenepolis, Oetylus, Leuctra, Thalamae, also Alagonia and Gerenia. On the farther side of Gythium, on the sea-coast, are Asopus, Acriae, Boeae, Zarax, Epidaurus Limera, Brasiae, Geronthrae, Marius. These are all that are left out of what were once the four-and-twenty cities of the Free Laconians. The reader will please to remember that all the other cities mentioned by me in this book belong to Sparta, and are not, like the foregoing, independent. 7. The people of 8
Gythium say that their city was founded by no mortal man, but that Hercules and Apollo, after contending for the possession of the tripod, and making it up again between them, jointly founded the city. In the market-place of Gythium there are images of Apollo and Hercules, and near them is an image of Dionysus. In another part of the town is Carnean Apollo, and a sanctuary of Ammon, and a bronze image of Aesculapius (the temple is roofless), and a spring of water belonging to the god, and a holy sanctuary of Demeter, and an image of Earth-holding Poseidon. 8. The people of Gythium talk of an 9
Old Man who lives in the sea. I found that he was no other than Nereus. Their name for him was suggested by the passage in Homer's *Iliad*, where Thetis is speaking:—

> Go you now down into the sea's broad bosom
> To see the old man of the sea and your father's house.

In Gythium there is a gate called the gate of Castor, and in the acropolis there is a temple of Athena with an image of the goddess.

XXII

1. Just three furlongs from Gythium is an unwrought stone: they say that Orestes, sitting down on it, was relieved of his madness; therefore the stone was named Zeus Cappotas ('reliever') in the Doric tongue. 2. Off Gythium lies the island of Cranae, where Alexander, according to Homer, embraced Helen for the first time

after he had carried her off. On the mainland opposite to the island is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Migonitis; and the whole place
2 is called Migonium. They say that this sanctuary was founded by Alexander. And when Menelaus had taken Ilium, and had returned safe home eight years after the sack of Troy, he set up images of Thetis and of the goddess Praxidica ('exacter of punishment') near the sanctuary of Migonitis. Above Migonium is a mountain called Larysium, sacred to Dionysus; and they celebrate a festival of Dionysus at the beginning of spring. Among the stories which they tell of the rites is that they find here a ripe bunch of grapes.

3 3. About thirty furlongs to the left of Gythium there are on the mainland walls of a place called Trinasus ('three islands'), which appears to me to have been a fort and not a city. I suppose it got its name from the islets, three in number, which here lie off the mainland. About eighty furlongs beyond Trinasus you come to the
4 ruins of Helos. 4. About thirty furlongs beyond them is a city, Acriae, on the sea. Here there is a temple of the Mother of the Gods, with a stone image of her: both are worth seeing. The people of Acriae say that it is the most ancient sanctuary of this goddess in Peloponnese. The oldest of all her images, however, is on the rock of Coddinus at Magnesia, to the north of Sipylus: the Magnesians
5 say it was made by Broteas, son of Tantalus. Acriae also produced an Olympic victor, by name Nicocles, who won five prizes for running in two Olympiads. A monument is raised to him between the gymnasium and the part of the city wall which is beside
6 the harbour. 5. Geronthrae lies inland from Acriae at a distance of one hundred and twenty furlongs. It was inhabited before the Heraclids came to Peloponnese, but the Dorians of Lacedaemon expelled the Achaean population, and sent colonists of their own to it. In my time the town belonged to the Free Laconians. On the way from Acriae to Geronthrae is a village called Palaea ('old'): in Geronthrae itself there is a temple of Ares with a sacred
7 grove. Every year they hold a festival in honour of the god, during which it is forbidden to women to enter the grove. Round about the market-place are the springs of drinking water. In the acropolis is a temple of Apollo with the ivory head of his image: the rest of the image was destroyed by fire along with the former temple.
8 6. Marius is another town of the Free Laconians: it is distant a hundred furlongs from Geronthrae. Here there is an ancient sanctuary common to all the gods: it is surrounded by a grove containing springs. There are springs in the sanctuary of Artemis also. Marius is certainly as well supplied with water as a place can be. Above the town is a village, Glyppia, which is also in the interior. And twenty furlongs from Geronthrae is another village, Selinus.

These places lie inland from Acriae. 7. But on the sea there is the 9
city of Asopus, distant sixty furlongs from Acriae. In it is a temple of the Roman emperors, and about twelve furlongs inland from the city is a sanctuary of Aesculapius, whom they name Philolaus ('friend of the people'). The bones which are preserved in the gymnasium, and which people venerate, are human bones in spite of their extraordinary size. In the acropolis is a sanctuary of Athena, surnamed Cyparissia ('she of the cypress'). At the foot of the acropolis are the ruins of a city called the city of the Paracypressian Achaeans. In this district there is also a sanctuary of Aesculapius, dis- 10
tant about fifty furlongs from Asopus: the place where the sanctuary is situated is named Hyperteleatum. 8. Two hundred furlongs from Asopus is a cape jutting into the sea: they call it Onugnathus ('the jaw of the ass'). Here is a sanctuary of Athena without either image or roof: it is said to have been made by Agamemnon. There is also the tomb of Cinadus, one of the pilots of Menelaus' ship. 9. After 11
the cape the Bay of Boeae runs into the land, and there is the city of Boeae at the head of the bay. This city was founded by Boeus, one of the Heraclids, and he is said to have gathered people into it from three cities, Etis, Aphrodisias, and Side. Of these three ancient cities two are said to have been founded by Aeneas when, on his flight to Italy, he was driven into this bay by storms: they say that Etias was his daughter. The third of the cities is said to have been called after Side, daughter of Danaus. So when the people of these three towns went 12
forth into the world they sought to know where it was the will of heaven that they should dwell. And it was foretold them that Artemis would show them where they should abide. So when they were gone ashore, and a hare appeared to them, they took the hare as their guide. And when it dived into a myrtle tree, they built a city where the myrtle stood. And they worship that very myrtle-tree till this day, and they call Artemis by the name of Saviour. In the 13
market-place of Boeae there is a temple of Apollo, and in a different part of the town there are temples of Aesculapius, Serapis, and Isis. Not more than seven furlongs from Boeae are some ruins: on the left as you go to them stands a stone image of Hermes. Among the ruins there is a not inconsiderable sanctuary of Aesculapius and Health.

XXIII

1. Cythera lies opposite Boeae; and to Cape Platanistus ('plane-tree grove'), the nearest point in the island to the mainland, it is a sail of forty furlongs from Cape Onugnathus on the mainland. In Cythera there is the sea-port of Scandea on the coast: the city of Cythera is about ten furlongs inland from Scandea. The sanctuary of the Heavenly Goddess is most holy, and of all Greek

sanctuaries of Aphrodite this is the most ancient. The goddess is represented by a wooden image armed.

2 Sailing from Boeae, in the direction of Cape Malea, we come to a harbour named Nymphaeum, and a standing image of Poseidon, and close to the sea a cave in which is a spring of sweet water. The neighbourhood is thickly peopled.

2. After rounding Cape Malea you reach a place on the coast one hundred furlongs from Malea, on the borders of the territory of 3 Boeae. It is sacred to Apollo and is named Epidelium; for the wooden image of Apollo which is now there once stood in Delos. In the days when Delos was a mart of Greece, and traders were believed to be safe there under the protection of the god, Menophanes, general of Mithridates, knowing that the island was un- 4 fortified and the people unarmed, sailed to it with a fleet, massacred the population, foreigners and natives alike, looted much of the merchandise and all the votive offerings, sold the women and children into slavery, and razed the town of Delos to the ground. Whether he did it out of pure wantonness, or by the express orders of Mithridates, who can tell? A covetous man thinks more of gain than of godliness. In the hurly-burly of the sack a saucy barbarian hurled this wooden image into the sea; and the waves washed it to this spot in the territory of Boeae, and therefore they name the 5 place Epidelium ('New Delos'). 3. But neither Menophanes nor Mithridates himself eluded the wrath of the god. Menophanes was overtaken by it immediately; for when he put out to sea after the sack of Delos the merchants who had escaped lay in wait for him and sent him to the bottom. At a later time Mithridates, shorn of his kingdom and hounded from land to land by the Romans, was driven by the god to lay hands on himself. Some say, however, that one of his mercenaries dealt him, as a favour, the fatal stroke. Such was the fate that befell these impious men.

6 4. The territory of Boeae is bordered by Epidaurus Limera, which is distant from Epidelium about two hundred furlongs. The people say that they are not Lacedaemonians, but Epidaurians of Argolis, and that being sent by the State to consult Aesculapius at Cos, they touched at this point of Laconia in the course of their voyage, and that here dreams were vouchsafed to them, in consequence 7 of which they staid and took up their abode on the spot. They say, too, that they had brought with them from their home in Epidaurus a serpent, which escaped from the ship and dived into the earth not far from the sea. And so, what with the vision they had seen in their dreams, and what with the omen of the serpent, it seemed good to them to abide and dwell there. Where the serpent dived into the ground there are altars of Aesculapius, and olive-trees grow 8 round about them. 5. Going forward on the right about two furlongs we come to what is called the water of Ino. It is as big

as a small lake, but much deeper. At the festival of Ino they throw barley loaves into this water. If the water takes and keeps the loaves, it is a good augury for the person who threw them in; but if it sends them up to the surface, it is judged a bad omen. The craters at Etna give like indications. For people cast vessels of gold and silver and all sorts of victims into them; and if the fire swallows them up the people are glad, taking it for a happy omen; but if the flame rejects what a man throws into it they think evil will befall that man. 6. On the way that leads from Boeae to Epidaurus Limera there is in the Epidaurian territory a sanctuary of Artemis of the Lake. The city is built on high ground not far from the sea, and the sights worth seeing here are a sanctuary of Aphrodite, a sanctuary of Aesculapius with a standing image of the god in stone, a temple of Athena on the acropolis, and another of Zeus, surnamed Saviour, in front of the harbour. 7. Opposite the city a cape called Minoa juts into the sea. The bay does not differ from the other inlets of the sea in Laconia; but the beach here affords pebbles of finer shape and of every hue.

XXIV

1. A hundred furlongs from Epidaurus is Zarax, a place with a good harbour; but of all the towns of the Free Laconians this is most decayed, for it was the only town in Laconia which was destroyed by Cleonymus, son of Cleomenes, son of Agesipolis. The history of Cleonymus has been given by me elsewhere. There is nothing in Zarax but a temple of Apollo at the end of the harbour with an image holding a lute.

2. Going on from Zarax beside the sea for about a hundred furlongs, and then turning inland, and going up country for about ten furlongs, you come to the ruins of Cyphanta. Amongst the ruins is a grotto sacred to Aesculapius: the image is of stone. There is also a spring of cold water gushing from a rock. They say that Atalanta was hunting here, and that, being tormented with thirst, she struck the rock with her spear, and so the water flowed out. 3. Brasiae is the farthest seaside town of the Free Laconians in this direction: it is two hundred furlongs from Cyphanta by sea. The people here say, though nobody else agrees with them, that Semele had a son by Zeus, that being detected by Cadmus she and her infant Dionysus were put into a chest, and that the chest drifted to their shore. Semele, they say, was dead when they found her, so they buried her splendidly; but Dionysus they brought up. Hence the name of their town, which had been Oreatae before, was changed to Brasiae, because the chest was washed ashore. And of waifs cast up by the sea it is still commonly said that they *ekbebrasthai*. The people of Brasiae say, too, that in her wanderings Ino came to their country,

and desired to be nurse to Dionysus. And they show the cavern where Ino nursed Dionysus, and they call the plain the Garden of
5 Dionysus. 4. There is here a sanctuary of Aesculapius and one of Achilles, and they hold a festival of Achilles every year. There is a small headland at Brasiae, jutting gently into the sea, and on it stand bronze figures not more than a foot high, with caps on their heads. Whether the people suppose them to be the Dioscuri or the Corybantes I do not know. Anyhow there are three of them; and an image of Athena makes four.

6 5. On the right of Gythium is Las, distant ten furlongs from the sea and forty from Gythium. The town is now built between the mountains of Ilium, Asia, and Cnacadium, but it used to stand on the top of Mount Asia. There are still some ruins of the old town, and in front of the walls an image of Hercules, and a trophy of victory over the Macedonians. These Macedonians were part of the army with which Philip invaded Laconia: they had straggled from the main body and were harry-
7 ing the coast. Amongst the ruins is a temple of Athena surnamed Asia: they say that it was made by Pollux and Castor when they came safe back from Colchis, and that there is a sanctuary of Athena Asia in Colchis also. I know that the sons of Tyndareus went on the voyage with Jason; but that the Colchians worship Athena Asia is a statement that I give on the authority of the people of Las, from whom I had it. Near the modern town is a fountain called Galaco ('milky') from the colour of the water, and beside the fountain is a gymnasium. There stands also an
8 ancient image of Hermes. On Mount Ilium is a temple of Dionysus, and on the very summit a temple of Aesculapius. At Mount Cnacadium is a sanctuary of Carnean Apollo. 6. If you go on about thirty furlongs from the sanctuary of Carnean Apollo, you come to a place Hypsa on the Spartan border, where there is a sanctuary of Aesculapius and of Artemis surnamed Daphnaea ('she of the laurel').
9 By the sea there is a temple of Artemis Dictynna ('goddess of nets') on a cape, and they hold a yearly festival in her honour. To the left of this cape the river Smenus falls into the sea, and the water of the river is sweet to drink, none sweeter. Its sources are in Mount Taygetus, and its distance from Las is not more than
10 five furlongs. 7. In a place called Arainum there is the grave of Las, with a statue over the tomb. The people here say that this Las was their founder and was slain by Achilles, who landed in their country to ask Helen in marriage from Tyndareus. But to tell the truth, it was Patroclus that killed Las; for it was Patroclus who wooed Helen. To prove that Achilles did not ask Helen in marriage I will not adduce the fact that he is not mentioned among
11 the wooers of Helen in the *Catalogue of Women*. But at the beginning of his poem Homer says that Achilles went to Troy to

please the sons of Atreus, and not because he was bound by the oaths exacted by Tyndareus; and again, in the description of the games Homer represents Antilochus as saying that Ulysses is a generation older than himself, and he represents Ulysses as telling Alcinous in his account of hell that he had wished to see Theseus and Pirithous, men of a former generation; and we know that Theseus carried off Helen. So it is a sheer impossibility that Achilles can have been a suitor of Helen.

XXV

1. Going on from the tomb you come to the mouth of a river, called the Scyras, because Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, sailing from Scyros to wed Hermione, put in here with his ships: before that time the river had no name. Crossing the river we come to an ancient sanctuary at some distance from an altar of Zeus. 2. Forty furlongs from the river is the inland town of Pyrrhichus. Some say 2
that the town got its name from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles; others that Pyrrhichus is one of the gods called Curetes. Some say that Silenus came from Malea and dwelt here. That Silenus was brought up at Malea is proved by the following passage in an ode of Pindar:—

> The strong one, the dancer
> Whom the Malea-born Silenus, husband of Nais, reared;

and that he also bore the name of Pyrrhichus, though it is not mentioned by Pindar, is affirmed by the people about Malea. In 3
the market-place at Pyrrhichus is a well which the people believe to have been given them by Silenus. They would run short of water if this well were to fail. In their land there is a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Astratea, because here the Amazons ceased from their forward march (*strateia*); also a sanctuary of Amazonian Apollo. The images of both are of wood, and are said to have been dedicated by the women who came from the Thermedon. 3. From Pyrrhichus you descend to the sea and reach Teuthrone. 4
The people there declare that their founder was Teuthras, an Athenian. They revere Issorian Artemis above all gods, and they have a spring of water called Naia.

4. One hundred and fifty furlongs from Teuthrone Cape Taenarum juts into the sea; and there are two harbours, the harbour of Achilles and the harbour of Psamathus. On the cape is a temple like a cave, and in front of it an image of Poseidon. Some Greek poets have said that here Hercules dragged up the 5
hound of hell. But no road leads underground through the cave, nor is it easy to believe that gods have an underground abode in which the souls of the dead assemble. Hecataeus, the Milesian,

hit on a likely explanation: he said that Taenarum was the home of a dreadful snake called the hound of hell, because its bite was instantly fatal; and this snake, he said, was brought by
6 Hercules to Eurystheus. Homer, who was the first to call the creature brought by Hercules the hound of hell, neither gave it a proper name nor made a monster of it, like the Chimaera. But later poets invented the name Cerberus, and endued him with three heads, representing him in all other respects as a dog. Whereas Homer no more implied that the creature was the domestic dog than if he had called a serpent the hound of hell.
7 5. Amongst the votive offerings at Taenarum is a bronze statue of the minstrel Arion on a dolphin. In his history of Lydia Herodotus tells the story of Arion and the dolphin on hearsay; but I have actually seen the dolphin at Poroselene that was mauled by fishermen, and testifies its gratitude to the boy who healed it. I saw that dolphin answer to the boy's call, and carry him on its back
8 when he chose to ride. There is also a spring at Taenarum. Nowadays there is nothing wonderful about the spring; but they say that formerly when people looked into the water they could see the harbours and the ships. A woman stopped these exhibitions for ever by washing dirty clothes in the water.

9 6. From Cape Taenarum it is a sail of about forty furlongs to Caenepolis, which was also called Taenarum of old. In it there is a hall of Demeter, and beside the sea a temple of Aphrodite with a standing image of stone. Thirty furlongs from here is Thyrides, a promontory of Taenarum, and ruins of a city Hippola: among the ruins is a sanctuary of Artemis Hippolaitis. 7. A little
10 way off is the town of Messa and a harbour. From this harbour it is a hundred and fifty furlongs to Oetylum. The hero, from whom the town got its name, was by descent an Argive, being a son of Amphianax, son of Antimachus. At Oetylum a sanctuary of Serapis, and in the market-place a wooden image of Carnean Apollo, are worth seeing.

XXVI

1. From Oetylum to Thalamae the distance by road is about eighty furlongs: on the road is a sanctuary of Ino and an oracle. Inquirers of the oracle go to sleep, and the goddess reveals to them in dreams all that they wish to know. Bronze images stand in the open part of the sanctuary: one is an image of Pasiphae, the other is of the Sun. The image in the temple I could not see clearly by reason of the garlands, but they say that it, too, is of bronze. Water flows from a sacred spring, sweet to drink. Pasiphae is a surname of the Moon, and not a local divinity of the people of Thalamae.

2. From Thalamae it is a distance of twenty furlongs to a 2
place on the coast named Pephnus. Off it lies an islet also
called Pephnus, no bigger than a large rock; and the people of
Thalamae say that the Dioscuri were born on it. I know that
Alcman also says so in a song. They say, however, that they were
not brought up in Pephnus, but that it was Hermes who took them
to Pellana. In this islet are bronze images of the Dioscuri, a foot 3
high: they stand under the open sky, but the sea that breaks over
the rock in winter will not wash them away. This is a marvel; and
the ants here are whiter than ants elsewhere. The Messenians say
that this district was theirs of old, so they think that the Dioscuri
belong to them rather than to the Lacedaemonians.

3. From Pephnus it is twenty furlongs to Leuctra. Why 4
the town is called Leuctra, I do not know; but if it is after
Leucippus, son of Perieres, as the Messenians say, that, I suppose, is
the reason why the people here honour Aesculapius above all the
gods, believing him to be the son of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus.
There is a stone image of Aesculapius, and elsewhere an image of
Ino. There is also a temple of Cassandra, daughter of Priam, with 5
an image of her: the natives call her Alexandra. There are also
wooden images of Carnean Apollo, just like the images at Sparta.
On the acropolis is a sanctuary of Athena, with an image of the
goddess. There is also a temple and a grove of Love at Leuctra.
Water flows through the grove in winter, but even in flood it could not
sweep away the leaves that fall from the trees in spring. 4. I will 6
mention an event which I know to have happened in my time on
the sea-coast of Leuctra. Sparks were carried by the wind into a
wood, and most of the trees were burned down; and when the
place had been stript bare, an image of Ithomatian Zeus was found
standing there. The Messenians say that this is a proof that
Leuctra belonged to Messenia of old. But it may be that Leuctra
was originally inhabited by Lacedaemonians who worshipped Itho-
matian Zeus.

5. Cardamyle, mentioned by Homer among the gifts promised 7
by Agamemnon, is subject to the Lacedaemonians of Sparta, having
been severed from Messenia by the Emperor Augustus. It is eight
furlongs from the sea, and sixty from Leuctra. Here, not far from
the beach, is a sacred precinct of the daughters of Nereus; for to
this place it is said they came up from the sea to behold Pyrrhus,
son of Achilles, when he was going to Sparta to wed Hermione.
In the town is a sanctuary of Athena, also a Carnean Apollo, as is
usual with the Dorians.

6. The city which in Homer is named Enope is at the present 8
day called Gerenia. The people are Messenians, but belong to the
confederacy of the Free Laconians. In this city, according to some,
Nestor was brought up: according to others, he fled to it when

9 Pylus was captured by Hercules. 7. Here in Gerenia is the tomb of Machaon, son of Aesculapius, and here he has a holy sanctuary. In his sanctuary the sick may be made whole. They name the sacred place Rhodus, and there is a standing image of Machaon in bronze: on his head is a wreath, which the Messenians in their local dialect call *kiphos*. The author of the epic called the *Little Iliad* says that Machaon was killed by Eurypylus, son of
10 Telephus. That is why (as I myself know) the following rule is observed in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Pergamus: though they begin the hymns with Telephus, they say not a word about Eurypylus in them; indeed, they will not even name him in the temple, because they know he was the murderer of Machaon. It is said that Machaon's bones were brought back by Nestor. But Podalirius, they say, when the Greeks were sailing back after the sack of Ilium, was carried out of his course, and being driven to Syrnus, on the mainland of Caria, he took up his abode there.

11 8. In the district of Gerenia is Mount Calathium. On it is a sanctuary of Claea, and there is a cavern just beside the sanctuary. The mouth of the cavern is narrow, but the interior is worth seeing. Inland from Gerenia about thirty furlongs is Alagonia: I have already mentioned the town in the list of Free Laconian cities. There are sanctuaries of Dionysus and Artemis there that are worth seeing.

BOOK FOURTH

MESSENIA

I

1. THE boundary between Messenia and that portion of its territory which was severed from it by the emperor and assigned to Laconia is constituted at present, in the direction of Gerenia, by the glen called Choerius ('Sow-dale'). 2. They say that the land was once uninhabited, and that it received its first inhabitants in the following manner. Lelex reigned in the country which is now called Laconia, but which was then called after him Lelegia. When he died his elder son Myles succeeded to the kingdom. Polycaon was a younger son, and therefore remained in a private station, till he married an Argive wife, Messene, daughter of Triopas, son of Phorbas. Now Messene was proud, for her father was more 2
illustrious and powerful than any Greek of the day; and she thought scorn that her husband should remain a private man. So they gathered together a host from Argos and Lacedaemon and came to this country, and the whole land was named Messene after the wife of Polycaon. 3. Cities, too, were founded, and amongst others Andania, where they built their palace. But before the battle of Leuctra, 3
fought between the Thebans and Lacedaemonians, and before the foundation of the present city of Messene at the foot of Ithome, I think that no city was as yet called Messene. I gather this especially from Homer. For in the list of the men who went to Ilium, while enumerating Pylus, Arene, and other cities, he mentions no city called Messene. And in the following passage in the *Odyssey* he shows that the Messenians were a people and not a city:—

> For Messenian men carried off sheep from Ithaca.

But still more clearly, in speaking of the bow of Iphitus:— 4

> And they two met each other in Messene
> In the house of Ortilochus.

For by the house of Ortilochus in Messene, Homer meant the town

of Pherae, and this he himself explains in the visit of Pisistratus to Menelaus :—

> 'And to Pherae they came, to the house of Diocleus,
> Son of Ortilochus.

5 4. However that may be, the first who reigned in this country were Polycaon, son of Lelex, and his wife Messene. It was to this Messene that Caucon, son of Celaenus, son of Phlyus, brought the orgies of the Great Goddesses from Eleusis. The Athenians say that Phlyus himself was a son of Earth, and they are supported by the hymn which Musaeus composed on Demeter for the Lycomids.
6 But many years after the time of Caucon the mysteries of the Great Goddesses were raised to higher honour by Lycus, son of Pandion; and the place where he purified the initiated is still named the oak-coppice of Lycus. And that there is an oak-coppice in this country called the oak-coppice of Lycus is mentioned by the Cretan poet Rhianus :—

> Beside the rugged Elaeus, and above the oak-coppice of Lycus.

7 5. And that this Lycus was the son of Pandion is shown by the verses inscribed on the statue of Methapus. For Methapus also made some changes in the mode of celebrating the mysteries. Methapus was an Athenian by descent, and he was a deviser of mysteries and all sorts of orgies. It was he who instituted the mysteries of the Cabiri for the Thebans; and he also set up in the chapel of the Lycomids a statue inscribed with an epigram, which contains a passage confirming what I have said :—

8 > And I purified houses of Hermes . . . and paths
> Of Demeter and of the first-born Maid, where they say
> That Messene instituted for the Great Goddesses a rite
> Which she learned from Caucon, illustrious scion of Phlyus.
> And I marvelled how Lycus, son of Pandion,
> Established all the sacred rites of Atthis in dear Andania.

9 This epigram shows that Caucon, a descendant of Phlyus, came to the house of Messene, and in regard to Lycus it shows, amongst other things, that the mysteries were anciently celebrated in Andania. It is natural to suppose that Messene established the mysteries in the place where she and Polycaon dwelt rather than anywhere else.

II

1. Wishing very much to learn who were the sons of Polycaon by Messene, I read the poem called the *Eoeae* and the epic called the *Naupactia*, and, moreover, all the genealogies composed

by Cinaethon and Asius. But they had nothing to say on the subject. I am aware that in the *Great Eoeae* it is said that Polycaon, son of Butas, married Euaechme, daughter of Hyllus, son of Hercules, but no account is given in the poem of Messene's husband or of Messene herself. 2. But in after time, when there 2
was none of the descendants of Polycaon left (the family lasted five generations, I think, and not more), the people fetched Perieres, son of Aeolus, to be their king. To his court, the Messenians say, came Melaneus, who drew a good bow and was hence reckoned a son of Apollo. Perieres allotted him Carnasium, then called Oechalia, to dwell in. They say the city got the name of Oechalia from the wife of Melaneus. Most things in Greece are subjects 3
of dispute. In the present case the Thessalians, on the one side, affirm that Eurytion, which is now deserted, was of yore a city and was called Oechalia; but the Euboeans, on the other side, have a different story, with which Creophylus in his poem *Heraclea* agrees. Hecataeus the Milesian says that Oechalia is in Scius, which forms part of the district of Eretria. But the Messenian story seems to me the more probable, especially on account of the bones of Eurytus, which I shall speak of in the sequel.

3. Perieres had by Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus, two sons, 4
Aphareus and Leucippus, and when Perieres died, these sons succeeded to the kingdom of Messenia; but Aphareus had the more power of the two. On coming to the throne, Aphareus founded a city Arene, (and named it) after the daughter of Oebalus, who was at once his wife and his half-sister on the mother's side; for Gorgophone married Oebalus also. Her story has already been twice touched on by me in treating of Argolis and Laconia. Aphareus, 5
then, founded the city of Arene in Messenia; and when his cousin Neleus fled from Iolcus to escape Pelias, Aphareus received him in his house, and gave him the lands beside the sea, including Pylus and other cities. Neleus took up his abode and established his palace at Pylus. He was called a son of Poseidon, but really he was a son of Cretheus, son of Aeolus. 4. Lycus, son of Pan- 6
dion, also came to Arene, when he was driven from Athens by his brother Aegeus; and he revealed to Aphareus, his sons, and his wife Arene, the orgies of the Great Goddesses. He brought the orgies to Andania, and exhibited them to them there, because it was there also that Caucon had initiated Messene. The elder and more 7
manly of the sons of Aphareus was Idas, and the younger was Lynceus, of whom Pindar said (believe it who likes) that his sight was so sharp that he saw through the trunk of an oak. 5. We do not know that Lynceus had offspring, but Idas had by Marpessa a daughter Cleopatra, who married Meleager. The author of the epic called the *Cypria* says that Protesilaus, the first man who dared to leap ashore when the Greek fleet touched the Troad, had to wife

Polydora, a daughter of Meleager, son of Oeneus. If this is true, these three women, beginning with Marpessa, all slew themselves because their husbands had died before them.

III

1. But the sons of Aphareus came to blows with their cousins the Dioscuri about the kine; and in the fight Lynceus was slain by Pollux, and Idas was killed by a thunderbolt. So the house of Aphareus being left without a male, Nestor, son of Neleus, succeeded to the whole kingdom of Messenia, including that part over which Idas had been king. Only the Messenians who obeyed the sons of Aesculapius were not subject to Nestor.

2 2. For they say that the sons of Aesculapius were Messenians, and went to the Trojan war: Aesculapius, according to them, was the son, not of Coronis, but of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus. And there is a deserted village in Messenia that they call Tricca, and they quote the verses of Homer in which Nestor is represented attending kindly to Machaon, who has been hit by an arrow, their inference being that he would not have shown so much interest in anybody but a neighbour and the king of a kindred people. But as the principal confirmation of their view respecting the sons of Aesculapius, they point to the tomb of Machaon at Gerenia, and to the sanctuary of the sons of Machaon at Pharae.

3 3. Two generations after the end of the Trojan war and the death of Neleus, which befell after he had returned home, the expedition of the Dorians and the return of the Heraclids drove the descendants of Neleus from Messenia. This I have already mentioned incidentally in my account of Tisamenus. Here I will add that when the Dorians gave Argos to Temenus, Cresphontes asked them for Messenia, on the plea that he too was older than

4 Aristodemus. Aristodemus was dead; but the claim of Cresphontes was strongly opposed by Theras, son of Autesion. Theras came of Theban stock, and was the fourth descendant of Polynices, son of Oedipus. At this time he was guardian of the sons of Aristodemus, being their uncle on the mother's side; for Aristodemus married Argea, daughter of Autesion. But Cresphontes had set his heart on getting Messenia as his share; so he entreated Temenus, and having won him over, he pretended to leave the question to be

5 decided by lot. Temenus took a pitcher with water in it, and dropped into it the lots of Cresphontes and the sons of Aristodemus, an agreement having been made that they whose lot came up first should have the first choice of land. Temenus had made both the lots; but the lot of the sons of Aristodemus he made of earth dried in the sun, and the lot of Cresphontes he made of earth baked in the fire. So the lot of the sons of Aristodemus was

dissolved in the water; and the lot thus falling on Cresphontes, he chose Messenia. The old Messenian commonalty were not 6
driven out by the Dorians, but submitted to be ruled by Cresphontes, and to give the Dorians a share of their land. These concessions they were induced to make by the suspicion with which they regarded their own kings, because they were by descent Minyans from Iolcus. Cresphontes married Merope, daughter of Cypselus, then king of the Arcadians: by her he had several children, of whom the youngest was Aepytus. 4. He built the 7
palace, which was to be the residence of himself and his sons, in Stenyclerus. Of old the kings, including Perieres, dwelt in Andania; but after Aphareus had founded Arene, he and his sons dwelt there. During the reigns of Nestor and his descendants the palace was at Pylus; but Cresphontes established the residence of the king in Stenyclerus. As he governed on the whole in the interest of the commons, the men of property revolted and murdered him and all his sons except Aepytus, who being still a child was being brought up by Cypselus, and was the only one of the family who escaped. 5. When Aepytus was grown to manhood, the Arcadians restored 8
him to Messenia, and his restoration was supported by the other kings of the Dorians, to wit, the sons of Aristodemus, and Isthmius, son of Temenus. On coming to the throne Aepytus punished the murderers of his father, and all who had been accomplices in the murder; and winning over the Messenian nobles by blandishments and the commons by his bounty, he rose so high in their esteem that his descendants were called Aepytids instead of Heraclids.

6. His son Glaucus, who reigned after him, was content to imitate 9
the public policy and the private behaviour of his sire; but in piety he surpassed him. The precinct of Zeus on the top of Ithome, as it had been consecrated by Polycaon and Messene, had hitherto been unhonoured by the Dorians. Glaucus it was who introduced among the Dorians the reverence for that holy place. He was the first, too, that sacrificed to Machaon, son of Aesculapius, at Gerenia; and he assigned to Messene, daughter of Triopas, the marks of homage that are regularly paid to heroes. His son 10
Isthmius made the sanctuary of Gorgasus and Nicomachus at Pharae. Isthmius had a son Dotadas, who, though Messenia possessed other ports, constructed the one at Mothone. Dotadas' son Sybotas introduced a custom that the king should sacrifice every year to the river Pamisus, and should sacrifice to Eurytus, son of Melaneus, as to a hero, in Oechalia before the celebration of the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, which were still held at Andania.

IV

1. In the time of Phintas, son of Sybotas, the Messenians for the first time sent a sacrifice and a chorus of men to Apollo at Delos. The hymn to the god sung by the procession was composed for the purpose by Eumelus, and this hymn is believed to be the only genuine poem of Eumelus in existence. It was also in the reign of Phintas that the first dispute with Lacedaemon took place. The cause of the dispute, about which, as usual, there are
2 differences of opinion, is said to have been this. 2. On the borders of Messenia there is a sanctuary of Artemis, who is here called the Lady of the Lake; and the only Dorians who shared the possession of the sanctuary were the Messenians and Lacedaemonians. The Lacedaemonians say that some of their maidens who went to the festival were violated by men of Messenia, who also killed the Lacedaemonian king Teleclus, son of Archelaus, son of Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Labotas, son of Echestratus, son of Agis, when he tried to prevent them. Further, they say
3 that the violated maidens destroyed themselves from shame. But the Messenians say that Teleclus, moved by the goodliness of the land of Messenia, plotted against the Messenians of highest rank who had gone to the sanctuary; that, in pursuance of his plot, he chose some beardless Spartan youths, dressed and decked them as girls, and giving them daggers introduced them to the Messenians who were taking their ease; that the Messenians in self-defence slew the beardless youths and Teleclus himself; and that the Lacedaemonians, conscious that they had been the aggressors (for the Government had been privy to the king's plot), did not demand reparation for the murder of Teleclus. These are the statements of both sides: a man may believe one or other according to the side he favours.

4 3. In the next generation the mutual hatred of Lacedaemon and Messenia came to a head. At Lacedaemon the king of the one house was Alcamenes, son of Teleclus, and the king of the other was Theopompus, son of Nicander, son of Charillus, son of Polydectes, son of Eunomus, son of Prytanis, son of Eurypon; while the kings of Messenia were Antiochus and Androcles, sons of Phintas. The Lacedaemonians began the war, for which, bent as they were on picking a quarrel, and resolved on war in any case, the occasion that offered itself was not only sufficient, but in the highest degree specious, although, if their temper had been more pacific, it might have been removed by arbitration. What happened was this. 4.
5 There was a man of Messenia called Polychares, a man of some mark, who had moreover gained a prize at Olympia in the fourth Olympiad, when the only contest was the short foot-

race. He had cows, but not grazing land enough to keep them. So he turned them over to a Spartan called Euaephnus, who was to feed them on his land and to get a share of the produce. But 6
Euaephnus, it should seem, was a man who cared more for ill-gotten gains than for honesty, and who was cunning withal; for he went and sold Polychares' cows to some merchants whose ship had put into Laconia. Then he hied to Polychares with tidings and said that some rovers had come ashore, overpowered him, and carried off both cows and cowherds. But just as he was trying to delude him, up comes one of the cowherds who had run away from the merchants, and finding Euaephnus with his master, he gives him the lie before Polychares. So the rogue was caught, and because he 7
could not deny it, he earnestly besought both Polychares and his son to forgive him, pleading that of all the motives in human nature which drive us into crime, the love of lucre is the most irresistible. He also acknowledged the price he had received for the cows, and desired that Polychares' son would go with him to fetch it. But when they were come on Laconian ground, Euaephnus did a worse deed than the first, for he slew Polychares' son. When 8
the father knew of this fresh wrong, he went to Lacedaemon and troubled the kings and the ephors, bitterly bewailing his boy, and reckoning up all the wrongs he had suffered at the hand of the man whom he had made his friend, and whom he had trusted above all the Lacedaemonians. But when he got no redress, though he went to the rulers continually, he was driven out of his mind, and being now reckless of his life, he wreaked his anger by murdering every Lacedaemonian that he caught.

V

1. So the Lacedaemonians say that they went to war because Polychares was not given up to them, and on account of the murder of Teleclus; moreover, their suspicions, they say, had been previously roused by the fraud of Cresphontes touching the lots. With regard to Teleclus the Messenians urge the counter-plea which I have mentioned, and they show that the sons of Aristodemus helped to restore Aepytus, son of Cresphontes, which they would never have done if they had been on bad terms with Cresphontes. As to Polychares, they say that they did not give him up to the 2
Lacedaemonians to punish, because neither did the Lacedaemonians give up Euaephnus to them; but they say that they were willing either to be tried by their common kinsmen, the Argives, in an assembly of the league, or to refer the case to the court of the 'Areopagus at Athens, because that court was believed to have tried cases of manslaughter from of old. They affirm, too, that the 3
Lacedaemonians did not go to war for the reasons alleged, but that

their designs on Messenia, like more of their doings, were prompted by sheer greed, casting up against them their insatiable encroachments on the territories both of Arcadia and Argos. They also reproach the Lacedaemonians with having been the first who, in consideration of presents received from him, made friends with the barbarian Croesus, after he had enslaved all the Greeks of Asia and
4 more especially the Dorians of the mainland of Caria. They show, too, that when the Phocian chiefs seized the sanctuary at Delphi, the kings and every man of rank at Sparta individually, and the board of ephors and the Senate collectively, got a share of the treasures of the god. And above all, to prove that the Lacedaemonians would stick at nothing in the pursuit of lucre, they twit them with the alliance which they formed with Apollodorus, the tyrant of Cassandria.
5 Why the Messenians think this last reproach so galling, it would be foreign to my subject to relate. The people of Cassandria suffered nearly as much as the Messenians, but there is nothing in the tyranny of Apollodorus to match the high spirit of the Messenians and the length of time during which they maintained the struggle. These, then, are the causes alleged by either people for the war.

6 2. A Lacedaemonian embassy now repaired to Messenia and demanded the surrender of Polychares. The Messenian kings answered the ambassadors that they would consult with the people and report their decision to Sparta. So when the embassy had taken its leave the kings convened an assembly of the burghers. Opinions were very much divided. Androcles was for surrendering Polychares as a criminal of the deepest dye. He was opposed by Antiochus, who insisted especially how pitiful it would be if Polychares should have to suffer under the eyes of Euaephnus, and he detailed all the
7 torments he would have to endure. At last the debate waxed so hot that both sides flew to arms. But the fight did not last long, for Antiochus' side far outnumbered Androcles' side, and soon knocked him and his chief supporters on the head. Antiochus now reigned alone, and sent to Sparta offering to leave the case to the courts I have mentioned. To the bearers of this letter the Lacedae-
8 monians are said to have vouchsafed no reply. 3. Not many months afterwards Antiochus died, and Euphaes, his son, reigned in his stead. The Lacedaemonians neither declared war on the Messenians by mouth of herald, nor openly renounced their friendship; but having made their preparations with the utmost possible secrecy, they began by swearing an oath that neither for the length of the war, if it should be protracted, nor for the calamities it might entail, great as these might be, would they swerve to the right hand or to the left till by their good swords they had made Messenia their own.
9 After taking this oath they marched out by night against Amphea: the command of the army was entrusted to Alcamenes, son of Teleclus. Amphea was a town in Messenia, on the borders of

Laconia: it was a small town, but stood on a high hill, and was supplied with copious springs of water; and in other respects it promised to be a suitable base of operations in the war. The gates were open and there was no garrison within the walls; so they carried the town, and slaughtered all the Messenians whom they caught in it, some in their beds, some in the sanctuaries and beside the altars, to which at the first alarm they had fled for refuge. There were few that escaped. 4. This was the first attack that the Lacedaemonians 10
made on Messenia: it befell in the second year of the ninth Olympiad, in which Xenodocus, a Messenian, won the foot-race. At that time the annual archons elected by lot did not yet exist at Athens; for at first the people only stript the descendants of Melanthus, the Medontids, as they were called, of most of their power, and transformed them from kings into responsible magistrates; but afterwards they also fixed a period of ten years as the term of their magistracy. At the time that Amphea was taken, Aesimides, son of Aeschylus, was archon at Athens, in the fifth year of his office.

VI

1. Before I write the history of the war, and of all that God had laid up for both sides to do or suffer in the course of it, I wish to determine the date of a Messenian hero. This war which the Lacedaemonians and their allies waged on the Messenians and their supporters, received its name of Messenian, not from the aggressors, like the Median and Peloponnesian wars, but from the suffering people, just as the war at Ilium came to be known as the Trojan, and not the Greek war. The history of this war of the Messenians was composed by Rhianus of Bene in epic verse, and by Myron of Priene in prose. Neither of these writers 2
composed a complete history of the war from beginning to end: each of them chose a special part. The narrative of Myron embraces the capture of Amphea and the subsequent events not later than the death of Aristodemus. Rhianus did not touch on this first war at all: what he did write was the history of the revolt of the Messenians from the Lacedaemonians, and not the whole of it, but only the events subsequent to the battle of the Great Trench, as the place was called. 2. The Messenian, for whose sake I have made 3
all this mention of Rhianus and Myron, is Aristomenes, the first and greatest glory of the Messenian name. Myron has introduced him into his prose history, and in the verses of Rhianus he shines out like Achilles in the *Iliad* of Homer. In view of this wide discrepancy between my authorities, nothing was left for me but to accept the one narrative and reject the other. Of the two writers, Rhianus appeared to me to take the more probable view as to the date of Aristomenes. The writings of Myron, on the other hand, reveal an 4

indifference to truth and probability which is best exemplified in his history of Messenia. For instance, he says that Theopompus, king of Lacedaemon, perished by the hand of Aristomenes shortly before the death of Aristodemus; whereas we know that Theopompus did not die before the conclusion of the war, neither in battle nor in his
5 bed. In fact, it was this very Theopompus who put an end to the war, as is proved by the elegiacs of Tyrtaeus:—

> To our God-beloved king Theopompus,
> Through whom we took spacious Messene.

Aristomenes, then, in my opinion, was contemporary with the second Messenian war, and I will narrate his history in due course.

6 3. When the Messenians heard of the fate of Amphea from the fugitives who had escaped from the sack, they came from their different towns and met in Stenyclerus. And when the people were gathered in assembly, first the nobles, and last of all the king, implored them not to be cast down at the fall of Amphea, as if by that the issue of the war were decided, and not to dread the military power of their enemies, as if it were superior to their own. It was true, he said, that the Lacedaemonians had been longer disciplined in the art of war; but a stronger necessity was laid on the Messenians to quit themselves like men; and the gods, he added, would surely look more kindly on blows struck, not in wanton aggression, but for home and country.

VII

1. Thus Euphaes spoke and broke up the assembly. From that day he kept the whole male population of Messenia under arms, compelling the untrained to learn, and the trained to practise more diligently than ever, the art of war. The Lacedaemonians made raids into Messenia, but, looking on the country as their own, they did not ravage it, nor fell trees, nor pull down houses; but any cattle that they fell in with they drove off, and they carried away the
2 corn and the fruits of the ground. They made assaults on the towns, but took none, for the walls were strong and the garrisons wary. So they had to fall back with nothing but hard knocks for their pains, till at last they left the towns alone. The Messenians, on their side, harried the coasts of Laconia and the farms about
3 Mount Taygetus. 2. But in the third year after the taking of Amphea, Euphaes, anxious to turn to account the passion of the Messenians, which was now wound up to the highest pitch of exasperation against the Lacedaemonians, and believing that his countrymen were now well enough disciplined, announced that he would take the field, and ordered even the slaves to follow with stakes and everything necessary for throwing up entrenchments. But the

Lacedaemonians got word from the garrison at Amphea that the Messenians were coming out; so they took the field also. Now 4
there was in Messenia a place that offered a fair field for a battle, but a deep glen ran along the front of it. Here Euphaes drew up the Messenians, and placed Cleonnis in command. The horse and light infantry, numbering together less than five hundred, were led by Pytharatus and Antander. When the armies advanced 5
to the encounter the foot rushed at each other with all the reckless fury of hate, but the glen was between them, and they could not close. Meantime the cavalry and light infantry skirmished above the glen, but being evenly matched in numbers and discipline, the fight was indecisive. While this engage- 6
ment was going on, Euphaes ordered the slaves to fortify, first the rear, and then both flanks of the army, with a stockade; and when darkness fell, and the combatants parted, he fortified also his front on the side of the glen. So at break of day the Lacedaemonians were struck by the foresight of Euphaes. They could not fight the Messenians, unless the latter sallied from their stockade; and they gave up all thought of besieging them, for which they were wholly unprepared.

3. So they went home. But next year, stung by the taunts of 7
the old men, who twitted them with cowardice and with forgetting their oath, they, for the second time, openly marched against the Messenians. They were led by both the kings, Theopompus, son of Nicander, and Polydorus, son of Alcamenes; for Alcamenes himself was no more. The Messenians sat down opposite them, and when the Spartans offered battle the Messenians drew out to meet them. The Lacedaemonian left was led by Polydorus, the right by Theo- 8
pompus, and the centre was commanded by Euryleon, a Lacedaemonian of Theban descent, sprung of the line of Cadmus; for he was the fourth descendant of Aegeus, son of Oeolycus, son of Theras, son of Autesion. On the Messenian side Antander and Euphaes faced the Lacedaemonian right: the other wing, facing Polydorus, was under Pytharatus, and the centre under Cleonnis. 4. Just as they 9
were about to engage, the kings passed along the ranks encouraging their men. The exhortation which Theopompus addressed to the Lacedaemonians was, according to Lacedaemonian custom, brief: he reminded them of the oath they had sworn against the Messenians, and how noble an ambition it was to outdo the glory of their fathers, who had conquered the neighbouring peoples, and to win a wealthier land. The address of Euphaes, though longer, was not more so than he perceived the occasion warranted. He showed 10
that they were not about to fight for land or goods alone: they well knew, he said, the consequences of defeat; their wives and children would be dragged into slavery; death without torture would be the least that could befall the men; their sanctuaries would be

pillaged, and the homes of their fathers given to the flames. These, he said, were no mere conjectures; there was proof patent to all in the doom of their friends who had fallen into the enemy's
11 hands at Amphea. Death with honour, he said, was better than evils like these, and it was far easier now, while they were still unconquered, to meet and vanquish the foe with a courage as high as his own than, disheartened and dejected, to retrieve defeat. Thus Euphaes spoke.

VIII

1. The generals on both sides gave the word, and the Messenians advanced on the Lacedaemonians at a run. They exposed themselves recklessly as those who desired death, and every man panted to strike the first blow. The Lacedaemonians came on to meet them bravely too, but were careful not to break their line.
2 When the armies were near they threatened each other, brandishing their weapons and glaring fiercely at the foe. They broke, too, into taunts and jeers. The Lacedaemonians stigmatised the Messenians as slaves already, who were no more free than the Helots; while the Messenians upbraided the Lacedaemonians with their wickedness in attacking men of the same blood out of simple greed, and reproached them with impiety towards the gods of the Dorians, especially towards Hercules. But now, even while they flouted, they began to get to work, charging home in serried masses, especially the
3 Lacedaemonians, and man attacking man. In numbers, as well as in discipline and experience, the Lacedaemonians were much superior; for the troops of the neighbouring and now subject peoples followed them to the war; and the Dryopians of Asine, who had been expelled from their country by the Argives a generation before, and had thrown themselves on the protection of Lacedaemon, were also obliged to serve in the ranks; and to meet the Messenian light infantry the Lacedaemonians had taken Cretan bowmen into
4 their pay. These advantages were balanced on the side of the Messenians by desperation and the contempt of death: their sufferings seemed to them light afflictions demanded by their country's honour; and by a natural exaggeration they magnified the weight of every blow they struck and its fatal effect on the enemy. Some burst forward from the ranks and signalised themselves by deeds of splendid valour: others, wounded to death, still with their last
5 breath retained their proud and defiant spirit unbroken. They cheered each other on; the unwounded inciting the wounded not tamely to await the last necessity, but to give back blow for blow, and thus joyously accept their fate; and the wounded, when they felt their strength ebbing and their breath failing, would exhort the unwounded to be good men and true like themselves, and not to let

the blood of their comrades be shed in vain for their country. At 6
first the Lacedaemonians abstained from mutual exhortation, and were not so forward as the Messenians to display extraordinary feats of valour; but being trained to arms from their childhood they employed a deeper formation, and trusted to time to wear out the endurance, and to fatigue and wounds to exhaust the spirit, of their adversaries. 2. Such were the different tactics and the different 7
feelings on the one side and on the other. But both sides were alike in this, that no quarter was asked for, either by prayers or promises—sometimes, perhaps, because they despaired of receiving it at the hands of an implacable foe, but oftener because they disdained to tarnish the laurels they had won. Both sides, too, were alike in the silence with which the slayers did their work: no boast, no taunt escaped them, for neither side could as yet indulge in assured hopes of victory. But the most unlooked-for death of all was that of those who attempted to spoil the fallen; for in doing so they either exposed an unguarded part of their person to the stroke of javelin or sword, which they were too busy to foresee, or the men they attempted to spoil were still in life and despatched their spoilers. 3. The prowess of the kings was also remarkable. Theopompus 8
rushed furiously at Euphaes to take his life. Seeing him coming on, Euphaes remarked to Antander that the conduct of Theopompus did not differ from the desperate adventure of his ancestor Polynices; for Polynices, he said, had led an army from Argos against his native country, had slain his brother with his own hand, and had by him been slain; and Theopompus wished to plunge the race of the Heraclids as deep in guilt as the descendants of Laius and Oedipus, but at least he would give Theopompus cause to rue that day. So saying, he advanced to meet him. With that, the battle, 9
despite the weariness of the combatants, burst out again with the utmost fury; fresh vigour nerved the arms and steeled the hearts of either side, so that a spectator might have thought the combat just beginning. At last, by valour combined with an excess of fury that bordered on frenzy, for the king's division was composed of the picked Messenian troops, Euphaes and his men overpowered their antagonists, forced back Theopompus, and routed the Lacedaemonians who were opposed to them. But the other Messenian 10
wing was hard pressed. For their general Pytharatus was dead, and the want of a commander, while it did not damp their courage, impaired their discipline. Neither Polydorus on the one side, nor Euphaes on the other, pursued the flying enemy. Euphaes preferred to succour his beaten countrymen. He did not, however, engage the division of Polydorus; for it was now dark, and the 11
Lacedaemonians were prevented, chiefly by their ignorance of the ground, from pressing the pursuit of the retiring foe. Besides, it was part of their traditional tactics to be slow in pursuit; for they

thought more of not weakening their formation than of cutting up the fugitives. In the centre, where Euryleon commanded on the Lacedaemonian, and Cleonnis on the Messenian side, the battle was indecisive; but here, too, the fall of night parted the combatants.

12 4. In this battle the whole, or at least the brunt of the fighting, fell on the heavy infantry of both sides. The cavalry were few in number, and they effected nothing worth speaking of; for the Peloponnesians were not good riders in those days. The light troops on the side of the Messenians and the Cretan archers on the side of the Lacedaemonians were not engaged at all, since, in accordance with the ancient practice still observed in those days, 13 they were drawn up in the rear of the heavy infantry. Next morning neither side thought of renewing the battle nor of being the first to erect a trophy; but as the day wore on, heralds passed between them to arrange for the burial of the dead, and this being mutually granted, they proceeded to inter them.

IX

1. After this battle the Messenians began to find themselves in evil case. They were exhausted by the expense of maintaining the garrisons in the towns, and their slaves deserted to the Lacedaemonians. Sickness, too, broke out among them, and being of the nature of the plague, it spread confusion and alarm, though it did not attack the whole population. In these circumstances it was resolved to abandon all of the numerous inland towns, and to settle 2 on Mount Ithome. There was already a small town there which they say is mentioned by Homer in the Catalogue:—

> And ladder-like Ithome.

To this town they moved up, and in it they settled, extending the ancient circuit so as to afford a sufficient protection to all. The place was naturally strong; for Ithome is as high as any mountain in Peloponnese, and at this side it was especially inaccessible.

3 2. They resolved also to send a sacred envoy to Delphi. So they despatched Tisis, son of Alcis, because he was a man of the first quality, and was believed to be a great adept in divination. On his way back from Delphi he fell into an ambush which was laid for him by some Lacedaemonian soldiers belonging to the garrison of Amphea. As he would not submit to be taken prisoner, but stood on his defence, his enemies wounded him till a voice from the unseen 4 cried to them, 'Let go the bearer of the oracle.' Tisis reached Ithome and reported the oracle to the king, and not long afterwards he died of his wounds. But Euphaes assembled the Messenians and laid the oracle before them:—

A spotless maiden to the gods below,
Chosen by lot, of the blood of the Aepytids,
Shall ye sacrifice in nocturnal slaughter.
But if ye are balked, then take a daughter of another race
And sacrifice her, if her sire give her freely to be slain.

3. After this declaration of the god, all the maidens of the race of 5
the Aepytids cast lots, and the lot fell on the daughter of Lyciscus.
But the soothsayer Epebolis forbade that she should be sacrificed;
for he said that she was not the daughter of Lyciscus, but a supposi-
titious child foisted on him by his barren wife. While he was
unfolding the girl's history, Lyciscus deserted to Sparta, taking the
girl with him. 4. In the midst of the gloom which the news of his 6
flight spread among the Messenians, Aristodemus freely offered his
daughter as a victim. He was one of the race of the Aepytids, and
more distinguished than Lyciscus both in peace and war. But
the affairs and especially the purposes of man are hidden by Fate as
a pebble is hidden by the slime of a river. Thus when Aristodemus
had set his heart on saving Messenia, fate interposed the following
obstacle. 5. There was a man of Messenia (his name is not told) 7
who loved the daughter of Aristodemus, and was just about to make
her his wife. He at first argued with Aristodemus that by betrothing
his daughter he had relinquished his rights over her, and that these
rights had now vested in himself as her betrothed husband.
But, seeing that this had no effect, he resorted to an impudent
device, declaring that the girl was with child by him. At last 8
he worked up Aristodemus so far that in a frenzy of passion
he killed his daughter; then he cut her open and showed that she
was not with child. Epebolus, who was present, desired that some
one else should offer his daughter; for the death of the daughter of
Aristodemus, he said, profited them nothing, seeing that her father
had murdered her instead of sacrificing her to the gods, to whom the
Pythian priestess had commanded that sacrifice should be made.
At these words of the soothsayer the crowd rushed upon the girl's 9
suitor to kill him, because they thought he had stained Aristodemus
with needless guilt, and jeopardised their own chance of safety. But
he was a great friend of Euphaes, and Euphaes persuaded the
Messenians that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of the girl, and
that what Aristodemus had done was enough. All the men of the 10
Aepytid race protested that he spoke the truth; for every one of
them was anxious to save his daughter from the peril in which she
stood. So the people hearkened to the king's advice, broke up the
assembly, and betook themselves to sacrifice and feasting.

X

1. When the Lacedaemonians heard of the oracle that had been vouchsafed to the Messenians, they were cast down, they and their kings, and they shrank especially from beginning hostilities. But in the fifth year after the escape of Lyciscus from Ithome, the sacrifices were favourable, and they marched against Ithome; the Cretans, however, were no longer with them. The allies of the Messenians were also late. The Spartans had already incurred the suspicions of many of the Peloponnesians, especially of the Arcadians and Argives. The Argives, unknown to the Lacedaemonians, intended to come to the help of the Messenians, but as private volunteers only: the State took no public action. The Arcadians had openly proclaimed war, but neither had their forces as yet come up. For on the strength of the oracle the Messenians were ready to brave
2 the danger single-handed. 2. On the whole the fight went much as before; and again the daylight failed before the battle was over. It is not, however, recorded that a wing or even a regiment on either side gave way. Indeed, without observing their original formations, the bravest on both sides met in the middle and there the struggle was
3 hottest. Euphaes, with more than kingly ardour, pressed recklessly on the division of Theopompus. Receiving many fatal wounds, he fainted and fell, but still breathed. The Lacedaemonians strove to drag him into their ranks. But their love of Euphaes and the fear of shame roused the Messenians; and they deemed it better to shed their blood and sacrifice their lives in defence of their king than to
4 save themselves by abandoning him. 3. The fall of Euphaes prolonged the fight, and nerved both sides to more desperate feats of arms. He revived to learn that the battle was not lost, and died a few days afterwards. He had reigned thirteen years, during the whole of which he had been at war with the Lacedaemonians. 4.
5 Being childless, he had bequeathed the throne to a successor to be elected by the people. The claim of Aristodemus was disputed by Cleonnis and Damis, who were esteemed better men and better soldiers. Antander had been killed in the battle fighting in defence of Euphaes. The soothsayers, Epebolus and Ophioneus, were unanimously against bestowing the honours of the line of Aepytus on a man who had imbrued his hands in his own daughter's
6 blood. Nevertheless, Aristodemus was elected and reigned. The Messenian soothsayer, Ophioneus, was blind from his birth, and possessed a gift of prophecy by virtue of which, on learning the circumstances of individuals or of states, he predicted the future. That was his manner of prophesying. After coming to the throne, Aristodemus exerted himself steadily to gratify the commons in all that was reasonable: he treated the nobility with respect, especially

Cleonnis and Damis; and he was studiously attentive to the allies, sending gifts to the most influential of the Arcadians, as well as to Argos and Sicyon. In his reign hostilities were confined to a 7
ceaseless guerrilla warfare and to forays at harvest-time. In their raids into Laconia the Messenians were joined by the Arcadians; and though the Argives did not choose to reveal their hatred of the Lacedaemonians prematurely, they prepared to take part in the war as soon as it should break out.

XI

1. In the fifth year of the reign of Aristodemus, both sides, worn out by the length and costliness of the war, gave notice that they would fight a pitched battle; so they were joined by their allies. The only Peloponnesian people who joined the Lacedaemonians were the Corinthians; but the Messenians were reinforced by the whole Arcadian levies and by picked Argive and Sicyonian troops. The Lacedaemonians entrusted their centre to the Corinthians, the Helots, and the contingents of the vassal states, while they posted themselves under their kings on either wing: their formation was deeper and closer than it had ever been before. On 2
the other side Aristodemus' order of battle was as follows. Such of the Arcadians and Messenians as, though strong and brave, were poorly armed he furnished with the best arms he could get, and then, since time was pressing, drew them up in line with the Argives and Sicyonians. His line of battle he made long and thin, that it might not be surrounded by the enemy; and he also took care that its rear should rest on Mount Ithome. Committing the 3
command of it to Cleonnis, he himself remained behind with Damis and the light troops. These troops included a few slingers or archers, but the mass of them, by the lightness of their equipment and by their personal activity, were equally adapted to advance or retreat. Each man had a corselet or shield, or, lacking these, he wore a garment of goatskin or sheepskin: some were clad in the skins of wild beasts, wolfskins and bearskins being especially worn by the highlanders of Arcadia. Each carried a 4
bundle of darts, and some of them spears as well. 2. These troops remained in ambush in a place on Mount Ithome, which afforded the best concealment. Meanwhile the heavy infantry of the Messenians and their allies withstood the first onset of the Lacedaemonians and quitted themselves like men. They were outnumbered by the enemy; but on the other hand they were picked troops fighting against militia, and thus by their combined resolution and skill they were able to prolong the conflict. And now the signal was given, and the Messenian light troops 5
came on at a run, and surrounding the Lacedaemonians, poured in

a shower of javelins on their flanks, while the bolder spirits ran in and stabbed them at close quarters. Confronted with this second and unlooked-for danger the Lacedaemonians did not quail, but faced towards the skirmishers and endeavoured to repel them. But the ease with which these light troops retired embarrassed the
6 Lacedaemonians, and their embarrassment enraged them. Now nothing is so calculated to put a man beside himself as an indignity. So on the present occasion, the Spartan wounded, and the men who, in consequence of the gaps in the ranks, were exposed to the charge of the skirmishers, rushed out to meet them whenever they saw them coming on, and, their blood being up, pursued the retreating foe to a distance. The Messenian light troops adhered to their tactics: when the enemy stood still they stabbed and shot at him; when he pursued, they fled faster than he could follow; and
7 when he tried to fall back, they came on again. This they did dispersedly, at different points of the enemy's line; and meanwhile their heavy infantry pressed the foe in their front with renewed courage. 3. At last, exhausted by wounds and the length of the struggle, as well as disordered by the unaccustomed attack of the light troops, the Lacedaemonians broke their ranks. In the rout
8 they suffered still more severely from the light troops. Their exact losses in the field it was impossible to ascertain, but I am persuaded that they were heavy. While the retreat of the rest to their homes was unmolested, that of the Corinthians must have been difficult; for whether they attempted to return through Argolis or by Sicyon, their march lay through an enemy's land.

XII

1. Smarting under a defeat which had cost them so many precious lives, the Lacedaemonians began to despair of the issue of the war. Therefore they sent sacred envoys to Delphi, to whom the Pythian priestess gave the following oracle:—

Phoebus bids thee not to fight with the sword only.
By guile a people holds the Messenian land,
And they will be caught by the very devices which they were the first to use.

2 The kings and the ephors laid their heads together, but, with all the will in the world to devise devices, they could think of nothing better than to copy the Trojan trick of Ulysses. So they sent a hundred men to Ithome. These men pretended to be deserters, and a public sentence of banishment was pronounced on them, but really they were in the plot. No sooner, however, had they come than they were sent to the right-about by Aristodemus, who observed that, though the iniquities of the Lacedaemonians were novel, their

stratagems were stale. 2. Foiled in this attempt, the Lacedaemonians 3
next endeavoured to break up the Messenian confederacy. The envoys went first to Arcadia, but as their overtures were rejected there, they spared themselves the journey to Argos. 3. Being informed of the Lacedaemonian intrigues, Aristodemus in his turn sent envoys to inquire of the god. The Pythian priestess made them answer:—

God gives thee glory in war; but beware lest by deceit 4
The treacherous, hateful ambush of Sparta should ascend
The well-built walls; for their war god is the mightier.
And the strong coronal of towers shall have cruel inhabitants,
When the two shall have started up together from their hidden ambush.
But the sacred day shall not behold this consummation
Before destiny overtake the things which changed their nature.

At the time Aristodemus and the soothsayers were at a loss to guess the meaning; but not many years were to pass before the god unfolded and accomplished the oracle.

4. Another thing that befell the Messenians at this time was as 5
follows. While Lyciscus dwelt as a stranger at Sparta, the daughter died whom he had taken with him on his flight from Messene. Going often to visit her tomb, he was waylaid and captured by some Arcadian horsemen, and being carried to Ithome and brought before the national assembly, he maintained in his defence that in retiring from Messenia he had not deserted his country, but only yielded credence to the assertion of the soothsayer that the girl was not his true-born daughter. This defence was not believed till the 6
woman who then held the priesthood of Hera presented herself in the theatre. This woman confessed that she was the mother of the girl, and had given it to the wife of Lyciscus to palm off as her own. 'But now,' said she, 'I am come to reveal the secret and to lay down the priesthood.' This she said, because it was the custom in Messenia that if the child of a priestess or priest died before her or him the priesthood should pass to another. The people believed the woman; so they chose a priestess in her stead, and admitted that the conduct of Lyciscus had been excusable.

5. After that, the twentieth year of the war now drawing on, 7
they resolved to send again to Delphi to inquire about victory. To the inquiry of the envoys the Pythian priestess answered:—

To those who first set up about the altar to Zeus of Ithome
Twice five times ten tripods, fortune gives
The Messenian land with glory in war.
For thus Zeus willed. Deceit advanced thee,
But there is retribution hereafter, and thou canst not deceive God.
Do as fate directs. But ruin falls on some before others.

When they heard this, they deemed that the oracle was in their 8

favour, and gave them the victory in the war; for so long as they had the sanctuary of the god of Ithome within their walls, they fancied that the Lacedaemonians could not anticipate them in setting up tripods. They intended to make tripods of wood; for they had not money enough left to make them of bronze. 6. But one of the Delphians reported the oracle to Sparta. On receiving the information the Spartans called a council, but
9 could hit on no plan. However Oebalus, a man of no mark, but a shrewd fellow, as his conduct proved, made a hundred tripods of clay, the first material that came to hand, and hiding them in a bag, he shouldered the bag and some nets as well, as if he were a huntsman. Being unknown to most even of his countrymen, it was the easier for him to pass undetected among the Messenians. He joined some peasants, and in their company entered Ithome; and as soon as night fell he set up these clay tripods to the god, and
10 then returned to Sparta to tell the Lacedaemonians. The sight of the tripods threw the Messenians into great consternation, and they guessed rightly that they came from the Lacedaemonians. However, Aristodemus comforted them as best he could in the circumstances, and as the wooden tripods were already made, he set them up round the altar of the god of Ithome. 7. It happened, too, that Ophioneus, the seer who had been blind from his birth, received his sight in a most marvellous way: he was seized with a violent headache, and after it his eyes were opened.

XIII

1. After that, the balance of fate beginning to incline against the Messenians, God showed forth to them by signs and wonders the things that should come to pass. For the image of Artemis, which with its arms was all of bronze, let fall its shield; and when Aristodemus was about to sacrifice to Zeus of Ithome, the rams that were to be offered dashed their horns against the altar and expired from the shock. Yet a third sign was given them: every night the dogs gathered on the same spot and howled, and at last the whole pack
2 went over to the Lacedaemonian camp. These things troubled Aristodemus, and a vision of the night dismayed him. It was on this wise. He thought he was about to go forth to battle and had donned his armour. On the altar before him lay the entrails of the victims. Anon his daughter appeared to him, clad in a sable robe, her mangled breast and belly bared. She dashed the entrails from the altar, she stript him of his arms, and in their stead she put a
3 golden crown on his head and arrayed him in a white mantle. In his mood of gloom and despondency it seemed to Aristodemus that the dream foreboded his death. For it was a custom with the Messenians to crown their illustrious dead and clothe them in white

raiment when they carried them to the grave. While he pondered, there comes one to him with tidings that the soothsayer Ophioneus saw no longer, but was of a sudden struck blind, even as he had been in the beginning. So Aristodemus understood the meaning of the oracle, that by 'the two coming out of their ambush and returning again to their fate' the Pythian priestess had meant the eyes of Ophioneus. 2. Then, bethinking him of himself and his affairs, 4
how he had murdered his daughter all in vain, and seeing no hope of safety left for his country, he slew himself on his child's grave. All that human foresight could do he had done to save Messenia, but fortune brought to naught both his deeds and his counsels. He died after a reign of six years and a few months. Despair seized 5
the Messenians, and they even thought of sending a suppliant embassy to the Lacedaemonians, so utterly were they broken by the death of Aristodemus. 3. Pride, however, held them back from taking this step, and at a national assembly they chose no king, but appointed Damis general with absolute powers. He associated Cleonnis and Phyleus with himself in the command, and made ready even in their present straits to give battle. For he was driven to it by the state of siege, especially by the famine, which threatened to anticipate the sword of the enemy. Once more the Messenians 6
were not inferior to their adversaries in valour and daring, but their generals perished to a man, and with them all the men of most mark. 4. After that they held out for about five months, but towards the end of the year they abandoned Ithome, having maintained the war for twenty years, as the poet Tyrtaeus says :—

> But in the twentieth left they the fat fields,
> And fled from the mighty Ithomian mountains.

5. This war came to an end in the first year of the fourteenth 7
Olympiad, in which Dasmon of Corinth won the foot-race, while the Medontids still held the ten years' archonship at Athens, and when Hippomanes had completed the fourth year of his office.

XIV

1. All the Messenians who had friends at Sicyon, Argos, and Arcadia, withdrew to these states, and the priestly race who were charged with the celebration of the orgies of the Great Goddesses withdrew to Eleusis; but the bulk of the common people were scattered each to his old home. 2. The Lacedaemonians first razed 2
Ithome to the ground, and then took the other cities one after the other. Out of the spoils they dedicated bronze tripods to the Amyclaean god: under the first tripod stands an image of Aphrodite; under the second, an image of Artemis; under the third, an image of the Maid, the daughter of Demeter. These they dedicated there. But 3

of the land of Messenia they gave to the Asinaeans, who had been expelled by the Argives, the district beside the sea which the Asinaeans still possess; and to the descendants of Androcles (for Androcles had a daughter, and she had children, who on the death of Androcles
4 fled to Sparta) they assigned the district called Hyamia. 3. What they did to the Messenian people was this. In the first place, they made them swear that they would never revolt nor commit any other seditious act. In the second place, though no fixed tax was laid on them, they had to bring to Sparta the half of the produce of their farms. It was also stipulated that at the funerals of the Spartan kings and nobles, men and women should come from Messenia dressed in black; and a penalty was imposed for transgressions of
5 the rule. Tyrtaeus refers in some verses to the despiteful punishments which the Lacedaemonians inflicted on the Messenians:—

> Like asses galled with heavy loads,
> To their masters bringing by doleful necessity
> Half of all the fruit that the tilled land yields.

That they were also obliged to join in mourning is shown by the following passage:—

> Themselves and their wives alike bewailing their masters,
> Whene'er death's baneful lot has fallen on any.

6 4. In these circumstances the Messenians, seeing no hope of mercy from the Lacedaemonians in the future, and thinking that death in battle or exile from Peloponnese would be preferable to their present lot, resolved to revolt at all hazards. To this step they were urged especially by the younger generation, men who had never seen war, but clear spirits who would rather die in a free country
7 than live at ease, if that were possible, in slavery. 5. Of the new generation that had grown up in Messenia, the youth of Andania were at once the most numerous and the flower, and amongst them was Aristomenes, who is still worshipped as a hero by the Messenians. They think that even the circumstances of his birth were above the common; for his mother Nicotelea, they say, was visited by a demon or a god in the likeness of a serpent. A like tale is told, I am aware, about Olympias by the Macedonians, and about Aristodama by the
8 Sicyonians, but with a difference. For the Messenians do not father Aristomenes on Hercules or Zeus, as the Macedonians father Alexander on Ammon, and as the Sicyonians father Aratus on Aesculapius. Most of the Greeks say that the sire of Aristomenes was Pyrrhus, but I know that at the libations the Messenians themselves call him Aristomenes, son of Nicomedes. So he, in the heyday of youth and spirit, with other men of rank, stirred up the people to revolt. The movement was at first kept secret, and

messengers were sent by stealth to Argos and to the Arcadians, to ask whether they would be willing to stand by Messenia unflinchingly and as stoutly as in the former war.

XV

1. When all the preparations for the war were made, and the allies showed themselves heartier than had been expected, for the hatred of the Argives and Arcadians for the Lacedaemonians was now kindled into a flame, the Messenians revolted in the thirty-eighth year after the taking of Ithome, it being the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad, in which Icarus of Hyperesia won the foot-race. At Athens the annual archons were already instituted, and Tlesias was the archon. As to the Lacedaemonian kings at the 2
time, Tyrtaeus does not mention their names, but Rhianus in his epic represents Leotychides as king at the time of this war. In this I cannot possibly agree with him. And though Tyrtaeus does not name, yet he may be supposed to indicate the kings in the following passage. He has these verses on the former war:—

> About it they fought nineteen years
> Ceaselessly, ever keeping up a patient spirit,
> They the spearmen, our fathers' fathers.

Clearly, then, this war was fought in the second generation after the 3
first war, and chronology shows that the kings then reigning in Sparta were, of the one house, Anaxander, son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus; and of the other house, Anaxidamus, son of Zeuxidamus, son of Archidamus, son of Theopompus. I have carried the reckoning down to the third descendant of Theopompus, because Archidamus, son of Theopompus, died before his father, and the throne of Theopompus devolved on his son's son Zeuxidamus. But Leotychides is known to have reigned after Demaratus, son of Aristo, and Aristo was the sixth descendant of Theopompus.

2. In the first year after the revolt the Messenians encountered 4
the Lacedaemonians at a place in Messenia called Derae. Both sides were without their allies. The result was indecisive, but they say that Aristomenes displayed such prodigies of valour, that after the battle the Messenians were for electing him king, he being of the race of the Aepytids; but he deprecated the honour, so they elected him general with absolute powers. To win glory in battle by 5
the sacrifice of life was, in the opinion of Aristomenes, what any man would be ready to do; but for himself, he considered it above all incumbent on him to strike fear into the Lacedaemonians at the opening of the war, and thus make himself a terror to them for the future. In this frame of mind he went by night to Lacedaemon, and set up against the temple of the Goddess of the Brazen House

a shield with the inscription: 'Presented by Aristomenes to the goddess from Spartan spoils.'

6 3. Now the Lacedaemonians received an oracle from Delphi, bidding them take the Athenian to be their counsellor. Accordingly they sent to the Athenians to report the oracle, and begging for a man who should advise them what to do. The Athenians, reluctant to disobey the god, and yet unwilling that the Lacedaemonians should acquire the best portion of Peloponnese without any serious risk, had recourse to artifice. There was one Tyrtaeus, a schoolmaster, generally thought to be a poor-witted creature, and lame of one leg; so they sent him to Sparta. When he was come, he sang elegiacs and likewise anapaests to the great folk in private, and he gathered the common folk about him and sang to them too.

7 4. But a year after the battle of Derae, both sides being reinforced by their allies, they prepared to join battle at a place called the Boar's Grave. With the Messenians were the Eleans and Arcadians, and contingents had arrived from Argos and Sicyon. With them, too, were the Messenians who had withdrawn into exile, and the hereditary celebrants of the orgies of the Great Goddesses, who had come back from Eleusis, and the descendants of Androcles;

8 for these last were especially zealous in the Messenian cause. The Lacedaemonians were joined by the Corinthians, and some of the people of Lepreum came out of hatred to the Eleans. The Asinaeans were bound by oaths to both sides. The place called the Boar's Grave is at Stenyclerus in Messenia, and they say that Hercules there exchanged oaths with the sons of Neleus over the pieces of a boar.

XVI

1. Before the battle the seers on both sides offered sacrifice. The Lacedaemonian seer was Hecas, a descendant and namesake of the Hecas who had gone to Sparta with the sons of Aristodemus. The Messenian seer was Theoclus, a descendant of Eumantis. This Eumantis was an Elean, one of the family of the Iamids, and had been brought to Messenia by Cresphontes. The presence of their seers fired both sides with fresh ardour for the fray.

2 Amid this general enthusiasm, in which every man partook according to his age and vigour, the foremost were the Lacedaemonian king Anaxander and his Spartans; while on the Messenian side Phintas and Androcles, the descendants of Androcles, and their division strove to play the men. Tyrtaeus and the high priests of the Great Goddesses took no part in the fray,

3 but stirred up the hindmost of their respective sides. 2. With regard to Aristomenes, he had about him eighty picked Messenians of his own age, every one of whom reckoned it the highest honour to

be thought worthy of fighting at his side. They were quick, too, to observe each other's movements, especially their leader's, whose actions they even anticipated. Aristomenes and they bore the first brunt of battle, being confronted by the crack Lacedaemonian troops under Anaxander. Reckless of wounds, and wrought to the highest pitch of fury, they routed Anaxander's division by their combined endurance and dash. Ordering another Messenian 4
regiment to pursue the fugitives, Aristomenes charged in person where the enemy was making the best stand, drove them before him, and then turned on others. Having beaten these also, it was easier for him to attack the troops that still stood their ground, and this he did till he had broken the whole Lacedaemonian line, Spartans and allies alike. Lost to honour they fled without waiting for each other, and he hung on their rear striking more terror than it would seem possible that a single man could inspire. But 5
there was a wild pear-tree growing on the plain, and the seer Theoclus bade him not to pass it; for he said that the Dioscuri were sitting on the tree. But Aristomenes, hurried away by his passion, did not listen to all that the seer said, and when he came to the pear-tree he lost his shield. His error allowed a portion of the routed army to escape, for he lost time in trying to find his shield.

3. This defeat discouraged the Lacedaemonians, and they desired 6
to make peace. But Tyrtaeus did what he could to change their resolution by singing his verses, and he enrolled Helots in the regiments to replace the fallen. 4. When Aristomenes returned to Andania the women threw ribbons and fresh flowers on him, and recited in his honour a song which is sung to this day:—

To the midst of the Stenyclerian plain and to the top of the mountain
Aristomenes followed the Lacedaemonians.

He also recovered his lost shield, after going to Delphi, and then, 7
as the Pythian priestess bade him, descending into the shrine of Trophonius at Lebadea. Afterwards he took the shield to Lebadea and dedicated it there, where I saw it suspended myself: the blazon on it is an eagle whose outstretched wings touch the rim of the shield on either side. 5. On his return from Boeotia, after learning from Trophonius where the shield was, and also recovering it, he immediately set about still greater enterprises. He collected a body 8
of Messenian troops, and taking with them his own picked corps, he waited for nightfall, and then approached a city of Laconia, the ancient name of which was Pharis, as it also appears in Homer's Catalogue, but which the Spartans and the neighbours call Pharae. Having reached it he cut to pieces those who attempted to resist, seized some cattle, and drove them off to Messenia. On the road he was attacked by a force of heavy Lacedaemonian infantry under

King Anaxander, but he routed them. He would fain have pursued Anaxander, but being wounded with a javelin in the buttocks he had to stay his pursuit. However, he was not despoiled of the cattle
9 which he was driving off. After an interval long enough to allow his wound to heal, he attempted to make an entrance by night into Sparta itself, but phantoms of Helen and the Dioscuri turned him back. However, he waylaid by day the maidens who were dancing at Caryae in honour of Artemis, and seizing the wealthiest and noblest of their number, carried them off to a village in Messenia, where he rested for the night, committing the charge of the maidens
10 to some men of the regiment. But flown with wine, I suppose, and lust, the young men attempted to violate the maidens. Aristomenes tried to prevent a deed so repugnant to Greek manners, but they paid no heed to him; so he was forced to kill the most riotous of them. The captives were ransomed for large sums, and left his hands, as they entered them, maidens.

XVII

1. There is a place Aegila in Laconia, the seat of a holy sanctuary of Demeter. Aristomenes and his men, knowing that the women were celebrating a feast there. . . . But the women being inspired by the goddess to resist, most of the Messenians were wounded by the knives with which the women were sacrificing the victims, and by the spits on which they roasted the flesh. Aristomenes received blows from their torches and was taken alive. However, that same night he escaped to Messenia. Archidamea, priestess of Demeter, was accused of having released him. She released him, not for a bribe, but because she had been in love with him before. The excuse she made was that Aristomenes had burned through the cords that bound him and so made his escape.

2 2. In the third year of the war the Messenians were reinforced by troops from all the cities in Arcadia. But when a battle was imminent at the place called the Great Trench, the Lacedaemonians corrupted by a bribe Aristocrates, son of Hicetas, the Trapezuntian, the king and general for the time being of the Arcadians. The Lacedaemonians were the first we know of who bribed an enemy, and the first who made victory in war a saleable commodity.
3 Before they misconducted themselves in the Messenian war by procuring the treachery of Aristocrates the Arcadian, battles were decided by valour and the will of God. It is known that in later times also, when they lay at anchor opposite to the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, the Lacedaemonians bought Adimantus and other
4 Athenian generals. 3. In course of time, however, they were themselves visited by what is called the retribution of Neoptolemus. For Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, slew Priam at the altar of the

God of the Courtyard, and by a notable coincidence he was himself slaughtered at Delphi beside the altar of Apollo. Hence to be treated as one has treated others is called the retribution of Neoptolemus. Accordingly, at the height of their prosperity, when they 5
had destroyed the Athenian navy, and when Agesilaus had subdued the greater part of Asia, the Lacedaemonians were unable to wrest the whole of his empire from the Mede; for the barbarian circumvented them by their own device by sending moneys to Corinth, Argos, Athens, and Thebes. By these moneys the Corinthian war was kindled; and thus Agesilaus was compelled to abandon the operations in Asia. So the stratagem which the Lacedaemonians 6
employed against the Messenians was destined by Providence to be turned with disastrous effect against themselves.

4. But when Aristocrates had received the money from Lacedaemon, he concealed for the present from the Arcadians the treachery he meditated; but just as the engagement was about to begin, he alarmed them by informing them that they were caught in a disadvantageous position, from which, in case of a reverse, there could be no retreat; and he added that the sacrificial omens had not been what they could wish. He therefore gave orders that at a signal from him every man should take to flight. When the Lace- 7
daemonians were advancing to the encounter, and the attention of the Messenians was turned on the enemy in their front, at the very beginning of the battle Aristocrates led off the Arcadians, and thus the Messenian left wing and centre were left blank; for in the absence of the Eleans, the Argives, and the Sicyonians, both these positions were occupied by the Arcadians. But Aristocrates did more than this: he directed his flight through the Messenian lines. The 8
unexpectedness of this movement so bewildered, and the passage of the Arcadians through their ranks so disordered the Messenians, that most of them nearly forgot the business in hand; and instead of looking at the Lacedaemonians, now charging down on them, they stared at the fleeing Arcadians, some of them imploring the retreating troops to stand by them, others reviling them as traitors and villains. 5. The Messenians being thus left alone, it 9
was not difficult for the Lacedaemonians to surround them, and never was a victory won with more ease or less trouble. Aristomenes and his men, indeed, kept together, and attempted to check the most impetuous of their asssilants, but being few in number they could do but little. The losses of the Messenian commonalty were so heavy, that they who had begun by hoping to prove the masters instead of the slaves of the Lacedaemonians, could now no longer hope even to save themselves. Amongst the nobles who fell were Androcles and Phintas, and, after a most gallant fight, Phanas, who had won the long foot-race at Olympia.

6. After the battle Aristomenes collected the fugitives, and per- 10

suaded them to abandon Andania and most of the inland towns and to settle on Mount Ira. Penned in here they were besieged by the Lacedaemonians, who expected to take them immediately; but even after the defeat at the Trench the Messenians held out for eleven years. That the siege lasted so long is shown by the following verses of Rhianus, which refer to the Lacedaemonians :—

> In the coombs of the white mountain they encamped
> For two-and-twenty winters and verdant seasons.

He counts summers and winters, meaning by the 'verdant seasons' the time when the corn is green, or a little before harvest.

XVIII

1. When the Messenians <settled> on Ira, and were shut out from the rest of their territory except in so far as the people of Pylus and Mothone preserved for them the districts on the coast, they harried Laconia and their own land, which they now regarded as the enemy's country. These forays were especially conducted by Aristomenes with his picked men, whose numbers he had raised to three hundred, but they were also made by any men who chose
2 to muster for the purpose. They plundered the Lacedaemonian country, and carried off whatever they could lay hands on: the corn, cattle, and wine which they took they consumed, but the movables and men they sold. The Lacedaemonians, seeing that they were tilling the land more for the benefit of the people at Ira than for their own, decreed that Messenia and the adjoining part of Laconia should be left unsown so long as the war lasted,
3 2. This produced a scarcity at Sparta, and with the scarcity a sedition; for the persons who owned property in these districts were discontented at their lands being left uncultivated. However, Tyrtaeus composed these dissensions. 3. Late in the evening Aristomenes marched out at the head of his picked men, and so rapid were his movements that he was at Amyclae before the sun rose. He took the town, pillaged it, and beat a retreat before the
4 Spartans could come to the rescue. Afterwards he continued to scour the country, till in an encounter with more than half the Lacedaemonian regiments under their two kings he received amongst other wounds a blow on the head from a stone which stunned him, and when he was down a body of Lacedaemonians rushed on him and took him prisoner. About fifty of his men also were taken. They were all sentenced by the Lacedaemonians to be thrown into the abyss into which they throw the greatest malefactors.
5 4. The rest of the Messenians were killed on the spot by the fall; but on this, as on other occasions of his life, one of the gods watched over Aristomenes. Those who magnify the story of his life say that

when he was cast into the abyss an eagle flew under him, and supported him with its wings until it had brought him to the bottom unmaimed and unwounded. And Providence was about to show him a way even out of the abyss. When he reached the bottom of the 6
chasm he lay down, and drawing his mantle about him, awaited the death which he believed to be inevitable. But on the second day afterwards he heard a noise, and uncovering his face, his eyes being now accustomed to the darkness, he perceived a fox battening on the corpses. Guessing that the beast had an entrance somewhere, he waited till it came near, and then caught it with one hand, and whenever it turned on him he held out his mantle to it with the other hand, and allowed the beast to bite it. Most of the way he ran with it as it ran, but in the very difficult places he was dragged by it. At last he spied a hole large enough for the fox, and light shining through it. When he let the fox go, it ran, I suppose, into 7
its lair. But the hole was not large enough to let Aristomenes out, so he widened it with his hands and got safe home to Ira. Now, if the capture of Aristomenes was strange, his spirit and prowess being so great that no one would have thought he could have been taken prisoner, much stranger was his escape from the abyss, and plainly the hand of God was in it.

XIX

1. Word was at once brought to the Lacedaemonians by deserters that Aristomenes was returned safe, but the story appeared as incredible as if it had been said that a dead man had come to life. However, Aristomenes gave them in person the following proof of its truth. The Corinthians despatched a force to help the Lacedaemonians to take Ira. Learning from his scouts that the march of 2
these troops was somewhat disorderly, and that no watch was kept in their camp, Aristomenes fell on them by night, and slaughtered most of them in their sleep, including the generals Hypermenides, Achladaeus, Lysistratus, and Sidectus. By plundering the generals' tent he made the Spartans very well aware that it was Aristomenes and nobody else who had done this. 2. He sacrificed to Zeus of 3
Ithome the sacrifice called Hecatomphonia ('hundred slain'). This sacrifice had been customary from time immemorial: the rule was that it was offered by Messenians who had slain a hundred foemen. The first time that Aristomenes offered this sacrifice was after the battle at the Boar's Grave; and the nocturnal slaughter of the Corinthians furnished him with the second occasion. They say that he offered it yet a third time for the raids which he afterwards conducted.

3. The Hyacinthian festival was now drawing on, so the Lacedae- 4
monians made a truce of forty days with the Messenians of Ira, and returning home celebrated the festival. But some Cretan bow-

men, whom the Lacedaemonians hired from Lyctus and other cities, went roaming up and down Messenia. Now Aristomenes, trusting to the truce, had gone some distance from Ira, and was walking on carelessly, when seven of these bowmen waylaid him, seized him, and bound him with the thongs which they had on their quivers.
5 Evening was now coming on. So two of the archers repaired to Sparta with the good news that Aristomenes was a prisoner; but the rest went off to a farm in Messenia. 4. Here there dwelt a girl with her mother, and she was an orphan, for her father was dead. On the night before the damsel had dreamed a dream: wolves brought a lion to the farm, and the lion was bound and without his claws, but she loosed the lion from his bonds, and found and gave him his claws; and thus it seemed in the vision that the wolves were torn in
6 pieces by the lion. So when the Cretans brought in Aristomenes, the damsel perceived that the vision of the night was come true, and she inquired of her mother who he was. And being told, she was strengthened in her mind, and looking at him steadfastly, she understood that which she was bidden to do. So she helped the Cretans freely to wine, and when they were drunk she stole the dagger from him who slept most soundly, and severed the bonds that bound Aristomenes, and he, taking the sword, despatched <the men>. This damsel was taken to wife by Gorgus, Aristomenes' son. Thus Aristomenes repaid the damsel for saving him, for Gorgus was not yet eighteen years old when he married.

XX

1. But in the eleventh year of the siege it was fated that Ira should be taken and the Messenians driven from their homes. In truth, the god fulfilled upon them an oracle which he had given to Aristomenes and Theoclus. For when they went to Delphi after the defeat at the Trench, and asked how they could be saved, the Pythian priestess answered them thus:—

> When a he-goat drinks Neda's eddying water
> I will save Messene no more, for destruction is near.

2 The springs of the Neda are in Mount Lycaeus, and the river, after flowing through Arcadia and turning again towards Messenia, forms the boundary between the coast districts of Messenia and Elis. So the Messenians feared lest the he-goats should drink of the Neda; but after all what the deity foreshadowed was this. The wild fig-tree is called by some Greeks *olunthe*, but the Messenians call it *tragos* ('he-goat'). Well, in those days there was a wild fig-tree by the Neda which did not grow straight, but bent towards the stream and
3 brushed the water with the tips of its leaves. Theoclus, the seer, observing this, inferred that by 'the goat drinking of the Neda' the

Pythian priestess signified this fig-tree, and he concluded that the doom of the Messenians was now come. From the rest he kept it secret, but he took Aristomenes to the fig-tree, and showed him that their time of grace had expired. Though persuaded that it was so, and that their last hour had come, Aristomenes nevertheless took such precautions as the circumstances allowed. 2. The Messenians 4
had a certain secret thing: if it were to disappear entirely, Messenia would be lost for ever; but if it were preserved, the oracles of Lycus, son of Pandion, declared that the Messenians would one day recover the country. So when night was falling, Aristomenes, who knew the oracles, carried the thing to the loneliest part of Ithome, and there buried it on the mountain, imploring Zeus, god of Ithome, and the gods who had hitherto saved the Messenians, to remain guardians of the trust committed to them, and not to suffer the only hope the Messenians had of a restoration to their home to fall into the hands of the Lacedaemonians.

3. After that misfortunes began to betide Messenia in consequence 5
of an adultery, as they had betided Troy before. The Messenians were masters of the mountain and of the skirts of Ira as far as the Neda, and some of them had even dwellings outside the gates. No deserter came to them from Laconia except a slave of Emperamus: he was a cowherd, and brought his master's cows with him. His master, Emperamus, was a man of repute in Sparta. This cowherd 6
grazed his herd not far from the Neda. Now one of the Messenians, whose house was outside the walls, had a wife, and the cowherd saw her when she came for water. Being smitten with her he made bold to speak to her, and by presents he won her. After that he used to watch for the times when her husband went away on garrison duty. For the Messenians took turns of guarding the acropolis, that being the place by which they especially feared lest the enemy should make his way into the city. So whenever he went away the cowherd visited the woman. Well, one night when it came to the 7
husband's turn to mount guard with some others, it happened to be raining heavily, and the guard quitted their posts. For the rain, pouring down in sheets, drove them away, there being no battlements or towers, so hastily had the walls been built. Besides, they never dreamed that the Lacedaemonians would stir in such wild weather on a moonless night. Not many days before Aristomenes 8
had been wounded in rescuing a Cephallenian merchant, his friend, from a party of Lacedaemonians and Apteraean archers, who were commanded by Euryalus, a Spartan. The merchant was bringing into Ira a supply of necessaries when he was taken by the enemy. Aristomenes saved him and his goods, but was himself wounded, and so could not go the round of the watch as was his wont. This was the chief cause of the acropolis being deserted. So they all 9
quitted their posts, including the husband of the faithless wife.

She had the cowherd in the house at the time, and hearing her husband coming she hid her lover as fast as she could. When her husband entered she welcomed him more kindly than she had ever done before, and asked what brought him home. But he, not knowing that she was false and that the cowherd was in the house, told the truth, and said that he and the rest had left their posts on account of the violence of the rain. The cowherd listened to him, and when he had heard it all exactly, he deserted back from the Messenians to the Lacedaemonians. The kings were absent from the Lacedaemonian camp at the time, and the commander of the besieging force was Emperamus, the cowherd's master. So the cowherd went to him, and after begging forgiveness for having run away, he explained that now was the time to take Ira, and he recounted all he had heard from the Messenian.

XXI

1. His story was believed, and he guided Emperamus and the Spartans. The march was difficult, for it was dark and the rain fell without cessation; but their ardour surmounted all difficulties. When they came to the acropolis of Ira they climbed into it, each man making the best of his way by ladders or otherwise. The disaster was announced to the Messenians chiefly by the unusual barking of the dogs, which was uncommonly persistent and furious. Discerning then that the time for the last and most desperate struggle had come, without stopping to pick up all their weapons, they snatched whatever came first to hand, and hurried to the defence of the only 2 home that was left them out of the whole of Messenia. The first to perceive that the enemies were inside, and the first to hasten to meet them, were Aristomenes' son Gorgus, Aristomenes himself, Theoclus the seer, and his son Manticlus; with them, too, was Euergetidas, a man who was looked up to in Messenia, and who had gained fresh distinction through his marriage, for his wife was Hagnagora, sister of Aristomenes. Though they saw that they were caught in the toils, hope did not quite desert the Messenians even 3 in this crisis. 2. Only Aristomenes and the seer knew that the ruin of Messenia could no longer be deferred; for they understood the ambiguous oracle which the Pythian priestess had uttered touching the he-goat. But they concealed their knowledge, and kept it a secret from the rest. Hastily traversing the city, they exhorted all the Messenians they fell in with to play the men, and they summoned 4 from their houses those who were still indoors. 3. In the darkness of night nothing worth speaking of was effected on either side; for on the one side the Spartans were deterred by their ignorance of the ground as well as by the valour of Aristomenes; and on the other side the Messenians had received no watchword from their

generals, and besides, the rain put out the torches and any other lights that were lit. But when it was day, and they could see each 5
other, Aristomenes and Theoclus tried to rouse the Messenians to the extreme of bravery by words suitable to the occasion, and particularly by reminding them of the prowess of the Ionians of Smyrna, who, when the Lydians under Gyges, son of Dascylus, were in possession of Smyrna, drove the enemy out by their valour and enthusiasm. 4. The Messenians hearkened, and were filled with fury, 6
and gathering in knots just as they happened to stand, they charged the Lacedaemonians. The women, too, were eager to pelt the enemy with tiles and anything else they could lay their hands on; but the violence of the rain prevented them from doing so and from mounting on the roofs. But they dared to take arms, and thus fired the courage of the men still more, when they beheld even the women choosing rather to perish with their country than be dragged as slaves to Lacedaemon; so that after all they might perhaps have eluded their doom. But the rain came down heavier than ever, 7
accompanied with loud peals of thunder, and the lightning flashed in their faces, dazzling their eyes. All this inspired the Lacedaemonians with courage, for they said God himself was fighting for them; and as the lightning was on their right, the seer Hecas declared that the sign was auspicious. 5. He also devised the following 8
stratagem. The Lacedaemonians were far the more numerous, but as the battle was fought up and down the town in confined spaces which did not allow them to form in line, the rearmost men in each corps were useless. These he ordered to retire to the camp and get some food and sleep, and then to come back before evening to relieve their comrades. 6. Thus the Lacedaemonians, resting and 9
fighting by turns, were the better able to hold out. But the Messenians were hard put to it; for they fought incessantly day and night, and it was now the third night. Another day dawned; the want of sleep, the rain, and the cold distressed them, and hunger and thirst told on them. The women especially were exhausted by the unwonted toil of battle and by the incessant fatigue. 7. So 10
the seer Theoclus came up to Aristomenes and said: 'Wherefore thus toil in vain? It is fated beyond a doubt that Messene must be taken, and the calamity which stares us in the face was long ago foreshadowed to us by the Pythian priestess and lately revealed by the fig-tree. For myself, the catastrophe which God is bringing on our country is mine also; but save thou the Messenians as far as it is in thy power, and save thyself.' When he had thus spoken to Aristomenes, he rushed upon the enemy, and cried out to the Lacedaemonians, 'No! you will not enjoy the lands of the Messenians with impunity for ever.' Then flinging himself on the 11
enemies that faced him, he dealt death among them and received his own, and thus having glutted his fury with the blood of the foe,

he yielded up the ghost. 8. But Aristomenes recalled the Messenians from the fight, except the brave men who fought in the front. These he allowed to stay, but the rest he ordered to enclose the women and children within their ranks and to follow
12 where he opened the way. Having appointed Gorgus and Manticlus to command the rear, he hastened in person to the head of the column, and by bowing his head and waving his spear he signified his resolution to withdraw, and his request that a passage should be opened. Emperamus and the Spartans present were content to let the Messenians through, and not further to exasperate reckless men at bay. And this, too, was the advice of the seer Hecas.

XXII

1. No sooner had the Arcadians heard of the capture of Ira than they desired Aristocrates to lead them, either to save the Messenians or to perish with them. But he, being in the pay of Lacedaemon, refused to lead them, and declared that he knew not of
2 a single Messenian left whom they could help. But when they got more certain intelligence that the Messenians survived and had been compelled to forsake Ira, they made ready food and clothing, and awaited them at Mount Lycaeus. They also sent some of their chief men to comfort the Messenians, and to guide them on the journey. So when the Messenians had come safe to Mount Lycaeus, the Arcadians welcomed them, and treated them kindly, and desired to distribute them among their own cities, and to divide the land
3 afresh for their sakes. 2. But sorrow for the sack of Ira and hatred of the Lacedaemonians suggested to Aristomenes the following plan. He chose out five hundred Messenians whom he knew to care least for their lives, and asked them whether they were willing to die with him in avenging their country. This question he put to them in the hearing of Aristocrates and of the rest of the Arcadians. For he did not know that Aristocrates was a traitor, but supposed that on the former occasion he had run away from battle, not out of treachery, but out of sheer cowardice and poltroonery. So he put the question
4 to the five hundred in the presence of Aristocrates. When they answered that they were ready to die with him he disclosed his whole plan, how he was resolved at all hazards to lead them against Sparta the following evening. For at the moment most of the Spartans were away at Ira, and others were going about plundering the property of the Messenians. 'And if,' said Aristomenes, 'we can seize and hold Sparta, we may recover our own by giving them back what is theirs; and if we fail, we shall at least die together, and
5 future ages will remember our exploit.' When he had finished speaking, three hundred of the Arcadians volunteered to share the hazardous enterprise. For the present they deferred their march,

because the sacrificial omens were not favourable. 3. Next day they learned that their secret was already known to the Lacedaemonians, and that they had been a second time betrayed by Aristocrates; for he had immediately written a letter describing Aristomenes' plans, and sent it to Anaxander at Sparta by the hands of the slave upon whose fidelity he knew he could best depend. On his return 6 the slave was waylaid by some Arcadians who had been at enmity with Aristocrates before, and who now had their suspicions about him. Having waylaid the slave, they brought him back to the Arcadians, and divulged to the people the answer sent from Lacedaemon. Anaxander wrote that the Lacedaemonians had not allowed Aristocrates to be a loser by his previous flight at the battle of the Great Trench, and that they would be under a fresh obligation to him for his present revelations. 4. When this was 7 publicly announced, the Arcadians proceeded to stone Aristocrates with their own hands, and exhorted the Messenians to do so also. The Messenians looked to Aristomenes, but he kept his eyes on the ground and wept. So the Arcadians stoned Aristocrates to death, and cast him unburied beyond the boundaries, and they set up a tablet in the precinct of the Lycaean god with this inscription:—

> Surely time discovered a punishment for a wicked king,
> And discovered, with the help of Zeus, the betrayer of Messene
> Easily. Hard it is for a forsworn man to hide from God.
> Hail, King Zeus! and save Arcadia.

XXIII

1. The Messenians taken at Ira or elsewhere in Messenia were incorporated by the Lacedaemonians among the Helots. But when Ira was taken, the people of Pylus and Mothone and the other inhabitants of the coast sailed away to Cyllene, the port of the Elis. Thence they sent to the Messenians in Arcadia, desiring to go forth with them to seek a country in which to dwell, and requesting that Aristomenes would lead them to a new home. Aristomenes replied, 2 that for himself so long as he lived he would make war on the Lacedaemonians, and he was sure that he would always be a thorn in the side of Sparta; but he gave them Gorgus and Manticlus to be their leaders. Euergetidas had withdrawn to Mount Lycaeus with the rest of the Messenians. But when he saw that the plan of Aristomenes for the capture of Sparta had fallen through, he prevailed on about fifty of the Messenians to return with him to Ira to attack the Lacedaemonians, and finding them still plundering he turned their 3 joy of victory into mourning; but he perished himself. When Aristomenes had given leaders to the Messenians, he ordered every one who wished to join the colony to repair to Cyllene. All

joined it except a few who were debarred by age or poverty; these last, therefore, abode in Arcadia.

4 2. Ira was taken and the second war between the Lacedaemonians and the Messenians was concluded when Autosthenes was archon at Athens, in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad, in which Chionis the Laconian was victorious.

5 When the Messenians were assembled at Cyllene they resolved to winter there, and they were furnished by the Eleans with food and necessaries; but when spring came round they deliberated where they should go. Gorgus was of opinion that they should seize Zacynthus, the island off the coast of Cephallenia, and exchanging their continental for an island home make expeditions to the coast of Laconia and ravage the country. Manticlus advised them to forget Messene and their hatred of the Lacedaemonians, and sailing to Sardinia take possession of that greatest and wealthiest
6 of islands. 3. Meantime Anaxilas sent to the Messenians, inviting them to Italy. He was tyrant of Rhegium, and was the third lineal descendant of Alcidamidas, who had migrated from Messene to Rhegium after the death of King Aristodemus and the capture of Ithome. So Anaxilas sent for the Messenians. When they came he told them that the people of Zancle, who were at feud with him, possessed a fertile country and a city finely situated in Sicily, and that if the Messenians would help him to conquer Zancle, he would give them the city and its territory. They accepted the proposal,
7 and Anaxilas transported them to Sicily. The site on which Zancle stands was originally seized by corsairs: the land was uninhabited, and they built a stronghold about the harbour, and used it as their headquarters whence they scoured sea and land. Their captains were Crataemenes, a Samian, and Perieres of Chalcis, and these
8 men afterwards decided to invite other Greek settlers. 4. But now Anaxilas beat the Zancleans by sea, while the Messenians defeated them by land. So Zancle was besieged on the land side by the Messenians, and blockaded on the side of the sea by the people of Rhegium; and when the walls fell into the hands of the enemy, the inhabitants fled for refuge to the altars and sanctuaries of the gods. Anaxilas exhorted the Messenians to kill these refugees and enslave the rest of the men together with the women and
9 children. But Gorgus and Manticlus begged Anaxilas not to compel them to retaliate upon Greeks the cruelties which they had themselves suffered at the hands of kinsmen. Then they raised the Zancleans from the altars, and after exchanging oaths both peoples dwelt together; but they altered the name of the city
10 from Zancle to Messene. 5. These events happened in the twenty-ninth Olympiad, in which Chionis the Laconian gained his second victory, when Miltiades was archon at Athens. Manticlus also founded the sanctuary of Hercules at Messene. It is outside

the wall, and the god is called Hercules Manticlus, just as Bel in Babylon is named after an Egyptian man, Belus son of Libya, and as Ammon in Libya is named after the shepherd who founded the sanctuary. Thus the banished Messenians ceased from their wanderings.

XXIV

1. After Aristomenes had refused the leadership of the Messenians who set out to found a new home, he gave in marriage his sister Hagnagora, and his eldest and his second daughter. His sister he gave to Tharyx of Phigalia, and his daughters to Damothoidas of Lepreum and Theopompus of Heraea. He then went to Delphi and inquired of the god. The oracle which was vouchsafed to him is not mentioned; but Damagetus the Rhodian, king of 2
Ialysus, who had come at that time to the sanctuary of Apollo and inquired where he should get a wife, was told by the Pythian priestess to marry the daughter of the noblest of the Greeks. Now Aristomenes had a third daughter, so the king married her, thinking Aristomenes far the noblest of the Greeks of that age. Aristomenes went with his daughter to Rhodes, from which he purposed going to the court of Ardys, son of Gyges, at Sardes, and to the court of King Phraortes at Ecbatana in Media; but before he could do so he fell sick and 3
died, for the Lacedaemonians were to be troubled by Aristomenes no more. Damagetus and the Rhodians built him a splendid tomb, and paid honours to him from that time forward. The history of the Diagorids in Rhodes (the descendants of Diagorus, who was the son of Damagetus, who was the son of Dorieus, who was the son of Damagetus by the daughter of Aristomenes) I pass over, lest it should appear an impertinent digression.

2. When the Lacedaemonians had made themselves masters of 4
Messenia they divided it all, except the territory of Asine, amongst themselves; only they gave Mothone to the Nauplians, who had lately been expelled from Nauplia by the Argives.

It fell out that the Messenians, who were taken in Messenia, and 5
who were compelled to rank with the Helots, afterwards revolted from the Lacedaemonians in the seventy-ninth Olympiad, in which Xenophon the Corinthian was victorious, Archimedes being archon at Athens. The opportunity which they seized to revolt was this. Certain Lacedaemonians, condemned to death on some charge or other, took sanctuary at Taenarum; but the college of ephors tore them from the altar and put them to death. For this violation 6
of the rights of his sanctuary the wrath of Poseidon fell on the Spartans, and by an earthquake he levelled the whole city with the ground. And in addition to this calamity those Helots who had originally been Messenians revolted and took refuge on Mount

Ithome. In order to subdue them the Lacedaemonians called in troops from their allies, in particular an Athenian force under Cimon, son of Miltiades, who was a public friend of theirs. But when the Athenians arrived it appears that the Lacedaemonians suspected them of treacherous designs and, moved by this suspicion,
7 soon afterwards sent them away from Ithome. 3. The Athenians, resenting the suspicion which they saw that the Lacedaemonians had harboured of them, made friends with the Argives; and when the Messenians, who were besieged in Ithome, capitulated and marched out, the Athenians gave them Naupactus. They had wrested it from the Ozolian Locrians, who dwell on the borders of Aetolia. For the permission to depart from Ithome the Messenians were indebted to the strength of the place; moreover, the Pythian priestess warned the Lacedaemonians that retribution would surely overtake them if they harmed the men who had thrown themselves on the protection of Zeus of Ithome. Hence the Messenians were suffered to quit Peloponnese under the terms of a capitulation.

XXV

1. But after they got Naupactus, they were not content with having received a city and a country from the Athenians, but were filled with a vehement longing to show to the world that by their own right hands they could win a goodly heritage. And knowing that the Acarnanians of Oeniadae possessed a fertile land and were eternal foes to the Athenians, they marched against them; and being their superiors in valour, though not in numbers, they defeated them, shut them up within
2 the walls of their town, and besieged them. Of all the means of taking a city which the wit of man has devised, not one was neglected by the Messenians. They planted ladders and attempted to climb into the city: they essayed to undermine the wall, they brought up against it such engines as it was possible to construct at short notice, and were constantly battering pieces of it down. The townspeople, therefore, fearing that if the city were taken they would fall by the sword, and their wives and children would be carried
3 away into slavery, chose to capitulate and march out. For just a year the Messenians occupied the town and possessed the land. 2. But in the year following the Acarnanians mustered a force from all their cities, and deliberated whether they should attack Naupactus. But this plan was rejected, because they saw that their march must lie through the country of the Aetolians, their perpetual enemies. Besides, they suspected, what was the case, that the Naupactians possessed a navy, and they thought that while the enemy was
4 master of the sea a land force could effect but little. So they

immediately changed their plan, and turned their arms against the Messenians in Oeniadae. They prepared to lay siege to the town, never supposing that such a handful of men would dare to give battle to the whole Acarnanian army. The Messenians had laid in a store of corn and all other necessaries, expecting to stand a long siege. But before the siege began they thought they would fight a 5
battle in the open: they reflected that they were Messenians, who had been a match for the Lacedaemonians themselves in valour, though not in fortune; why then should they cower before this mob that was come out of Acarnania? They remembered, too, the exploit of the Athenians at Marathon, how three hundred thousand of the Medes had been destroyed by less than ten thousand men. 3. So they gave battle to the Acarnanians; and the course of the action 6
is said to have been as follows. As the Acarnanians were far the more numerous they had no difficulty in surrounding the Messenians: they were only prevented from doing so entirely by the gates in the rear of the Messenians, and the vigorous support which the latter received from their friends on the wall. In this direction, therefore, the Messenians were saved from being surrounded; but both their flanks were enclosed by the Acarnanians, who showered darts on them from all sides. The Messenians were massed together, and 7
whenever in a compact body they charged the enemy, they threw him into disorder at that point, and killed and wounded many, but could not put them utterly to flight; for where the Acarnanians saw a part of their line being broken by the Messenians, they reinforced the beaten troops and checked the Messenians by the help of their superior numbers. Whenever the Messenians were driven back, 8
they attempted to cut through the Acarnanian phalanx at another place. But the upshot was always the same: they broke and drove the enemy before them for a little way; but then the Acarnanians poured down on them again, and the Messenians had to fall sullenly back. 4. The conflict was maintained on even terms till the evening, but at nightfall the Acarnanians received reinforcements from their cities, and thus the Messenians were besieged. There was no 9
fear that the Acarnanians could storm the town either by escalade or by driving the Messenians from their posts. But by the eighth month all their provisions were spent. So they jeeringly told the Acarnanians from the battlements that they had food to last a ten years' siege; but at the time of the first sleep they marched out from 10
Oeniadae. The Acarnanians, however, perceived their flight, and so the Messenians were compelled to fight a battle, in which they lost about three hundred and slew still more of the enemy. But most of them cut their way through, and reaching the friendly territory of Aetolia returned safe to Naupactus.

XXVI

1. Of the hatred of Sparta, which always rankled in their breasts, the Messenians afterwards gave the most striking proof in the war of the Peloponnesians against the Athenians; for they allowed Naupactus to be used as a base of operations against Peloponnese, and Messenian slingers from Naupactus helped to capture the Spartans who were
2 shut up in Sphacteria. 2. But after the defeat of the Athenians at Aegospotami, the Lacedaemonians, being now masters of the sea, expelled the Messenians from Naupactus also. Some of the exiles sailed to their kindred in Sicily and Rhegium, but most of them went to the Euesperitae in Libya, who, having suffered much in war with the neighbouring barbarians, invited any and all of the Greeks to settle amongst them. To them the bulk of the Messenians withdrew, under the leadership of Comon, who had also commanded them at Sphacteria.

3 3. A year before the victory of the Thebans at Leuctra, God foreshadowed to the Messenians their return to Peloponnese. In the first place, they say that at Messene, on the strait, the priest of Hercules dreamed that Hercules Manticlus was invited as a guest to Ithome by Zeus. In the second place, Comon, living among the Euesperitae, dreamed that he lay with his dead mother, and that thereafter she came to life again. He hoped that, if the Athenians got a powerful navy, the Messenians would be restored to Naupactus; but as it turned out, the dream signified
4 that they should recover Messene. Not long afterwards the defeat of the Lacedaemonians took place at Leuctra. It had been due a very long time; for at the end of the oracle vouchsafed to Aristodemus, King of Messenia, it is said:—

> Do as fate directs; but ruin falls on some before others,

meaning that for the time being he and the Messenians must suffer, but that afterwards ruin would overtake Lacedaemon also. 4.
5 So after their victory at Leuctra the Thebans sent messengers to Italy, Sicily, and the Euesperitae, inviting all Messenians in any part of the world whither they had strayed to return to Peloponnese. They assembled faster than could have been expected, for they yearned towards the land of their fathers, and hatred of Sparta still
6 rankled in their breasts. 5. But to Epaminondas it did not seem easy to found a city that would be a match for Lacedaemon; and where to build it, he could not think; for the Messenians refused to settle again in Andania and Oechalia, the scenes of their calamities in days gone by. In his perplexity they say that an old man, much like a high priest of the mysteries, stood by him in the night and said, 'On thee I bestow power to conquer whomsoever

thou mayest turn thine arms against; and if thou art taken from the world, I will look to it, O Theban, that thou art neither nameless nor inglorious. But do thou give back to the Messenians their fatherland and their cities, for the wrath of the Dioscuri against them is at an end.' 6. So spake the vision to Epaminondas; and it 7
made the following revelation to Epiteles, son of Aeschines, who had been elected general by the Argives and charged to found Messene anew. The dream commanded him, wherever he found a yew-tree and a myrtle growing on Mount Ithome, to dig up the ground between them and save the old woman, for she was worn out and fainting by reason of her long confinement in the bronze chamber. When day dawned Epiteles went to the spot indicated, dug, and found a bronze urn. Straightway he took it to Epaminon- 8
das, told the dream, and bade him take off the lid and see what was in it. After sacrificing and praying to the dream, Epaminondas opened the urn and found a very thin sheet of tin rolled up like a scroll. On it the mysteries of the Great Goddesses were engraved, and this it was that had been deposited by Aristomenes. They say that the man who appeared to Epiteles and Epaminondas in sleep was Caucon, who came from Athens to Messene, daughter of Triopas, at Andania.

XXVII

1. The wrath of the sons of Tyndareus against the Messenians began before the battle of Stenyclerus, and I conjecture that it originated in the following way. There were two blooming youths of Andania, Panormus and Gonippus, friends of each other, who used to march out to battle together and to make raids together into Laconia. Once when the Lacedaemonians were celebrating a 2
festival in camp in honour of the Dioscuri, and were carousing and making merry after the midday meal, Gonippus and Panormus appeared to them, clad in white tunics and purple cloaks, riding on gallant steeds, with caps on their heads and spears in their hands. When the Lacedaemonians saw them, they did obeisance and prayed, 3
thinking that the Dioscuri were come to the sacrifice. But when once the young men were in their midst, they galloped through them all, stabbing with their spears; and after laying many low they rode off to Andania. Thus they dishonoured the sacrifice of the Dioscuri. It was this, I believe, which roused the hatred of the Dioscuri against the Messenians. But now, as the dream signified to Epaminondas, the restoration of the Messenians to their country was no longer unwelcome to the Dioscuri. 2. However, what chiefly moved 4
Epaminondas to restore the Messenians was the oracles of Bacis. Among the predictions which Bacis had uttered under the inspiration of the nymphs was one touching the return of the Messenians:—

And then Sparta's bright flower shall perish,
And Messene shall again be inhabited for evermore.

I found that Bacis had also spoken of the way in which Ira should be taken; for this is one of his oracles:—

And the men of Messene which fell by thunder and rain.

5 When the record of the mysteries was found it was copied into books by the men of the priestly race.

3. To Epaminondas the site on which the city of Messene now stands appeared the most suitable, and he accordingly desired the seers to inquire whether the gods would be willing to take up their abode there. Being informed by them that the omens were propitious he prepared to found the city. He ordered stones to be brought, and he sent for men who were skilled in laying out streets, building houses and sanctuaries, and erecting city walls. 4.
6 When all was ready, the victims being furnished by the Arcadians, Epaminondas and the Thebans sacrificed to Dionysus and Ismenian Apollo in the customary way: the Argives sacrificed to Argive Hera and Nemean Zeus; and the Messenians sacrificed to Zeus of Ithome and to the Dioscuri, while their priests sacrificed to the Great Goddesses and Caucon. They also joined in calling upon the heroes to come and dwell with them, chiefly Messene, daughter of Triopas, and next to her Eurytus and Aphareus and his children, and of the Heraclids they invited Cresphontes and Aepytus; but loudest of all was the cry for Aristomenes, and the whole
7 people joined in it. Thus the day was spent in sacrifice and prayer. But on the following days they proceeded to rear the circuit wall, and to build houses and sanctuaries within it. They worked to the music of Boeotian and Argive flutes alone; and keen was the competition between the melodies of Sacadas and Pronomus. To the capital they gave the name of Messene, but they founded other towns
8 also. The Nauplians were not expelled from Mothone, and the Asinaeans were also suffered to remain where they were, the Messenians remembering the former kindness of the Asinaeans in refusing to fight on the Lacedaemonian side against Messenia. When the Messenians were returning to Peloponnese, the Nauplians brought them such gifts as they had to offer; and while they put up ceaseless prayers to God for the restoration of the Messenians, they at the same time besought the Messenians to leave them in peace.

9 5. The Messenians returned to Peloponnese and recovered their country two hundred and ninety-seven years after the capture of Ira, when Dyscinetus was archon at Athens, in the third year of the hundred and second Olympiad, in which Damon of Thurii was victorious for the second time. Now the Plataeans also were exiled from their country for a long time, and so were the Delians, when

they dwelt at Adramyttium after they had been driven from their island by the Athenians. The Minyans of Orchomenus, again, were 10
banished by the Thebans from Orchomenus after the battle of Leuctra, and were restored to Boeotia by Philip, son of Amyntas, who also restored the Plataeans. Thebes itself was destroyed by Alexander, but restored not many years afterwards by Cassander, son of Antipater. Now of those whom I have just enumerated, the exile of the Plataeans is found to have lasted the longest, but even it did not extend over more than two generations. But 11
the Messenians wandered for nearly three hundred years far from Peloponnese, and in all that time they are known to have dropped none of their native customs, nor did they unlearn their Doric tongue; indeed, they speak it to this day with greater purity than any other of the Peloponnesians.

XXVIII

1. After their return the Messenians had at first nothing to fear from the Lacedaemonians, who, restrained by dread of the Thebans, submitted to the foundation of Messene and to the union of the Arcadians in a single city. But when the Thebans were diverted from Peloponnese by the Phocian or Sacred War, the Lacedaemonians plucked up courage, and could no longer keep their hands off the Messenians. 2. The latter, backed by the Argives and 2
Arcadians, maintained the struggle, and called on the Athenians to help them. The Athenians replied that they would never join the Messenians in invading Laconia, but if the Lacedaemonians began the war and marched against Messenia, the Athenians promised to stand by the Messenians. At last the Messenians formed an alliance with Philip, son of Amyntas, and the Macedonians; and they say it was this which prevented them from taking part in the battle of Chaeronea. But, on the other hand, they would not draw sword against Greece. When after the death of Alexander the Greeks took 3
up arms against Macedonia for the second time, the Messenians shared in the war, as I showed in my description of Attica. They did not, however, join with the Greeks in fighting the Gauls, because Cleonymus and the Lacedaemonians declined to conclude a truce with them.

3. Not long afterwards the Messenians, by a mixture of craft 4
and daring, made themselves masters of Elis. Of old the Eleans were the most law-abiding people in Peloponnese; but in addition to all the evil which Philip, son of Amyntas, did to Greece, and which I have mentioned already, he distributed bribes among the leading men of Elis, and then the people for the first time fell out among themselves and flew to arms. Henceforward the chance of a col- 5
lision was, of course, much increased between men who were already

divided among themselves on the question of the policy to be adopted towards Lacedaemon; and civil war broke out. Learning this, the Lacedaemonians prepared to support their party in Elis. But while they were being arrayed in divisions and distributed in regiments, a thousand picked Messenians reached Elis before them with Laconian scutcheons on their shields. 6 Seeing the shields, the party favourable to Sparta among the Eleans thought it was a force sent to their help, and admitted them within the walls. But when the Messenians had thus obtained an entrance, they turned the Lacedaemonian party out and put the city in the hands of their own partisans. 4. 7 The stratagem is Homeric, but the Messenians certainly imitated it opportunely. For in the *Iliad* Homer represents Patroclus as clad in the armour of Achilles, and says that the barbarians fancied it was Achilles who was attacking them, and that their front ranks were thrown into disorder. Homer is the author of other pieces of strategy also, when he makes the Greeks send two scouts instead of one by night among the Trojans, and again afterwards, when he makes a pretended deserter enter Ilium to spy out the enemy's 8 secrets. Moreover, he represents the Trojans who were too young and too old to fight as manning the walls while the men in the prime of life were encamped over against the Greeks; and once more, that the wounded Greeks may not be quite idle, he represents them arming the combatants. Thus Homer's ideas have proved useful to mankind in all manner of ways.

XXIX

1. Not long afterwards the Macedonians under Demetrius, son of Philip, son of Demetrius, seized Messene. In the section on Sicyon I have already mentioned most of the wrongs which Perseus did to Philip and his son Demetrius; but the story of the taking of 2 Messene was as follows. Philip was in want of money, and it being absolutely necessary that he should procure some, he sent Demetrius with some ships to Peloponnese. Demetrius landed in one of the less frequented harbours of Argolis, and immediately set off with his army by the shortest road to Messene. His van was composed of the light troops who knew the way to Ithome, and just about dawn he made his way unobserved over the wall, at the point where it ran between the city and the summit of Ithome. 3 When it was day, and the inhabitants perceived the peril in which they stood, the first idea that crossed them was that the Lacedaemonian troops had made their way into the city, so they rushed at them recklessly by reason of their old hatred. But when from their arms and language they recognised that they were Macedonians under Demetrius, son of Philip, they were

sore afraid, remembering the martial skill of the Macedonians and the success that everywhere attended their arms. Nevertheless, 4
the magnitude of the danger nerved them with superhuman courage, and at the same time they ventured to hope for the best, believing that it must surely have been by the will of God that they had been restored to Peloponnese after so long an exile. So they attacked the Macedonians with the utmost courage from the side of the city, while the garrison of the acropolis fell on them from above. Similarly 5
the Macedonians, like the brave veterans they were, at first stood stoutly to their arms. But being exhausted by marching, assailed by the men, and pelted by the women with tiles and stones, they broke and fled. Most of them were pushed over the crags and perished, Ithome being here very precipitous; but a few flung away their arms and made good their escape.

2. The reason why the Messenians did not at first join the 6
Achaean League appears to me to have been this:—When the Lacedaemonians were assailed by Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides, the Messenians voluntarily came to their help; and in gratitude for this service Sparta treated them in a more friendly and peaceable spirit. So the Messenians were loath to rip up the old sore by joining the League, which was the open and bitter foe of Lacedaemon. I cannot, 7
however, be blind to the fact, to which I presume the Messenians were also alive, that even without them the League was directed against the Lacedaemonians, for the Argives and Arcadians formed a not inconsiderable proportion of the confederates. In time, however, the Messenians joined the confederacy. 3. Not long afterwards, Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, son of Cleonymus, captured the Arcadian city of Megalopolis in time of truce. Of the people who 8
were in the city when it was taken some perished at the time; but a body (amounting, it is said, to more than two-thirds of the population) escaped with Philopoemen, son of Craugis. The fugitives were welcomed by the Messenians, who thus repaid the Arcadians in kind for the services they had received at their hands long ago in the time of Aristomenes, and afterwards at the foundation of Messene. How unstable are the affairs of 9
man! Fortune allowed the Messenians to save their saviours, the Arcadians, and, stranger still, to capture Sparta; for they fought against Cleomenes at Sellasia, and they formed part of the Achaean army, under Aratus, which conquered Sparta. 4. Scarcely 10
were the Lacedaemonians rid of Cleomenes when another tyrant arose in the person of Machanidas; and when he was dead another cropped up in the person of Nabis. Not content with robbing men Nabis rifled sanctuaries, and soon amassed a large hoard, by means of which he mustered an army. He seized Messene, but the arrival that same night of the Megalopolitans under Philopoemen compelled the Spartan tyrant to capitulate and retire. 5. Afterwards the 11

Achaeans, having some complaint against the Messenians, marched against them with their whole forces and ravaged most of the country. They mustered again when the corn was ripe, intending to invade Messenia. But Dinocrates, a popular leader, and for the time being the general of the Messenians, with a force collected from the capital and its neighbourhood, had occupied the passes leading from Arcadia into Messenia, and thus obliged the Arcadian army under
12 Lycortas to retreat without striking a blow. They had <not> been gone long when Philopoemen arrived with a handful of cavalry. But failing to get tidings of his friends, he was worsted and taken alive by the Messenians in an engagement in which they occupied higher ground. The manner of his capture and his death I will describe hereafter in my account of Arcadia. The Messenians who had him put to death were punished, and Messene was again enrolled in the Achaean confederacy.

13 Hitherto I have recounted the many sufferings of the Messenians, and how, after scattering them to the ends of the earth and to lands the farthest from Peloponnese, God afterwards brought them safe back to their own land. I must now address myself to a description of the country and its towns.

XXX

1. There is at present in Messenia a town Abia on the coast, just twenty furlongs from the Choerius glen. They say that of old it was called Ire, and that it was one of the seven towns which Homer makes Agamemnon promise to Achilles. They say that when the Dorians under Hyllus were conquered by the Achaeans, Abia, nurse of Glenus, son of Hercules, went away to Ire and dwelt there, and founded a sanctuary of Hercules; and hence Cresphontes afterwards gave the town a new name after her, and assigned her various other honours. There was a famous sanctuary of Hercules at Abia and another of Aesculapius.

2 2. Pharae is seventy furlongs from Abia: there is a salt spring by the way. The Emperor Augustus separated Pharae from Messenia, and attached it to Laconia. They say that its founder Pharis was a son of Hermes and Phylodamia, daughter of Danaus, and that he had a daughter Telegone, but no sons. The family is traced farther down by Homer in the *Iliad*, who mentions that Diocles had twin sons, Crethon and Ortilochus, and that Diocles himself was a son of Ortilochus, the son of Alpheus. But Homer omits Telegone: she it was, according to the Messenian
3 legend, who bore Ortilochus to Alpheus. I was further told at Pharae, that besides his twin sons Diocles had a daughter Anticlea, who had two sons, Nicomachus and Gorgasus, by Machaon, son of Aesculapius, and these two latter (I was told)

remained at Pharae, and when Diocles died they succeeded him in the kingdom. They have retained down to this day the power of healing the sick and the maimed, and in return people bring them sacrifices and votive offerings to the sanctuary. There is also a temple of Fortune at Pharae with an ancient image. 3. Homer was 4
the first, so far as I know, to mention Fortune. The passage is in the hymn to Demeter, where in the list of the daughters of Ocean who sported with the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, he mentions Fortune as one of Ocean's daughters. The verses run thus :—

> We all in the sweet meadow,
> Leucippe and Phaeno and Electra and Ianthe,
> And Melobosis and Fortune and Ocyroe, fair as a budding flower.

But he adds nothing about her being the mightiest of the divini- 5
ties, and wielding the greatest influence over human affairs, as in the *Iliad* he represents Athena and Enyo as paramount in war, Artemis as dreaded by women in childbed, and Aphrodite as busied with marriages. With regard to Fortune, however, he adds not a word. 4. But Bupalus, a clever architect and sculptor, in 6
making an image of Fortune for the Smyrnaeans, was the first, so far as we know, to represent her with a firmament (*polos*) on her head, and bearing in one hand what the Greeks call the horn of Amalthea. Thus far he indicated the functions of the goddess. Pindar afterwards sang of Fortune, and in particular he called her Pherepolis ('city-supporter').

XXXI

1. A little way from Pharae is a grove of Carnean Apollo and a spring of water in it. Pharae is about six furlongs from the sea. 2. Eighty furlongs inland from Pharae you come to Thuria: they say that Thuria is the town named Anthea in Homer. Augustus gave Thuria to the Lacedaemonians of Sparta. For Antony, a Roman, made war on Augustus, the Emperor of Rome, and amongst other Greeks the Messenians sided with Antony, because the Lacedaemonians adhered to Augustus. Therefore Augustus visited with various degrees of 2
displeasure those who had sided against him. The old town of Thuria stood on a height: the present town is in the plain. However, the upper town is not entirely deserted: there are some remains of the town wall, and there is also a sanctuary of the Syrian goddess. The river Aris flows past the town which stands in the plain. 3. In the interior is a village Calamae, and a place 3
Limnae ('lakes'), in which there is a sanctuary of Artemis of the Lake (*Limnatis*), where they say that Teleclus, king of Sparta, met his end. Going from Thuria in the direction of Arcadia you come 4
to the springs of the Pamisus: at these springs there are cures for little children.

4. Turning to the left from the springs, and going on about forty furlongs, you come to the city of the Messenians under Mount Ithome. It is enclosed not by Mount Ithome only; the part of it towards the Pamisus is enclosed also by Mount Eva. They say that this mountain got its name because Dionysus and the women with him first uttered here the Bacchic exclamation, Evoe.
5 5. Messene is surrounded by a wall, the whole circuit of which is built of stone, and there are towers and battlements on it. I have not seen the walls of Babylon, or the Memnonian walls at Susa in Persia, nor have I heard of them from people who have seen them; but Ambrosus in Phocis, Byzantium, and Rhodes are fortified in the best style, and yet the walls of Messene are stronger than theirs.
6 In the market-place of Messene is an image of Saviour Zeus and a water-basin called Arsinoe, which takes its name from the daughter of Leucippus: water flows underground into it from a spring called Clepsydra. There is a sanctuary of Poseidon and another of Aphrodite. Most noteworthy of all is an image of the Mother of the Gods, in Parian marble, a work of Damophon, who, when the ivory in the image of Zeus at Olympia had cracked, fitted it together with the utmost accuracy: honours are paid to Damophon
7 by the Eleans. 6. Damophon also made the Laphria, as it is called, at Messene. The Messenian worship of her arose as follows:—The Calydonians worship Artemis above all the gods, and surname her Laphria; and from them the Messenians, who received Naupactus from the Athenians, and consequently dwelt close to Aetolia, borrowed the name. The form of the image I will describe elsewhere. The name of Laphria has reached only the Messenians and
8 the Patreans of Achaia. But all cities recognise Ephesian Artemis, and some persons worship her privately above all the gods. The causes of this are, in my opinion, primarily two: first, the fame of the Amazons who are reputed to have set up the image; and, second, the vast antiquity of the sanctuary. With these causes three others have co-operated to spread the renown of the Ephesian Artemis: the size of the temple, which is the largest building in the world, the prosperity of the city of Ephesus, and the distinction which
9 the goddess there enjoys. 7. There is also a temple of Ilithyia at Messene with a stone image. Near it is a hall of the Curetes, where they sacrifice all animals alike: they begin with oxen and goats, and end with birds, throwing all of them into the flames. There is also a holy sanctuary of Demeter at Messene, and images of the Dioscuri carrying the daughters of Leucippus. I have shown above how the Messenians claim that the sons of Tyndareus belong
10 to them and not to the Lacedaemonians. 8. But the images in the sanctuary of Aesculapius are at once the most numerous and the best worth seeing. For besides images of the god and his sons, and images of Apollo, the Muses, and Hercules, the sanctuary

contains an image of the City of Thebes, a statue of Epaminondas, son of Cleommis, an image of Fortune, and one of Artemis, Bringer of Light. The marble images are the works of Damophon, the only Messenian sculptor of note that I know of. The statue of Epaminondas is of iron, and is the work of some other artist. 9. There is also a temple of Messene, daughter of Triopas, 11
with an image of gold and Parian marble. At the back of the temple are paintings of the kings of Messene. First there are portraits of Aphareus and his sons, who reigned before the arrival of the Dorian expedition in Peloponnese. Next there are portraits of those who reigned after the return of the Heraclids, including a painting of Cresphontes, one of the leaders of the Dorians, and paintings of Nestor, Thrasymedes, and Antilochus, three members of the royal house that dwelt in Pylus, Thrasymedes and Antilochus being preferred to the other sons of Nestor on account of their age, and because they shared in the expedition against Troy. Leu- 12
cippus, brother of Aphareus, is also painted, and Hilaira, Phoebe, and Arsinoe. There is also a painting of Aesculapius, who, according to the Messenians, was a son of Arsinoe; and paintings of Machaon and Podalirius, because they also took part in the Trojan war. These paintings are by Omphalion, a pupil of Nicias, son of Nicomedes. Some say that he was also Nicias's slave and favourite.

XXXII

1. What the Messenians name the Place of Sacrifice contains images of all the gods recognised by the Greeks. It contains also a bronze statue of Epaminondas and ancient tripods, which Homer calls fireless. The images in the gymnasium are by Egyptians, and represent Hermes, Hercules, and Theseus. All the Greeks, and by this time many of the barbarians also, are wont to honour these three deities in gymnasiums and wrestling schools. 2. . . . I found that <Aethidas> was older than myself. And 2
because he was a man of some property the Messenians honour him as a hero. Some of the Messenians, indeed, said that Aethidas was certainly very wealthy, but that it is not he who is sculptured on this monument, but an ancestor and namesake of his. They say that the elder Aethidas commanded the Messenians at the time when Demetrius, son of Philip, at the head of an army, made his stealthy and unlooked-for entrance into the city by night.

3. There is also a tomb of Aristomenes here, and they say 3
it is not a mere cenotaph. When I inquired how and whence they brought hither the bones of Aristomenes, they said they had fetched them from Rhodes, and that it was the god at Delphi who had commanded them to do so. They told me, further, the ceremonies which they observe at the grave. The

bull which is to be sacrificed they take to the tomb and tie to the pillar which stands on the grave; and the bull being wild, and not used to being tied, will not stand still. Now if in his struggles and plunges the pillar shakes, it is a good omen; but if the
4 pillar does not move, it forebodes misfortunes. 4. They will have it, too, that the dead Aristomenes was present at the battle of Leuctra, and they say that he helped the Thebans, and was the chief cause of the disaster that befell the Lacedaemonians. The first people I know of who asserted that the soul of man is immortal were the Chaldeans and the Indian magicians; and some of the Greeks believed them, especially Plato, the son of Aristo. If everybody accepts this tenet, there can be no gainsaying the view that hatred of the Lacedaemonians has rankled in the heart of Aristomenes
5 through all the ages. 5. A story which I heard myself at Thebes lent some countenance to the Messenian statement, though it does not entirely agree with it. The Thebans say that just before the battle of Leuctra they sent envoys to inquire of various oracles, and in particular of the oracle of the god at Lebadea (Trophonius). The replies given by the Ismenian god and the Ptoan god are still preserved, as also the oracles given at Abae and Delphi. Trophonius, they say, replied in hexameter verse:—

> Before you engage with the foemen, set up a trophy
> And adorn it with my shield, which was deposited in the temple
> By bold Aristomenes the Messenian. Verily I
> Will destroy the host of the shielded foe.

6 When this oracle was reported, they say that Xenocrates, at the request of Epaminondas, sent for the shield of Aristomenes, and with it decorated a trophy in a place where it would be seen by the Lacedaemonians. Some of them, we may presume, knew the shield by having seen it at their leisure at Lebadea, but all knew it by hearsay. When the Thebans had gained the victory, they restored the shield to Trophonius, in whose shrine it had been dedicated. There is a bronze statue of Aristomenes in the stadium at Messene. Not far from the theatre is a sanctuary of Serapis and Isis.

XXXIII

1. On the way to the summit of Ithome, where is the acropolis of Messene, there is a spring called Clepsydra. 2. To enumerate all the peoples who claim that Zeus was born and brought up among them would be impracticable even if the attempt were seriously made. But, however that may be, the Messenians are one of the peoples who advance the claim; for they say that the god was brought up amongst them, and that the women who brought him up were Ithome and Neda; Neda, so they say, gave her name to the

river, and Ithome gave hers to the mountain. They relate that when Zeus was stolen by the Curetes for fear of his father, these nymphs washed him here, and that the water has its name from the theft which the Curetes committed (Clepsydra, 'stolen water'). Every day they carry water from the spring to the sanctuary of Zeus of Ithome. 3. The image of Zeus is a work of Ageladas, and was 2
originally made for the Messenians of Naupactus. A priest annually chosen keeps the image in his house. They also celebrate an annual festival called Ithomaea. Anciently they also held a musical competition. This may be inferred from the verses of Eumelus, amongst other evidence. For Eumelus in the hymn for the procession at Delos writes as follows:—

> To the god of Ithome was acceptable the muse
> That hath clean and free sandals.

In writing these verses he seems to be aware that they held a musical competition also.

4. Following the Arcadian road that leads to Megalopolis, you 3
see at the gate a Hermes of Attic workmanship. For the use of square-shaped images of Hermes is Athenian, and from Athens the usage has passed to the rest of the world. Going down thirty furlongs from the gate you come to the stream of the Balyra. They say that the river got its name because here Thamyris threw away (*apobalein*) his lyre when he lost his sight: he was the son (they say) of Philammon and the nymph Argiope. They say that Argiope had previously dwelt at Parnassus, but that when she was with child she removed to the land of the Odrysians; for Philammon would not take her into his house. Therefore they call Thamyris an Odrysian and a Thracian. The Leucasia and the Amphitus unite their streams in one.

5. Crossing them you come to a plain named the Stenyclerian 4
plain: they say there was a hero Stenyclerus. Opposite the plain is what was anciently called Oechalia, but is now called the Carnasian grove: it is mostly filled with cypresses. There is an image of Carnean Apollo, and another of Hermes carrying a ram. Hagne ('holy') is a surname of the Maid, the daughter of Demeter: a spring of water rises beside her image. With regard to the rites 5
of the Great Goddesses (for their mysteries are celebrated in the Carnasian grove) I am resolved to be silent; for in point of sanctity I regard them as second only to the Eleusinian mysteries. However, my dream did not debar me from proclaiming to all and sundry that in the Carnasian grove were preserved the bronze urn found by the Argive general and the bones of Eurytus, son of Melaneus. 6. Past the Carnasian grove flows a river, the Charadrus; 6
and going on towards the left for just eight furlongs you reach the ruins of Andania. The guides agree that the city got its name

from a woman Andania; but I am not able to say who her parents were or whom she married. Going from Andania, in the direction of Cyparissiae, we come to Polichna as it is called, and to the rivers Electra and Coeus. The names may refer to Electra, daughter of Atlas, and Coeus, father of Latona; or perhaps Electra and Coeus may be local heroes.

7 7. Having crossed the Electra we come to a spring named Achaia, and to the ruins of a city called Dorium. According to Homer, it was here in Dorium that Thamyris met with his misfortune for asserting that he would vanquish the Muses themselves in singing. But Prodicus the Phocaean (if the epic poem called the *Minyad* is really by him) says that Thamyris is punished in hell for his boastfulness touching the Muses. But my opinion is that Thamyris lost the sight of his eyes by disease. The same thing happened to Homer afterwards. But whereas Homer bore up against his misfortune and continued to compose poetry to the last, Thamyris yielded to the pressure of his haunting calamity and sang no more.

XXXIV

1. From Messene to the mouth of the Pamisus is a journey of eighty furlongs. The Pamisus flows through tilled land: its waters are clear; and vessels sail up it from the sea for about ten furlongs. Sea-fish also ascend it, especially in spring-time. Fish do the same thing also in the Rhine and the Maeander; but above all they swim up the stream of the Achelous, which falls into the sea
2 opposite the Echinadian islands. But the fish that swim up the Pamisus are of a very different sort, because its water is clear and not slimy like that of the rivers I have named. But the gray mullet, being a fish that lives in mud, loves turbid rivers. The rivers of Greece do not breed creatures that are deadly to man, as do the Indus and the Egyptian Nile, and also the Rhine, Danube, Euphrates, and Phasis. These rivers breed creatures that prey upon men most voraciously: in shape the creatures resemble the shads in the Hermus and Maeander, but they are stronger and of a
3 darker hue than the shads. The Indus and the Nile both contain crocodiles, and the Nile contains hippopotamuses also, which are as dangerous to man as the crocodile. But in the rivers of Greece you have nothing to fear from monsters; for in the Aous, which flows through Thesprotis in Epirus, the sharks are not native to the river, but come up from the sea.

4 2. Corone is a town on the right of the Pamisus: it lies on the coast at the foot of Mount Mathia. On this road there is a place beside the sea which they deem sacred to Ino; for they say that here she came up out of the sea as a full-blown goddess, with the

name of Leucothea instead of Ino. A little farther on we come to the mouth of the river Bias, said to have been named after Bias, son of Amythaon. Twenty furlongs from the road is the spring of the Plane-tree Grove: the water flows out of a broad plane-tree which is hollow inside: the breadth of the tree is like that of a small cavern, and it is from here that the drinking-water descends to Corone. 3. The ancient name of Corone was Aepea; but when 5
the Messenians were restored to Peloponnese by the Thebans, they say that Epimelides, being sent to repeople the town, called it Coronea, because he himself came from Coronea in Boeotia; but from the first the Messenians did not pronounce the name rightly, and as time went on the wrong pronunciation prevailed more and more. Another story is that in digging the foundations of the wall they lit on a bronze crow (*korone*). There are temples here of 6
Artemis called Child-rearer, of Dionysus, and of Aesculapius. The images of Aesculapius and Dionysus are of stone, but the image of Saviour Zeus in the market-place is of bronze. The image of Athena that stands in the acropolis under the open sky is also of bronze: she is holding a crow in her hand. I saw also the tomb of Epimelides. Why they call the harbour the harbour of the Achaeans I do not know.

4. Going on from Corone about eighty furlongs you come 7
to a sanctuary of Apollo beside the sea: it is held in honour because, according to the Messenians, it is of great antiquity, and the god heals diseases. They name him Crested-lark Apollo. His image is of wood; but the image of Argeot (Apollo) is of bronze, and they say that it was dedicated by the Argonauts. 5. Next to Corone is Colonides, their lands marching together. The 8
people of Colonides say that they are not Messenians, but were brought from Attica by Colaenus, who, in accordance with an oracle, was guided by a crested lark to the place where he was to plant his colony. However they were destined, in course of time, to adopt the dialect and customs of the Dorians. The town of Colonides lies on a height a little way from the sea.

6. The people of Asine were originally neighbours of the people 9
of Lycorea on Mount Parnassus, and were named Dryopians after their founder. This name they preserved when they came to Peloponnese. But two generations afterwards, in the reign of Phylas, the Dryopians were conquered in battle by Hercules and brought to Delphi as an offering to Apollo. But in obedience to an oracle which the god gave to Hercules they were brought to Peloponnese, where they first occupied Asine, near Hermion: being driven thence by the Argives they settled in Messenia by the permission of the Lacedaemonians, and, in course of time, when the Messenians were restored, the Asinaeans were not expelled from their city. But 10
what the Asinaeans say about themselves is this. They admit that

they were conquered by Hercules in battle, and that their city on Parnassus was taken; but they deny that they were made prisoners and brought to Apollo: they say that when the walls were captured by Hercules they abandoned the city and fled to the peaks of Parnassus; afterwards, having crossed in ships to Peloponnese, they threw themselves on the protection of Eurystheus, who, being a foe
11 of Hercules, bestowed on them Asine in Argolis. The Asinaeans are the only people of the stock of the Dryopians who still pride themselves on the name. Herein they differ from the people of Styra in Euboea, who are also Dryopians by descent, but took no part in the fight with Hercules because they dwelt far from the city. But the Styrians scorn to be called Dryopians, just as the Delphians shrink from being called Phocians. Whereas it gives the Asinaeans the greatest pleasure to be called Dryopians, and it is plain that they have founded their holiest sanctuaries in memory of their old sanctuaries on Parnassus; for they have both a temple of Apollo and a sanctuary of Dryops with an ancient image. They also celebrate mysteries every other year in honour of Dryops, whom they affirm to be a son of
12 Apollo. 7. The city, too, stands by the sea just like their old Asine in Argolis. It is forty furlongs from Colonides to Asine, and as far from Asine to Acritas, which is a headland running into the sea with a desert island called Theganussa lying off it. After Acritas there is port Phoenicus with the Oenussian islands lying opposite to it.

XXXV

1. Before the army mustered to attack Troy, and so long as the Trojan war lasted, the town of Mothone was called Pedasus; but afterwards it changed its name and was called, according to the inhabitants themselves, after the daughter of Oeneus. For they say that after the capture of Ilium, Oeneus, son of Porthaon, returned with Diomede to Peloponnese, and there had a daughter Mothone born to him by a concubine. But in my opinion the place got its name from the rock Mothon. It is this rock also that makes the harbour; for, stretching along under water, it narrows the entrance for ships, and at the same time stands as a breakwater against heavy seas.
2 2. I mentioned before that when the Nauplians were expelled by the Argives in the reign of Damocratidas, king of Argos, for siding with the Lacedaemonians, they received Mothone from the Lacedaemonians; and that they were not afterwards molested by the restored Messenians. The Nauplians, in my opinion, were of Egyptian extraction. They sailed with Danaus to Argolis, and two generations afterwards they were settled in Nauplia by Nauplius, son
3 of Amymone. The Emperor Trajan granted the people of Mothone freedom and independence. 3. At an earlier time Mothone was over-

taken by a calamity which befell no other town on the coast of Messenia. Thesprotian Epirus fell a prey to anarchy. For Deidamia, daughter of Pyrrhus, had no children, and when she came to die she left the government in the hands of the people. She was a daughter of Pyrrhus, son of Ptolemy, son of Alexander, son of Pyrrhus. The history of Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides, has been 4
already narrated by me in my description of Athens. As a tactician and strategist Pyrrhus was preferred by Procles, the Carthaginian, to Alexander himself; but Procles admitted that for good fortune and the splendour of his exploits Alexander carried off the palm. So, then, 5
when the kingly government came to an end in Epirus, the common people grew saucy and set all authority at naught. Hence the Illyrians, who inhabit the coast of the Ionian Sea north of Epirus, overran and subdued them. No people ever yet, so far as we know, throve under a democracy, except the Athenians; and they certainly flourished under it. For in mother-wit they had not their equals in Greece, and they were the most law-abiding of peoples. 4. But the 6
Illyrians, having tasted the sweets of conquest, and hungering for more, built ships and plundered all who fell in their way. One time, pretending to treat the Mothonian territory as a friendly country, they came to anchor off it, and despatched a messenger to the city with a request that a supply of wine might be sent to the ships. A few men brought the wine, and the Illyrians bought it of them at their own price, and sold them some of the wares they had brought with them. Next day more people came from the city, and the Illyrians 7
allowed them also to make a profit. At last women as well as men came down to the vessels to sell wine and get goods in exchange from the barbarians. Then the Illyrians had the hardihood to kidnap many men and yet more women, and putting them on board they made sail for the Ionian Sea, leaving the city of Mothone desolate.

5. In Mothone there is a temple of Athena of the Winds: 8
they say that Diomede dedicated the image and gave the goddess this title. For the country used to suffer from stormy and unseasonable winds till Diomede prayed to Athena, and from that day forward the winds have wrought no havoc on the land. 6.
There is also a sanctuary of Artemis here, and a well of water mixed with pitch: in appearance, the water is very like the fragrant oil of Cyzicus. Water may assume every hue and smell. The bluest 9
water I ever saw was the water at Thermopylae, not all of it, only the water that descends into the swimming-bath which the natives call the Women's Pots. Red water, red as blood, may be seen in the land of the Hebrews, near the city of Joppa. The water is hard by the sea, and the local legend runs that when Perseus had slain the sea-beast, to which the daughter of Cepheus was exposed, he washed off the blood at this spring. I have seen 10

black water welling up from springs at Astyra, which is the name of the hot baths at Atarneus opposite to Lesbos. The town of Atarneus is the price which the Chians received from the Medes for surrendering Pactyes, the Lydian, who had thrown himself on their protection. As I said, the water at Astyra is black; but above Rome, across the river Anio, there is white water. When a man first enters this water it feels cold and makes him
11 shiver, but after a little it heats him like the most fiery drug. These are the wonderful and peculiar springs which I have myself seen. Less marvellous springs I knowingly omit; for it is no great wonder to find salt and astringent water. But I will mention two waters of different sorts. In the White Plain in Caria, beside the village of Dascylus, as it is called, there is hot water which is sweeter than
12 milk to drink. Again Herodotus, I know, affirms that a spring of bitter water flows into the river Hypanis. Why should we not believe him, when in our own time there has been found at Dicaearchia, in the land of the Tyrrhenians, a hot spring so acid that in a few years it corroded the lead through which it flowed?

XXXVI

1. From Mothone it is a journey of just one hundred furlongs to Cape Coryphasium; and on the cape lies Pylus. Pylus was founded by Pylus, son of Cleson: he brought from Megaris the Leleges, who at that time occupied it. But he did not enjoy the city which he had founded, being driven out by Neleus and the Pelasgians of Iolcus. So he withdrew to the neighbouring country and there occupied Pylus in Elis. But Neleus, after he became king, raised the repute of Pylus so high that Homer
2 calls it the city of Neleus. 2. Here there is a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Coryphasian, and a house called the house of Nestor, and in it is a painting of Nestor. His tomb is in the city: the tomb a little way from Pylus is said to be that of Thrasymedes. 3. There is also in the city a cave, in which they say that the
3 cows of Nestor and of Neleus before him were stalled. These cows must have been of Thessalian breed, having belonged to Iphiclus, father of Protesilaus. For Neleus asked these cows as a bridal present from his daughter's suitors, and in order to get them Melampus, to please his brother Bias, went to Thessaly. Here the cowherds of Iphiclus laid him by the heels; but at Iphiclus' request Melampus divined for him and received the cows as his guerdon. Thus we see that people in those days set great store on amassing wealth in the shape of herds of horses and kine. For Neleus coveted the cows of Iphiclus, and Eurystheus, moved by the fame of the Iberian kine, commanded Hercules to lift the cattle of Geryon.
4 Eryx, also, who then reigned in Sicily, is known to have conceived so

keen a love of the oxen from Erythea, that he wrestled with Hercules for them, and staked his kingdom against the kine. Again, Homer in the *Iliad* says that the first marriage present given by Iphidamas, son of Antenor, to his father-in-law was a hundred kine. These facts confirm my view that the men of those times delighted chiefly in cattle. But it seems to me that the kine of Neleus must have 5
mostly grazed beyond the borders; for the district of Pylus is in general sandy and could not furnish so much grass for cows. In proof of it I may refer to Homer, who in speaking of Nestor always adds that he was king of sandy Pylus.

4. Off the harbour lies the island of Sphacteria, just as Rhenea 6
lies off the roadstead of Delos. We see that human fortunes can confer renown on places previously unknown. Thus Caphareus in Euboea is famous for the storm which there burst upon the Greeks under Agamemnon as they were returning from Ilium; and everyone has heard of Psyttalia at Salamis, because of the Medes who perished there. So Sphacteria is known to the world for the disaster that there befell the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians set up a bronze image of victory on the Acropolis to commemorate the affair of Sphacteria.

5. Having come to Cyparissiae from Pylus we see a spring 7
below the city near the sea. They say that Dionysus made the water flow by smiting the earth with his wand; hence they name it the spring of Dionysus. There is also a sanctuary of Apollo at Cyparissiae, and another of Athena surnamed Cyparissian. In the Defile (*Aulon*), as it is called, there is a temple of Aulonian Aesculapius and an image of him. At this point the river Neda flows between Messenia and Elis.

BOOK FIFTH

ELIS I

I

1. THE Greeks who say that Peloponnese is divided into five parts and not more, must hold that the Eleans are comprised with the Arcadians in Arcadia, and that the second part belongs to the Achaeans, and the other three to the Dorians. Of the races that inhabit Peloponnese the Arcadians and Achaeans are aborigines. When the Achaeans were driven from their country by the Dorians they did not withdraw from Peloponnese, but expelled the Ionians and took possession of the country which was anciently known as
2 Aegialus, but which is now called after these Achaeans. The Arcadians have continued from the beginning down to the present time in possession of their own country. The rest of Peloponnese is occupied by immigrant races. The present Corinthians are the youngest of the Peloponnesians: it is two hundred and seventeen years since they received their lands from the emperor. The Dryopians came to Peloponnese from Parnassus, and the Dorians from Oeta.

3 2. We know that the Eleans crossed over from Calydon and the rest of Aetolia. Their earlier history I find to be as follows. They say that the first who reigned in this land was Aethlius, that he was the son of Zeus and Protogenia, daughter of Deucalion, and
4 that he had a son Endymion. The Moon, they say, loved Endymion, and he had fifty daughters by the goddess. Others, with more probability, say that Endymion married a wife: some say that she was Asterodia; others that she was Chromia, daughter of Itonus, son of Amphictyon; others that she was Hyperippe, daughter of Arcas: at all events they agree that he begot Paeon, Epeus, and Aetolus, and a daughter Eurycyda. 3. Endymion set his sons to run a race at Olympia for the kingdom: Epeus won the race and obtained the kingdom, and his subjects were then named Epeans for the first
5 time. Of his brothers they say that Aetolus abode in the land, but that Paeon, sore at his discomfiture, fled far, far away, and that the

region beyond the river Axius was named Paeonia after him. 4. As touching the death of Endymion the people of Heraclea near Miletus do not agree with the Eleans; for while the Eleans show Endymion's tomb, the people of Heraclea say that he went away to Mount Latmus. . . . And there is a shrine of Endymion on Latmus. Epeus 6
married Anaxiroe, daughter of Coronus, by whom he had a daughter Hyrmina, but no male issue. 5. The following events also took place in the reign of Epeus. Oenomaus, son of Alxion (though the poets have given out that he was a son of Ares, and the common tradition is to the same effect), was a prince in the land of Pisa; but he was deposed by Pelops the Lydian when the latter crossed over from Asia. At the death of Oenomaus, Pelops acquired not only 7
the land of Pisa, but also the border district of Olympia, which he severed from the territory of Epeus. The Eleans said that Pelops was the first to found a temple of Hermes in Peloponnese and to sacrifice to the god, which he did for the purpose of averting the wrath of the deity at the death of Myrtilus.

6. Aetolus, who reigned after Epeus, had to flee from Peloponnese, because the children of Apis convicted him on trial of involuntary homicide; for Apis, son of Jason, from Pallantium in Arcadia, was driven over and killed by Aetolus at the funeral games celebrated in memory of Azan. From Aetolus, son of Endymion, the people about the Achelous got their name because he fled to that part of the mainland. But the lordship of the Epeans passed to Eleus: his mother was Eurycyda, daughter of Endymion, and his father, if you please, was Poseidon. From Eleus the people took their present name of Eleans instead of their old name of Epeans. 8

7. Eleus had a son Augeas. Those who magnify his history give 9
the name of Eleus a twist, and affirm that Augeas was a son of the sun (*helios*). This Augeas had so many cows and flocks of goats that most of the land lay untilled by reason of their dung. So Augeas persuaded Hercules, by the promise of a portion of the land of Elis, or of some other reward, to cleanse the country from the dung. This Hercules did by turning the stream of the Menius 10
upon the dung. But because he had achieved the task rather by craft than by the sweat of his brow, Augeas refused him his reward, and turned his elder son Phyleus out of house and home because he spoke up and told his father he was wronging a man who had done him a good turn. But lest Hercules should attack Elis, Augeas prepared to resist him: in particular he made friends with the sons of Actor, and also with Amarynceus. 8. This Amarynceus 11
was a brave soldier: his father Pyttius was of Thessalian extraction, and had come from Thessaly to Elis. To Amarynceus, therefore, Augeas gave a share in the government of Elis. But Actor and his sons were of the native race and possessed a share of the kingdom.

For the father of Actor was Phorbas, son of Lapithus, and his mother was Hyrmina, daughter of Epeus. Actor gave his mother's name to the city of Hyrmina, which he founded in Elis.

II

1. Hercules did not cover himself with glory in the war with Augeas. For the sons of Actor, then in the prime of youth and valour, always turned to flight the army of his allies, until the Corinthians proclaimed the Isthmian truce and the sons of Actor went as envoys to the games: then Hercules waylaid and slew them in Cleonae. 2. The murderer being unknown, Moline took
2 great pains to find out the assassin of her sons. When she had discovered him, the Eleans demanded satisfaction for the murder from the Argives; for at that time Hercules dwelt in Tiryns. As the Argives refused satisfaction, the Eleans next besought the Corinthians to exclude the whole of the Argives from the Isthmian games. 3. When they failed in this also, Moline is said to have called down curses on her countrymen if they did not hold aloof from the Isthmian games. The curse of Moline is remembered and respected to this day, and no athlete from Elis will enter for
3 the Isthmian games. 4. But there are two other stories different from the one I have just told. One is that Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth, dedicated a golden image to Zeus at Olympia; but dying before he had carved his own name on the image, the Corinthians begged leave of the Eleans to grave on it the name of their city; and not obtaining their request they were angry with the Eleans, and warned them to keep away from the Isthmian games. But if the Eleans were debarred in spite of themselves from the Isthmian games by the Corinthians, why were the Corinthians allowed to
4 share in the Olympic games? The other story is that a worthy man of Elis named Prolaus and his wife Lysippe had two sons, Philanthus and Lampus, who went to the Isthmian games, intending to compete, the one in the pancratium for boys and the other in the wrestling-match; but that before they entered the arena they were strangled or otherwise put out of the way by their antagonists; and that so Lysippe cursed the Eleans if they did not voluntarily hold aloof from the Isthmian games. This story can also be shown to be
5 absurd. For Timon, an Elean, won victories in the pentathlum at the Greek games, and there is a statue of him at Olympia with an inscription in elegiacs setting forth all the crowns he won and the reason why he did not gain a prize at the Isthmus. The latter passage runs thus:—

> But he was hindered from going to the Sisyphian land by the quarrel
> About the doleful death of the Molionids.

III

1. But enough of this disquisition. Hercules afterwards took and sacked Elis with an army which he had drawn together from Argos, Thebes, and Arcadia. The Eleans were assisted by the men of Pylus in Elis and by the men of Pisa. Hercules took vengeance on the people of Pylus; but he was prevented from marching against the men of Pisa by the following oracle from Delphi :—

Dear to my sire is Pisa; but into my hands he gave Pytho.

This oracle saved the people of Pisa. 2. Hercules gave up the land of Elis and everything else to Phyleus, more out of respect for him than from a voluntary impulse; he also left the prisoners in his hands, and allowed Augeas to go unpunished. 3. As the land 2
was bereft of men of military age, the women of Elis, it is said, prayed to Athena that they might conceive so soon as they met their husbands. Their prayer was heard, and they founded a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Mother. And as both wives and husbands were overjoyed at the meeting, they named the spot where they first met Bady ('sweet'); and the river which flows by it they called the Bady Water in their native tongue.

4. After Phyleus had settled the affairs of Elis he returned to 3
Dulichium. Augeas died in old age, and the kingdom of Elis devolved on his son Agasthenes, and on Amphimachus and Thalpius. For the sons of Actor had married twin sisters, daughters of Dexamenus, king of Olenus : one of the sons (Cteatus) married Theronice, and had by her a son Amphimachus; the other, Eurytus, married Theraephone, and had by her a son Thalpius. But neither did 4
Amarynceus nor his son Diores remain a mere commoner. This is signified by Homer in his list of the Eleans; for he makes their whole fleet to consist of forty ships, and says that half of them were under Amphimachus and Thalpius, and that, of the other twenty, ten were commanded by Diores, son of Amarynceus, and ten by Polyxenus, son of Agasthenes. After Polyxenus had returned safe from Troy, a son Amphimachus was born to him. He gave the child this name, it seems to me, out of friendship for Amphimachus, son of Cteatus, who fell at Ilium. Amphimachus had a son Eleus. 5. It was when 5
Eleus was king of Elis that the host of the Dorians assembled under the sons of Aristomachus to make good their return to Peloponnese. An oracle was given to the kings of the Dorians that they should take the three-eyed one to guide them on their return. While they were at a loss to know what the oracle might mean, there met them a man driving a mule, and the mule was blind of one eye. Cres- 6
phontes bethought him that the oracle referred to this man, so the Dorians made friends with him. He bade them return to Peloponnese

in ships, and not to try to make their way across the Isthmus with a land force. This was his advice, and he also guided them on the voyage from Naupactus to Molycrium. In return for this service they covenanted to give him, at his request, the land of Elis. The man was Oxylus, son of Haemon, son of Thoas. It was this Thoas who helped the sons of Atreus to conquer the realm of Priam. From Thoas up to Aetolus, son of Endymion, there are six genera-
7 tions. The Heraclids were kinsmen of the kings of Aetolia: in particular the mothers of Thoas, son of Andraemon, and of Hyllus, son of Hercules, were sisters. But an accident had forced Oxylus to flee from Aetolia; for they say that in throwing a quoit he had missed his aim and unwittingly taken a life. Some say that the man killed by the quoit was Oxylus' brother Thermius; others that he was Alcidocus, son of Scopius.

IV

1. Another story told of Oxylus is this: he suspected that when the sons of Aristomachus saw that the land of Elis was good and cultivated throughout, they would not give it to him, and therefore he led the Dorians through Arcadia, and not through Elis. Oxylus would fain have got the kingdom of Elis without striking a blow. Dius, however, would not yield, but proposed that, instead of a pitched battle between the two armies, one soldier should be chosen from each side to do battle. This proposal was accepted by
2 both sides. The Elean champion was Degmenus, an archer, and the champion on the Aetolian side was Pyraechmes, a trained slinger. Pyraechmes was victorious, so the kingdom fell to Oxylus. He suffered the old Epean inhabitants to abide in possession of their own, but he introduced colonies of his Aetolians among them, and gave them a share of the land. He assigned certain privileges to Dius, and he kept up the ancient worship of the heroes, especially the sacrifice to Augeas, which is still regularly offered in our
3 time. It is said that he also persuaded the people who dwelt in the villages not far from the walls to migrate to the city, and thus he made Elis more populous and in every way more prosperous. 2. An oracle came to him also from Delphi bidding him invite the descendant of Pelops to settle in the country. Oxylus made diligent search, and found Agorius, son of Damasias, son of Penthilus, son of Orestes. Him he fetched from Helice in Achaia, and with
4 him a small section of the Achaeans. They say that the name of Oxylus' wife was Pieria, but they remember nothing more about her. Oxylus is said to have had two sons, Aetolus and Laias. Aetolus died before his father and mother; so his parents buried him in a tomb which they caused to be made exactly in the gate which leads to Olympia and the sanctuary of Zeus. They buried him thus in

obedience to an oracle which commanded that the corpse should be neither within nor without the city. And to this day the master of the gymnasium still sacrifices annually to Aetolus as to a hero.

3. Oxylus was succeeded on the throne by his son Laias. 5
I did not find, however, that the descendants of Laias sat on the throne; therefore, though I know who they were, I pass them over, for I do not wish my narrative to stoop to mere commoners. 4. Afterwards Iphitus, of the race of Oxylus, and a contemporary of Lycurgus, the Lacedaemonian lawgiver, arranged the games at Olympia, and revived the Olympic festival and truce, which had been discontinued for a time, how long I cannot say. The cause of the discontinuance of the Olympic festival I will explain when I treat of Olympia. As Greece just at that time was sorely wasted 6
by pestilence and civil strife, it struck Iphitus that he would pray to the god at Delphi for deliverance from these evils; and they say that the Pythian priestess enjoined him and the Eleans to renew the Olympic games. Iphitus persuaded the Eleans to sacrifice also to Hercules, whom hitherto they had regarded as their foe. The inscription at Olympia states that Iphitus was a son of Haemon; but most of the Greeks say he was a son of Praxonides, and not of Haemon. The ancient writings of the Eleans traced him to a father of the same name as himself, namely Iphitus.

5. The Eleans bore their share in the Trojan war, and in 7
the battles fought during the Persian invasion of Greece. Passing over their contests with the Pisans and Arcadians for the management of the Olympic games, we note that they reluctantly joined the Lacedaemonians in invading Attica. Not long afterwards they banded themselves with the Mantineans and Argives against the Lacedaemonians, and prevailed upon the Athenians to join the alliance. At the time of the invasion of Agis and the treachery of 8
Xenias, the Eleans won a battle at Olympia, routed the Lacedaemonians, and chased them out of the sacred enclosure; but afterwards the war was concluded by the treaty which I mentioned above in my book on Lacedaemon. When Philip, son of Amyntas, would 9
not keep his hands off Greece, the Eleans, crippled by domestic broils, joined the Macedonian alliance, but they would not fight against the Greeks at Chaeronea. However, they indulged their old hatred of the Lacedaemonians by joining Philip in attacking them. But after the death of Alexander they sided with the Greeks in the war with the Macedonians under Antipater.

V

1. Afterwards Aristotimus, son of Damaretus, son of Etymon, aided and abetted by Antigonus, son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia, made himself tyrant of Elis. His tyranny lasted six

months, and was then put an end to by the revolt of Chilon, Hellanicus, Lampis, and Cylon. Cylon with his own hand slew the tyrant who had taken refuge at the altar of Saviour Zeus. Such is a short enumeration of the wars of the Eleans.

2 2. There are two marvels in the land of Elis: one is that fine flax grows here and nowhere else in Greece; the other is that the mares cannot be impregnated by asses within the borders of Elis, though they can be impregnated outside them. The cause of this last phenomenon is said to have been a curse. The fine flax of Elis is not inferior in fineness of texture to the fine flax of the Hebrews, but it is not so yellow.

3 3. Going from <the Neda> you come to a place in Elis named Samicum, which extends to the sea. Above it to the right is the district of Triphylia with a city Lepreus. The people of Lepreus claim to belong to Arcadia, but it is notorious that they have been subject to Elis from the earliest times. Whenever any of them won prizes at Olympia, the herald proclaimed them Eleans from Lepreus. The poet Aristophanes also says that Lepreus is a town of Elis. There are three roads to Lepreus: one from Samicum, leaving the river Anigrus on the left; another from Olympia; and a third from Elis.

4 The longest of them is a day's journey. 4. They say that the city took its name from its founder, Lepreus, son of Pyrgeus. It is said that Lepreus bragged that he was as good a man as Hercules at eating: each of them killed an ox at the same time and cooked it, and Lepreus was as good as his word, for he turned out to be as powerful an eater as Hercules. After that he took heart of grace, and challenged Hercules to a duel. But they say that he got the worst of it, and being knocked on the head was buried in the land of Phigalia. However, the Phigalians could not point to his tomb.

5 I have heard the foundation of the town of Lepreus attributed to Leprea, daughter of Pyrgeus. Others say that the people who first settled in the land were attacked by leprosy, and that thus the city got its name from the misfortune of its inhabitants. The Lepreans said that there used to be in their city a temple of Zeus Leucaeus ('of the white poplar'), and the graves of Lycurgus, son of Aleus, and Caucon; this latter grave, they said, was surmounted by the

6 figure of a man holding a lyre. But in my time there was no remarkable tomb and no sanctuary at all of the gods, save one of Demeter, and even that was made of unburnt bricks and had no image. Not far from Lepreus is a spring called Arene, which they say got its name from the wife of Aphareus.

7 5. We now return to Samicum, and in passing through that district we come to the mouth of the river Anigrus. The flow of this river is often checked by stormy winds, which, sweeping the sand from the deep sea against its mouth, stop the passage of the water. So when the sand has been soaked on both sides—on the one side by

the sea, and on the inside by the river—beasts of burden, and still more foot-passengers, are in danger of sinking in it. The Anigrus 8
comes down from Mount Lapithus in Arcadia, and from its very source the water of the river is not fragrant, but on the contrary stinks dreadfully. Before it is joined by the Acidas, even fish clearly cannot live in it. After its junction with the Acidas the fish brought down into it by the latter river are uneatable, though they are eatable if caught in the Acidas. That the old name of 9
the Acidas was Jardanus I have myself no grounds for inferring; but I was told so by a man of Ephesus, and I give his statement for what it is worth. I am persuaded that the odd smell of the Anigrus is caused by the soil through which the water rises, just as the same cause operates in the case of the waters inland from Ionia, the exhalation of which is poisonous to man. Some of the Greeks say 10
that Chiron, others that another Centaur named Pylenor, was hit by Hercules with an arrow, and fled wounded and washed his hurt in this water, and so the Anigrus got its noisome smell from the venom of the hydra. Others again trace the peculiarity of the river to the fact that Melampus, son of Amythaon, caused to be flung into it the objects used by him in purifying the daughters of Proetus.

6. In Samicum, not far from the river, there is a cave called the 11
cave of the Anigrian nymphs. When a leper enters the cave he first prays to the nymphs and promises them a sacrifice, whatever it may be. Then he wipes the diseased parts of his body, and swimming through the river leaves his old uncleanness in the water and comes out whole and of one colour.

VI

1. Crossing the Anigrus and following the straight road that leads to Olympia, you soon see on the right of the road a high place and a city Samia standing on it. This city is said to have been used by Polysperchon, an Aetolian, as a stronghold from which to annoy the Arcadians. 2. None of the Messenians or Eleans could 2
point out to me with certainty the ruins of Arene. The subject is one on which those who choose to do so may indulge in a variety of conjectures. The most plausible account seemed to me to be that in ancient times and in the heroic age Samicum was called Arene. Those who gave this explanation quoted the verses in the *Iliad*:—

> There is a river Minyeius falling into the sea
> Fast by Arene.

These ruins are very near to the Anigrus. And though it may 3
be questioned whether Samicum was once called Arene, the Arcadians are agreed that the ancient name of the river Anigrus

was Minyeius. We may suppose that the Neda, where it approaches the sea, became the boundary of Elis on the side of Messenia at the time when the Heraclids returned to Peloponnese.

4 3. Leaving the Anigrus behind and journeying for some distance through a sandy district where wild pine-trees grow, you will see behind you on the left the ruins of Scillus. Scillus was another of the cities in Triphylia; but in the war of the Pisans against the Eleans, the people of Scillus were allies of the Pisans and open enemies of the Eleans, and therefore the Eleans destroyed their city.

5 4. The Lacedaemonians afterwards severed Scillus from Elis and gave it to Xenophon, son of Grylus, then an exile from Athens. Xenophon was banished by the Athenians for joining Cyrus, the deadly foe of the Athenian democracy, in a campaign against the Persian king, who was a friend of Athens. For while Cyrus resided at Sardes, he supplied Lysander, son of Aristocritus, and the Lacedaemonians with money to be spent on their fleet. Therefore Xenophon was banished. He settled in Scillus, and had a sacred

6 precinct and a temple built in honour of Ephesian Artemis. Scillus contains game, to wit, wild boars and deer; and the river Selinus flows through the district. The Elean guides said that the Eleans recovered Scillus, and that Xenophon was tried before the Olympic Council for receiving the land from the Lacedaemonians, but being pardoned by the Eleans he dwelt securely in Scillus. Moreover, a little way from the sanctuary a tomb was shown, with a statue of Pentelic marble on the grave. The neighbours say it is the tomb of Xenophon.

7 5. On the road to Olympia, before you cross the Alpheus, there is a precipitous mountain with lofty cliffs as you come from Scillus. The mountain is named Typaeum. It is a law of Elis to cast down from this mountain any women who shall be found to have come to the Olympic games, or even to have crossed the Alpheus on the forbidden days. They say, however, that no woman was ever caught doing so save only Callipatira, or Pherenice,

8 as she is called by others. Her husband being dead, she disguised herself completely as a trainer, and brought her son Pisirodus to Olympia to compete in the games. Pisirodus being victorious, Callipatira leaped over the barrier within which the trainers are enclosed, and in doing so exposed her person. Though her sex was thus discovered, they let her go free out of respect for her father, her brothers, and her son, all of whom had gained Olympic victories. But they made a law that for the future trainers must enter the lists naked.

VII

1. On reaching Olympia you see at last the waters of the Alpheus, a broad and noble stream, fed by seven important rivers,

not to speak of lesser tributaries. For the Helisson, which passes through Megalopolis, falls into it; also the Brentheates, which comes from the district of Megalopolis; the Gortynius, which flows past Gortyna, where is a sanctuary of Aesculapius; the Buphagus from Melaeneae, between the territories of Megalopolis and Heraea; the Ladon, from the land of the Clitorians; and the Erymanthus, from the mountain of the same name. These rivers come down into the Alpheus from Arcadia; but the Cladeus joins it from Elis. The springs of the Alpheus are in Arcadia, not in Elis. 2. The following tale is told of the Alpheus. He was 2
a huntsman, and loved Arethusa, a huntress maid. But she, they say, not choosing to wed, crossed over to the isle that fronts Syracuse, by name Ortygia. And there she was changed from a woman into a spring of water; and Alpheus, too, turned into a river, all for love. Such is the tale of Alpheus and Ortygia. But 3
that the river flows through the sea and there mingles its water with the spring I cannot choose but believe, knowing as I do that the god at Delphi countenances the story; for when he was sending Archias the Corinthian to found Syracuse, he uttered these verses also:—

> There lies an isle, Ortygia, in the dim sea
> Off Trinacia, where Alpheus's mouth bubbles
> As it mingles with the springs of the fair-flowing Arethusa.

I am persuaded, therefore, that the fable of the river's love arose from the mingling of the water of Alpheus with Arethusa. 3. Greeks and Egyptians, who have gone up to Ethiopia above 4
Syene, and to Meroe in Ethiopia, say that the Nile enters a lake, and passes through it just as if it were dry land, before it flows through lower Ethiopia to Egypt and falls into the sea at Pharos. And in the land of the Hebrews I have myself seen a certain river Jordan passing through a lake named Tiberias, and entering another lake called the Dead Sea, in which it is swallowed up. The pro- 5
perties of the Dead Sea are the opposite of those of every other water; for living creatures float on its surface without swimming, and dead ones go to the bottom. Thus there are no fish in the lake, for the fish see their danger and flee back to the water that suits them. There is a water in Ionia that behaves in the same way as the Alpheus: its source is in Mount Mycale, and after passing through the intermediate sea it rises again opposite Branchidae at the harbour named Panormus. These things are so.

4. With regard to the Olympic games, the Elean antiquaries 6
say that Cronus first reigned in heaven, and that a temple was made for him at Olympia by the men of that age, who were named the Golden Race; that when Zeus was born, Rhea committed the safekeeping of the child to the Idaean Dactyls or Curetes, as they

are also called; that the Dactyls came from Ida in Crete, and their
7 names were Hercules, Paeonaeus, Epimedes, Iasius, and Idas; and that in sport Hercules, as the eldest, set his brethren to run a race, and crowned the victor with a branch of wild olive, of which they had such an abundance that they slept on heaps of its fresh green leaves. They say that the wild olive was brought to Greece by Hercules from the land of
8 the Hyperboreans. Olen the Lycian, in his hymn to Achaeia, was the first poet to affirm that there are men who dwell beyond the North Wind; for in that hymn he says that Achaeia came to Delos from these Hyperboreans. Afterwards Melanopus of Cyme composed an ode on Opis and Hecaerge, in which he said that they also had come to Delos from the Hyperboreans before
9 Achaeia did so. Aristaeus of Proconnesus, who also mentions the Hyperboreans, may perhaps have learned something more about them from the Issedonians, to whom he says in his epic that he came. The Idaean Hercules is therefore reputed to have been the first to arrange the games, and to have given them the name Olympic. He made the rule that they should be celebrated every fourth year,[1]
10 because he and his brothers were five in number. Some say that Zeus here wrestled with Cronus himself for the kingdom; others that he held the games in honour of his victory over Cronus. Amongst those who are said to have gained victories is Apollo, who is related to have outrun Hermes in a race, and to have vanquished Ares in boxing. They say that is why the flutes play the Pythian air, while the competitors in the pentathlum are leaping, because that air is sacred to Apollo, and the god himself had won Olympic crowns.

VIII

1. They relate that afterwards Clymenus, son of Cardys, a descendant of the Idaean Hercules, came from Crete about fifty years after the flood, which happened in Greece in the days of Deucalion. He, they say, held the games in Olympia, and set up an altar to Hercules, his ancestor, and to the other Curetes: to Hercules he gave the surname of Assistant. But Endymion, son of Aethlius, dethroned Clymenus, and offered his sons the kingdom
2 as a prize to be won in the race at Olympia. About a generation

[1] Literally 'every fifth year.' The celebration took place in one year out of every four; but the Greeks, adding the two years in which successive celebrations took place to the three intermediate years, expressed this by saying that the games were celebrated 'every fifth year.' This is one of the many cases in which the Greek use of the ordinal numbers differs from our own. In all such cases, where a precise and not a round number is meant, I have, in translating, altered the numeral so as to adapt it to the English idiom. To translate literally in such cases would be to misinterpret the meaning of the Greek.

after Endymion, Pelops celebrated the games in honour of Olympian Zeus in a grander way than all who had gone before him. When the sons of Pelops were dispersed from Elis over all the rest of Peloponnese, Amythaon, son of Cretheus, and cousin to Endymion on the father's side (for they say that Aethlius also was a son of Aeolus, though reputed to be a son of Zeus), celebrated the Olympic festival; and after him Pelias and Neleus celebrated it in common. It was also celebrated by Augeas and by Hercules, 3
the son of Amphitryo, after his conquest of Elis. The victors whom Hercules crowned are these: Iolaus, who won the race with Hercules' mares. (It thus appears that of old a competitor was allowed to drive horses which were not his own. At all events, in the funeral games held in honour of Patroclus, Homer represents Menelaus as driving a pair, of which one was Agamemnon's mare Aetha, while the other horse was Menelaus' own. Besides, Iolaus 4
regularly drove Hercules' chariot.) Iolaus, then, won the chariot-race: Iasius, an Arcadian, won the horse-race; and of the sons of Tyndareus one (Castor) won the foot-race, and the other, Pollux, won the boxing-match. It is said that Hercules himself won the prizes for wrestling and the pancratium.

2. After the reign of Oxylus, who also held the games, the 5
Olympic festival was discontinued down to the time of Iphitus. When Iphitus renewed the games, as I have said before, people had forgotten the ancient customs, and they only gradually remembered them, and as they remembered them piece by piece, they added them to the games. 3. This is clear from the following con- 6
siderations. At the point at which the unbroken tradition of the Olympiads begins, there were at first prizes for the foot-race, and Coroebus the Elean won the race. There is not a statue of Coroebus at Olympia, but his grave is at the confines of Elis. Afterwards, in the fourteenth Olympiad, the double foot-race was added; and Hypenus, a Pisan, won the wild olive in it. And in the next . . . Acanthus. In the eighteenth Olympiad they 7
remembered the pentathlum and the wrestling, and Lampis was victorious in the former and Eurybatus in the latter, both of them being likewise Lacedaemonians. In the twenty-third Olympiad they restored the prizes for boxing, and the victor was Onomastus of Smyrna, which was by that time included in Ionia. In the twenty-fifth Olympiad they admitted the race of full-grown horses (in four-horse chariots), and the Theban Pagondas was proclaimed victor in the race. Eight Olympiads afterwards they admitted the pancratium 8
for men and the horse-race: the horse of Crauxidas of Crannon passed the rest, and Lygdamis of Syracuse vanquished the other competitors in the pancratium. The tomb of the latter is at the quarries in Syracuse. Whether Lygdamis was as big as the Theban Hercules I know not, but the Syracusans say he was. The origin 9

of the competitions for boys is not traced to any ancient tradition: they were instituted by a resolution of the Eleans. Prizes for boys in running and wrestling were instituted in the thirty-seventh Olympiad, and Hipposthenes, a Lacedaemonian, was victorious in wrestling, and Polynices an Elean in the race. In the forty-first Olympiad they introduced boxing for boys, and of the competitors
10 the victor was Philetas of Sybara. The race between armed men was sanctioned in the sixty-fifth Olympiad, for the purpose, I suppose, of training men for war; and the first victor in the race with shields was Damaretus of Heraea. The race called *synoris*, between (chariots drawn by) pairs of full-grown horses, was instituted in the ninety-third Olympiad, and the victor was Evagoras, an Elean. In the ninety-ninth Olympiad the race between chariots, each drawn by (four) foals, was instituted, and Sybariades, a Lacedaemonian, won
11 the crown in the race. Afterwards they instituted races between chariots drawn by pairs of foals, and races ridden on foals: they say that a woman Belistiche, from the coast of Macedonia, was proclaimed victor in the former, and Tleptolemus, a Lycian, in the latter race. The victory of Tleptolemus, they say, occurred in the hundred and thirty-first Olympiad, and that of Belistiche occurred two Olympiads earlier. In the hundred and forty-fifth Olympiad prizes were offered for boys in the pancratium, and the victor was Phaedimus, an Aeolian, from the city of Troas.

IX

1. Some competitions, on the other hand, were abolished at Olympia, the Eleans resolving to hold them no longer. The pentathlum for boys was instituted in the thirty-eighth Olympiad, and after Eutelidas, a Lacedaemonian, had won the wild olive for it, the Eleans decided that boys should no longer compete in the pentathlum. The race between mule-carts and the trotting-race, instituted respectively in the seventieth and seventy-first Olympiad, were both abolished by proclamation in the eighty-fourth Olympiad. At their first institution, Thersius, a Thessalian, won the cart-race; and Pataecus, an Achaean from Dyme, won the trotting-race.
2 2. The latter race was ridden on mares, and in the last part of the course the riders leaped down and ran beside their horses, holding on by the bridle just as the Mounters, as they are called, still do. The Mounters, however, differ from the riders in the trotting-race in wearing different badges, and riding horses instead of mares. As for the cart-race, it had neither antiquity nor dignity to recommend it. Besides, the carts were drawn by pairs of mules instead of horses, and an ancient curse rests on the people of Elis if ever the animal is born in their land.
3 3. The present order of the games, according to which the

sacrifices for the pentathlum and the chariot-race are offered to the god after <the other> contests, was first instituted in the seventy-seventh Olympiad. Previously the contests for men and chariots had both been held on the same day. On that occasion the pancratiasts had to prolong their contest into the night because they had not been called on early enough. The cause of the delay was the chariot-race, and still more the contest in the pentathlum. Callias of Athens was victorious in the pancratium; but for the future neither the pentathlum nor the chariot-race was to interfere with the pancratium. 4. The present rules as to the presidents of the games 4
are not what they were originally. Iphitus presided alone over the games, and after Iphitus the descendants of Oxylus did likewise. But in the fiftieth Olympiad two men, selected by lot from the whole body of the Eleans, were entrusted with the presidency of the festival, and for a long time afterwards the number of the presidents continued to be two. 5. But in the twenty-fifth Olympiad 5
nine umpires were appointed, of whom three were entrusted with the chariot-race, three were to watch the pentathlum, and the rest were to take charge of the other contests. In the next Olympiad but one a tenth umpire was added. In the hundred and third Olympiad the Eleans were divided into twelve tribes, and one umpire was taken from each tribe. But being hard put to it by the Arcadians in war, 6
they lost a piece of their territory, together with all the townships which were contained in the district thus severed from Elis, and so in the hundred and fourth Olympiad they were reduced to the number of eight tribes, and the number of the umpires chosen corresponded to the number of the tribes. But in the hundred and eighth Olympiad they reverted to the number of ten, which has remained unaltered from that day to this.

X

1. Many a wondrous sight may be seen, and not a few tales of wonder may be heard in Greece; but there is nothing on which the blessing of God rests in so full a measure as the rites of Eleusis and the Olympic games. From of old the sacred grove (*alsos*) of Zeus has been called Altis, through a corruption of the word for grove. Pindar, too, in a song composed in honour of an Olympic victor, calls the place Altis. 2. The temple and image of Zeus 2
were made from the booty at the time when the Eleans conquered Pisa and the vassal states that revolted with her. That the image was made by Phidias is attested by the inscription under the feet of Zeus:—

Phidias, Charmides' son, an Athenian, made me.

The temple is built in the Doric style, and columns run all round

3 it on the outside. It is made of native conglomerate. The height of it up to the gable is sixty-eight feet, its breadth ninety-five, its length two hundred and thirty. The architect was Libon, a native. The tiles are not of baked earth, but of Pentelic marble, which is wrought into the shape of tiles. They say that this was a contrivance of Byzes, a Naxian, who is said to have made the images in Naxos, which bear the following inscription:—

> Euergus, a Naxian, dedicated me to the offspring of Latona,
> Euergus, son of Byzes, who first made tiles of stone.

This Byzes lived in the time of Alyattes, the Lydian, and of Astyages,
4 the son of Cyaxares, king of the Medes. A gilt kettle is set on each extremity of the roof of the temple at Olympia; and a Victory, also gilt, stands just at the middle of the gable. Under the image of Victory is hung a golden shield with the Gorgon Medusa wrought in relief on it. The inscription on the shield sets forth the persons who dedicated it and their reason for doing so. It runs thus:—

> The temple hath a golden shield: from Tanagra
> The Lacedaemonians and their allies brought it and dedicated it
> As a gift taken from the Argives, Athenians, and Ionians,
> The tithe offered in acknowledgment of victory in the war.

I mentioned this battle also in my account of Attica, when I was
5 describing the tombs at Athens. On the outside of the frieze, which runs round the temple at Olympia above the columns, are one-and-twenty gilded shields, dedicated by the Roman general Mummius after he had conquered the Achaeans, taken Corinth, and
6 expelled its Dorian inhabitants. As to the sculptures in the gables: in the front gable there is represented the chariot-race between Pelops and Oenomaus about to begin; both are preparing for the race. An image of Zeus stands just at the middle of the gable: on the right of Zeus is Oenomaus with a helmet on his head, and beside him is his wife Sterope, one of the daughters of Atlas. Myrtilus, who drove the chariot of Oenomaus, is seated in front of the horses: his horses are four in number. After him there are two men: they have no names, but seemingly they also were ordered by Oenomaus
7 to look after the horses. At the very extremity Cladeus is lying down: next to the Alpheus the Cladeus is the river most honoured by the Eleans. On the left of Zeus are Pelops and Hippodamia, and the charioteer of Pelops, and the horses, and two men, supposed to be grooms of Pelops. Where the gable again narrows down, Alpheus is represented. The name of Pelops' charioteer, according to the Troezenians, is Sphaerus; but the
8 guide at Olympia said it was Cillas. The figures in the front gable are by Paeonius, a native of Mende in Thrace: the figures in the

back gable are by Alcamenes, a contemporary of Phidias, and only second to him as a sculptor. His work in the gable represents the battle of the Lapiths with the Centaurs at the wedding of Pirithous. At the middle of the gable is Pirithous: beside him, on the one hand, are Eurytion, who has snatched up the wife of Pirithous, and Caeneus, who is succouring Pirithous; on the other hand is Theseus repelling the Centaurs with an axe; one Centaur has caught up a maiden, another a blooming youth. Alcamenes, it seems to me, represented this scene because he had learned from Homer that Pirithous was a son of Zeus, and because he knew that Theseus was a great grandson of Pelops. Most of the labours of Hercules 9
are also represented at Olympia. Above the doors of the temple is the hunting of the Arcadian boar, and the affair with Diomede the Thracian, and that with Geryon at Erythea, and Hercules about to take the burden of Atlas on himself, and Hercules cleansing the land of the Eleans from the dung. Above the doors of the back chamber is Hercules wresting from the Amazon her girdle, and the stories of the deer, and the bull in Cnosus, and the birds at Stymphalus, and the hydra, and the lion in the land of Argos.
3. As you enter the bronze doors you have on the right, in front 10
of the pillar, a statue of Iphitus being crowned by a woman Ecechiria ('truce'), as the distich inscribed on the statue declares. Within the temple also there are pillars, and there are galleries up above, through which there is an approach to the image. There is also a winding ascent to the roof.

XI

1. The god is seated on a throne: he is made of gold and ivory: on his head is a wreath made in imitation of sprays of olive. In his right hand he carries a Victory, also of ivory and gold: she wears a ribbon, and on her head a wreath. In the left hand of the god is a sceptre, curiously wrought in all the metals: the bird perched on the sceptre is the eagle. The sandals of the god are of gold, and so is his robe. On the robe are wrought figures of animals and the lily flowers. 2. The throne is adorned with gold and precious 2
stones, also with ebony and ivory; and there are figures painted and images wrought on it. There are four Victories, in the attitude of dancing, at each foot of the throne, and two others at the bottom of each foot. On each of the two front feet are Theban children carried off by sphinxes, and under the sphinxes Apollo and Artemis are shooting down the children of Niobe with arrows. Between the 3
feet of the throne are four bars, each extending from foot to foot. On the bar which faces the entrance there are seven images: the eighth image has disappeared, they know not how. These may be representations of the ancient contests, for the contests for boys were not yet instituted in the time of Phidias. They say that the boy

binding his head with a ribbon is a likeness of Pantarces, an Elean youth, said to have been a favourite of Phidias. Pantarces won a victory in the boys' wrestling-match in the eighty-sixth Olympiad.
4 On the other bars is the troop that fought on the side of Hercules against the Amazons. The total number of figures is twenty-nine. Theseus is arrayed amongst the allies of Hercules. The throne is supported, not by the feet only, but also by an equal number of pillars which stand between the feet. But it is not possible to go under the throne in the way that we pass into the interior of the throne at Amyclae; for in Olympia people are kept off by barriers
5 made like walls. Of these barriers, the one facing the door is painted blue simply: the rest exhibit paintings by Panaenus. Amongst these paintings is seen Atlas upholding heaven and earth, and beside him stands Hercules wishing to take the burden of Atlas on himself; also Theseus and Pirithous, and Greece and Salamis holding in her hand the figure-head of a ship; and there is the
6 struggle of Hercules with the Nemean lion; and the outrage offered by Ajax to Cassandra; and Hippodamia, daughter of Oenomaus, with her mother; and Prometheus still in fetters, and Hercules is borne up aloft to him; for one of the stories about Hercules is that he killed the eagle that was torturing Prometheus on the Caucasus, and freed him from his fetters. The last paintings are Penthesilea giving up the ghost and Achilles supporting her, and two Hesperids bearing the apples, with the keeping of which they are said to have been entrusted. This Panaenus was a brother of Phidias, and the painting of the battle of Marathon in the Painted Colonnade at Athens
7 is by him. On the uppermost parts of the throne, above the head of the image, Phidias has made, on one side, the Graces, and on the other side the Seasons, three of each; for in poetry the Seasons also are described as daughters of Zeus, and in the *Iliad* Homer says that the Seasons had the charge of the sky, just like guards of a king's court. The footstool, or, as people in Attica call it, the *thranion*, under the feet of Zeus has golden lions, and the battle of Theseus with the Amazons is wrought in relief on it. This battle was the first deed of valour done by the Athenians against foreign foes.
8 3. On the pedestal, which supports the throne and the whole gorgeous image of Zeus, there are figures of gold, the Sun mounted in a car, and Zeus and Hera, . . . and beside him one of the Graces, and next to her Hermes, and next to Hermes Hestia; and after Hestia there is Love receiving Aphrodite as she rises from the sea, and Persuasion is crowning Aphrodite. Apollo, too, and Artemis are wrought in relief on it, and Athena and Hercules; and at the end of the pedestal Amphitrite and Poseidon, and the Moon riding what seems to me a horse. Some say, however, that the goddess is riding a mule, and not a horse, and they tell a silly story about the mule.

4. I know that the measurements of the height and breadth of 9
Zeus at Olympia have been recorded, but I cannot commend the men who took the measurements. For even the measurements they mention fall far short of the impression made by the image on the spectator. Why, the god himself, they say, bore witness to the art of Phidias. For when the image was completed Phidias prayed that the god would give a sign if the work was to his mind, and straightway, they say, the god hurled a thunderbolt into the ground at the spot where the bronze urn stood down to my time.

5. The ground in front of the image is flagged, not with white, 10
but with black stone. Round about the black pavement runs a raised edge of Parian marble to keep in the olive oil which is poured out. For oil is good for the image at Olympia, and it is this that keeps the ivory from suffering through the marshy situation of the Altis. But on the Acropolis at Athens it is not oil, but water, that is good for the ivory in the image of the Virgin. For the Acropolis being dry, by reason of its great height, the ivory image needs water and moisture. At Epidaurus, when I asked why they poured neither 11
water nor oil on the image of Aesculapius, the attendants of the sanctuary told me that the image and throne of the god were erected over a well.

XII

1. People who think that the things which project from an elephant's mouth are teeth, and not horns, may look at the elks (those wild animals in Celtic land) and at the Ethiopian bulls. For the male elks have horns on their eyebrows, but the females have none at all; and the Ethiopian bulls have horns on their noses. Who then need regard it as very wonderful that horns should grow through an animal's mouth? Again, they may see their error from 2
the following considerations. Horns fall off annually and then grow again, and this happens to the elephant as well as to deer and roe. But no full-grown animal has a second tooth. So if the things that project through the mouth were teeth, and not horns, how could they grow again? Again, teeth do not yield to the action of fire; but the horns both of oxen and of elephants can be changed from round into flat, and into other shapes, under the influence of fire. [However, hippopotamuses and swine have tusks on the lower jaw, but we do not see horns growing out of jaws.] You 3
may be sure, then, that an elephant's horns come down through its temples from above, and so curve outwards. I do not state this on mere hearsay, for I have myself seen an elephant's skull in a sanctuary of Artemis in Campania: the sanctuary is just about thirty furlongs from Capua, which is the capital of Campania. Thus the elephant's horns grow in a way different from the horns of all other

animals, just as his size and shape are like those of no other beast. It is a proof to my mind of the public spirit of the Greeks, and of their liberality in the service of the gods, that they imported ivory from India and Ethiopia to make images of.

4 2. In Olympia there is a woollen curtain, a product of the gay Assyrian looms and dyed with Phoenician purple. It is an offering of Antiochus, who also dedicated the golden aegis with the Gorgon on it above the theatre at Athens. This curtain is not drawn up to the roof like the curtain in the temple of Ephesian Artemis, but is let down by cords to the floor.

5 3. As to the offerings which stand either in the inner sanctuary or in the fore-temple, there is a throne, the offering of Arimnestus, king of Etruria, the first barbarian who presented an offering to Zeus at Olympia; and there are the bronze horses of Cynisca, tokens of an Olympic victory. These horses are less than life-size: they stand in the fore-temple on the right as you enter. Also there is a bronze-plated tripod, on which the victors' crowns used to be set out before
6 the table was made. 4. There are statues of the Emperors Hadrian and Trajan: the former is of Parian marble and was dedicated by the cities of the Achaean confederacy; the latter was dedicated by the Greek nation. It was Trajan who conquered the Getae who dwell beyond Thrace, and he made war on Osroes (the descendant of Arsaces) and the Parthians. Of his buildings the most remarkable are the baths called after him, a great circular theatre, a building for horse-races, two furlongs long, and the Forum at Rome, the last of which is worth seeing for its splendour,
7 and especially for its bronze roof. 5. Of the statues which stand in the round structures, the one made of amber is a portrait of Augustus, Emperor of Rome; the one of ivory was said to be a portrait of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. From Nicomedes the greatest of the cities in Bithynia got its new name: its former name was Astacus, and its original founder was Zypoetes, a Thracian, to judge by his name. 6. Native amber (*electrum*), of which the statue of Augustus is made, is found in the sands of the Eridanus, and is very rare and valuable for many purposes; but the other *electrum* is
8 an alloy of gold with silver. 7. In the temple at Olympia there are four crowns dedicated by Nero: three in the shape of wild olive leaves, and one in the shape of oak leaves. Here, too, are deposited five-and-twenty bronze shields, which are intended to be carried by the armed men in the race. Amongst the tablets is one inscribed with the oath of alliance for a hundred years which the Eleans swore to the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans.

XIII

1. Within the Altis there is also a precinct set apart for Pelops,

for the Eleans honour Pelops as much above all the heroes of Olympia as they honour Zeus above the rest of the gods. The Pelopium is to the right of the entrance to the temple of Zeus, on the north side. It is at a sufficient distance from the temple to allow of statues and other votive offerings standing between. Beginning just opposite the middle of the temple it extends along as far as the back chamber. It is surrounded by a stone wall, and in it are trees growing and statues set up. The entrance to it 2
is on the west. It is said to have been assigned to Pelops by Hercules, the son of Amphitryo; for Hercules also was a great-grandson of Pelops. It is said, too, that he sacrificed into the pit in honour of Pelops. 2. The annual magistrates still sacrifice to him: the victim is a black ram. Of this sacrifice the soothsayer gets no share; but it is the custom to give the neck only of the ram to the woodman, as he is called. The woodman is one of 3
the servants of Zeus: his duty is to supply states and private persons with wood for the sacrifices at a fixed price. The wood is the wood of the white poplar, and no other. Whoever eats of the flesh of the victim sacrificed to Pelops, be he an Elean or a stranger, he may not enter the temple of Zeus. At Pergamus, on the river Caicus, persons who sacrifice to Telephus are in the same predicament; for they may not go up to the sanctuary of Aesculapius till they have bathed. 3. The following story is also told. When the Trojan war was 4
dragging on, the soothsayers foretold the Greeks that they would not take the city till they had fetched the bow and arrows of Hercules, and a bone of Pelops. So they sent for Philoctetes, it is said, to the camp, and a shoulder-blade of Pelops was brought them from Pisa. When they were on their way home the ship that carried the bone of Pelops was lost off Euboea in the storm. But many years after 5
the taking of Ilium, Damarmenus, a fisherman of Eretria, casting his net into the sea, drew up the bone, and being amazed at its size he kept it hidden in the sand. At last, however, he went to Delphi to learn whose the bone was and what he should do with it. By the providence of the god it happened that at the same time 6
<there were present at Delphi envoys> from the Eleans, who desired a remedy for a plague. So the Pythian priestess bade them recover the bones of Pelops, and told Damarmenus to restore to the Eleans what he had found. The Eleans rewarded him for doing so, and made him and his descendants keepers of the bone. The shoulder-blade of Pelops had disappeared by my time: I suppose it mouldered away through age and the action of the salt water in which it had been sunk so long. 4. In my country there are still 7
left signs that Pelops and Tantalus once dwelt in it. For there is a notable grave of Tantalus, and there is a lake called after him. Further, there is a throne of Pelops, on a peak of Mount Sipylus, above the sanctuary of Mother Plastene; and across the river

Hermus there is an image of Aphrodite in Temnus, made of a growing myrtle-tree. Tradition says that Pelops dedicated the image to propitiate the goddess when he prayed that he might wed Hippodamia.

8 5. The altar of Olympian Zeus is situated at an equal distance from the Pelopium and the sanctuary of Hera, but in front of both. Some say it was built by the Idaean Hercules, others say by the local heroes two generations later than Hercules. It is made of the ashes of the thighs of the victims sacrificed to Zeus, just like the altar at Pergamus. The altar of the Samian Hera is also made of ashes, and is not a whit finer than the altars in Attica which the 9 Athenians call extemporary sacrificial hearths. Of the altar at Olympia the circumference of the first stage (which is called the *prothusis*) amounts to one hundred and twenty-five feet, and the circumference of the next stage above the *prothusis* is thirty-two feet. The whole height of the altar is twenty-two feet. The custom is to sacrifice the victims on the lower part, the *prothusis*; but they carry the thighs up to the highest part of the altar and burn them there. 10 Stone steps lead up to the *prothusis* from each side, but from the *prothusis* the steps that lead to the upper part of the altar are, like the altar itself, of ashes. Even maidens may ascend as far as the *prothusis*, and women too, when they are not excluded from Olympia. But from this to the uppermost part of the altar men alone may ascend. Even when the festival is not going on, sacrifices are offered to Zeus 11 by private persons, and daily by the Eleans. Every year, punctually on the nineteenth day of the month Elaphius, the soothsayers bring the ashes from the Prytaneum, and after kneading them with the water of the Alpheus, they plaster the altar with them. Never may the ashes be made into mud by any other water; and that is why the Alpheus is thought to be of all rivers the dearest to Zeus. 6. At Didyma, in the territory of Miletus, there is an altar which, according to the Milesians, was made by the Theban Hercules out of the blood of the victims. However, in after ages the blood of the sacrifices has not swelled the altar to an excessive size.

XIV

1. There is another wonder about the altar at Olympia, and it is this:—The kites, the most rapacious of birds, do not molest people when they are sacrificing at Olympia. But if ever a kite should snatch away the inwards or a piece of the flesh, the omen is deemed unfavourable for the person sacrificing. 2. They say that when Hercules, the son of Alcmena, was sacrificing in Olympia, he was greatly plagued by the flies; so either out of his own head or by the advice of some one else, he sacrificed to Zeus Averter of Flies, and thus the flies were sent packing across the Alpheus. In the

same way the Eleans are said to sacrifice to Zeus Averter of Flies at the time when they drive the flies out of Olympia.

3. The only ground, in my opinion, of the preference which the 2
Eleans show for the white poplar by using its wood, and its wood only, for the sacrifices of Zeus, is that Hercules brought it to Greece from the Thesprotian land. And I believe that when he sacrificed to Zeus at Olympia, Hercules himself burned the thigh bones of the victims on wood of the white poplar. The white poplar was found by him growing beside the Acheron, the river in Thesprotis, and that, they say, is why the tree is called *acherois* by Homer. 4. We 3
see, then, that of old, as at the present day, rivers were not equally suited for the production of plants and trees. Thus no tamarisks sprout so thick and high as those on the banks of the Maeander: no reeds grow so tall as those in the Boeotian Asopus; and the *persea* tree loves no water but the water of the Nile. No wonder, then, that the white poplar should first have sprouted on the banks of Achéron, and the wild olive on the banks of the Alpheus, and that the black poplar should be a nursling of the Celtic land and the Celtic river Eridanus.

5. Having mentioned the greatest altar, I may run over all the 4
altars in Olympia. I will notice them in the order in which the Eleans are accustomed to offer sacrifice upon them. They sacrifice, first, to Hestia; second, to Olympian Zeus on the altar inside the temple; third, on one altar . . . . this sacrifice also is customary; fourth and fifth, they sacrifice to Artemis and Athena, 5
Goddess of Booty; sixth, to the Worker Goddess. The descendants of Phidias, called Burnishers, to whom the Eleans have granted the privilege of cleansing the image of Zeus from the dirt that settles on it, offer sacrifice to this Worker Goddess before they begin to polish the image. There is another altar of Athena near the temple, and a square altar of Artemis beside it, which rises gradually to a height. After the altars I have mentioned they 6
sacrifice to Alpheus and Artemis on one altar, the reason for which is indicated by Pindar in an ode, and will be mentioned by me in speaking of Letrini. Not far from this altar there is another altar of Alpheus, and beside it is an altar of Hephaestus. Some of the Eleans name this altar of Hephaestus the altar of Warlike Zeus, and say that Oenomaus used to sacrifice on this altar to Warlike Zeus whenever he was about to engage in a chariot-race with any of the suitors of Hippodamia. After it there is an altar to Hercules, 7
surnamed Assistant, and altars to his brethren Epimedes, Idas, Paeonaeus, and Iasus. I know that the altar of Idas is by others called the altar of Acesidas. At the place where are the foundations of the house of Oenomaus there are two altars; one is that of Zeus of the Courtyard, which Oenomaus appears to have had built himself; the other altar is that of Thunderbolt Zeus, which I suppose

they made afterwards when the thunderbolt had fallen on the house
8 of Oenomaus. The great altar, about which I spoke a little ago, is
called the altar of Olympian Zeus. 6. Beside it is an altar of Un-
known Gods, after which is an altar of Purifying Zeus and Victory,
and another of Subterranean Zeus. There are also altars of all
gods and one of Olympian Hera, which is also made of ashes:
they say it was dedicated by Clymenus. After it there is an altar
of Apollo and Hermes in common, because there is a Greek tale
about them that Hermes was the inventor of the lyre and Apollo of
9 the lute. Next there is an altar of Unanimity, and another of
Athena, and one of the Mother of the Gods. 7. Hard by the
entrance into the stadium there are two altars: one of them is called
the altar of Hermes of the Games, the other the altar of Opportunity.
I know that Ion of Chios has a hymn on Opportunity, in which he
represents Opportunity as the youngest son of Zeus. Near the
treasury of the Sicyonians is an altar of Hercules, either Hercules
the Curete or Hercules the son of Alcmena; for some say the one,
10 some the other. 8. At what is called the Gaeum (sanctuary of
Earth) there is an altar of Earth, which is also made of ashes:
in former days they say that there was also an oracle of Earth here.
On what is called the Stomium ('mouth,' 'opening') there is an
altar to Themis. The altar of Zeus the Descender is protected by
a fence on all sides: it is near the great altar of ashes. The
reader will remember that the altars are not enumerated in the order
in which they stand, but that I have passed from one to the other
according to the order observed by the Eleans in their sacrifices.
Beside the precinct of Pelops there is an altar of Dionysus and
the Graces in common; and between the precinct and the altar there
is an altar of the Muses, and next to these an altar of the Nymphs.

XV

1. There is a building outside the Altis called the workshop of
Phidias, and here Phidias wrought the image piece by piece. In the
building there is an altar to all gods in common. Having returned
2 into the Altis, opposite to the Leonidaeum (2. the Leonidaeum,
though outside the sacred close, is at the processional entrance
into the Altis, which is the only way that processions are allowed to
take: the Leonidaeum was dedicated by Leonidas, a native, but in
my time the Roman governors of Greece lodged in it: it is sepa-
rated from the processional entrance by a street; for what the
3 Athenians call lanes the Eleans name streets) 3. in the Altis,
then, as you are about to pass to the left of the Leonidaeum, there
is an altar of Aphrodite, and after it an altar of the Seasons. Just
opposite the back chamber (of the temple of Zeus) there is on the
right a wild olive-tree: it is called the Olive of the Fair Crown, and

it is the custom to make from it the crowns which are given to the victors in the Olympic games. Near this wild olive there is an altar to the Nymphs, who are also named the Nymphs of the Fair Crowns. Outside the Altis, but to the right of the Leonidaeum, is an altar of 4
Artemis of the Market, also an altar to the Mistresses. I will tell about the goddess, whom they name the Mistress, when I come to describe Arcadia. After it there is an altar of Zeus of the Market, and in front of what is called the Grand Stand is an altar of Pythian Apollo, and after it an altar of Dionysus. This last altar, they say, was dedicated by private persons not long ago. 4. As you go to the 5
place where the chariots start, you pass an altar, the inscription on which declares that it belongs to the Guide of Fate. This is clearly a surname of Zeus, who knows the affairs of men, all that the Fates grant them, and all that they refuse. Near it is an oblong altar of the Fates, after it an altar of Hermes, and next two altars of Highest Zeus. At the place where the chariots start there are altars of Horse Poseidon and Horse Hera in the open air, just about the middle of the starting-place; and at the pillar is an altar of the Dioscuri. At the entrance to the 6
so-called Wedge there is an altar of Horse Ares on the one hand, and an altar of Horse Athena on the other. When we have entered the Wedge we come to an altar of Good Fortune, Pan, and Aphrodite. At the inmost point of the Wedge is an altar of the Nymphs whom they call Buxom. Returning from the colonnade, which the Eleans call the Colonnade of Agnaptus, after the name of the architect, you have on the right an altar of Artemis. Having entered again through the processional entrance into the Altis, 7
we see behind the Heraeum altars of the river Cladeus and of Artemis: the altar after these is Apollo's: the fourth altar is that of Artemis surnamed Coccoca; the fifth that of Apollo Thermius. With regard to this Elean name Thermius, it occurred to me that it may be the same as *thesmios* ('concerning laws') in Attic; but why they give the surname of Coccoca to Artemis I was not able to learn. In front of the Theecoleon (priest's house), as it is called, there is a 8
building, and in a corner of this building there is an altar of Pan. 5. The Prytaneum of the Eleans is inside the Altis beside the exit which is over against the gymnasium. In this gymnasium are the running-paths and the wrestling-schools for the athletes. Before the door of the Prytaneum is an altar of Huntress Artemis. In the Prytaneum 9
itself, on the right of the entrance into the chamber where is the hearth, there stands an altar of Pan. This hearth also is made of ashes, and on it a fire burns every day and every night. From this hearth, as I have said, they bring the ashes to the altar of the Olympian god, and the ashes so brought from the hearth contribute not a little to the size of the altar.

6. Once every month the Eleans sacrifice on all the altars 10

I have mentioned. They sacrifice after an ancient fashion; for they burn on the altars frankincense together with wheat which has been kneaded with honey. They place sprays of olive also on the altars, and pour a libation of wine. Only to the Nymphs and the Mistresses do they not pour libations of wine, nor do they pour them on the common altar of all the gods. The sacrifices are under the charge of the Priest, who holds office for a month, and of the Soothsayers and Libation-bearers, also of the Guide, the Flute-
11 player, and the Woodman. The words which it is customary to utter at the libations in the Prytaneum, or the hymns which they sing, it would not be right for me to insert here. 7. But they pour libations not only to the Greek gods, but also to the god who is in Libya, and to Ammonian Hera and to Parammon. Parammon is a surname of Hermes. It is known that they have consulted the oracle in Libya from the most ancient times, and in the sanctuary of Ammon there are altars dedicated by Eleans: on them are inscribed the questions which the Eleans asked, the answers given by the god, and the names of the men
12 who came to the shrine of Ammon from Elis. The Eleans also pour libations to all the heroes and wives of heroes who are honoured in the land of Elis and among the Aetolians. 8. All that they sing in the Prytaneum is in the Doric dialect; but they do not say who composed the songs. The Eleans have also a banqueting room: it is within the Prytaneum, opposite the chamber in which is the hearth. In this room they feast the Olympic victors.

XVI

1. It remains to describe the temple of Hera and the noteworthy things which it contains. It is said by the Eleans that the temple was founded by the people of Scillus, one of the cities in Triphylia, about eight years after Oxylus acquired the kingdom of Elis. The style of the temple is Doric, and pillars run all round it: in the back chamber one of the two pillars is of oak. The length of the temple is <a hundred and> sixty-three feet: <its breadth> is not less than <sixty-one>. Who the architect was they do not remember.

2 2. Every fourth year the Sixteen Women weave a robe for Hera; and the same women also hold games called the Heraea. The games consist of a race between virgins. The virgins are not all of the same age; but the youngest run first, the next in age run next, and
3 the eldest virgins run last of all. They run thus: their hair hangs down, they wear a shirt that reaches to a little above the knee, the right shoulder is bare to the breast. The course assigned to them for the contest is the Olympic stadium; but the course is shortened by about a sixth of the stadium. The winners receive

crowns of olive and a share of the cow which is sacrificed to Hera; moreover, they are allowed to dedicate statues of themselves with their names engraved on them. The handmaids of the Sixteen Women who preside at the games are also, like them, matrons. 3. They trace the origin of the games of the virgins, like those 4
of the men, to antiquity, saying that Hippodamia, out of gratitude to Hera for her marriage with Pelops, assembled the Sixteen Women, and along with them arranged the Heraean games for the first time. They relate, too, that Chloris, daughter of Amphion, was victorious: she was the only woman left of her family, but they say that there was also one male survivor. I have stated my views as to the children of Niobe in the section on Argos. 4. They tell another 5
story about the Sixteen Women as follows. They say that when Damophon was tyrant of Pisa he did much grievous mischief to the Eleans; but on his death the Pisans disclaimed, as a state, any share in his wrongdoings, and the Eleans also were content to forgive and forget. So from each of the sixteen cities which still existed at that time in Elis the Eleans chose one woman, the eldest and most distinguished in rank and reputation, to settle the differences. The cities from which they chose the women were 6
Elis . . . . The women from these cities made peace between the Pisans and Eleans. Afterwards they were also entrusted with the celebration of the Heraean games and with the weaving of the robe for Hera. 5. The Sixteen Women also get up two choruses: one they call the chorus of Physcoa, and the other the chorus of Hippodamia. They say that this Physcoa was a native of the Vale of Elis, 7
and that the name of the township where she dwelt was Orthia. They relate that Dionysus loved her, and that she bore him a son Narcaeus, who when he grew up made war on the neighbouring peoples, and rose to a great pitch of power, and moreover founded a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Narcaea. They say that Narcaeus and Physcoa were the first to pay reverence to Dionysus. So amongst the honours which Physcoa receives is a chorus named after her and arranged by the Sixteen Women. The Eleans still keep up <the old number of the women>, though some of the cities <have ceased to exist>; and as they are divided into eight tribes they choose two women from each tribe. Neither the Sixteen Women 8
nor the umpires discharge their functions before they have purified themselves with a pig suited for purification and with water. The purification takes place at the fountain Piera. This spring lies on the level road between Olympia and Elis.

XVII

1. In the temple of Hera there is an image of Zeus. The image of Hera is seated on a throne, and he is standing beside her

wearing a beard and with a helmet on his head. The workmanship of these images is rude. Next to them are the Seasons seated on thrones, a work of Smilis of Aegina. Beside them stands an image of Themis, as mother of the Seasons: it is a work of Doryclidas, a Lacedaemonian by birth, but a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis.
2 The Hesperides, five in number, are by Theocles, also a Lacedaemonian, son of Hegylus; he, too, is said to have studied under Scyllis and Dipoenus. The image of Athena, with a helmet on her head, and carrying a spear and shield, is said to be a work of Medon, a Lacedaemonian: they say that Medon was a brother of
3 Doryclidas, and was taught by the same masters. There are also images of the Maid and Demeter and Apollo and Artemis: the two former are seated opposite each other, and the two latter are standing opposite each other. Here, too, are Latona and Fortune and Dionysus and a winged Victory: I cannot tell who made these images, but they seem to me to be also extremely ancient. The images I have enumerated are of ivory and gold. But afterwards they dedicated other images in the Heraeum: Hermes bearing the babe Dionysus, a work of Praxiteles in stone; and a bronze
4 Aphrodite by Cleon, a Sicyonian. Cleon's master, Antiphanes by name, was of the school of Periclytus, and Periclytus was a pupil of Polyclitus the Argive. A gilded child, naked, is seated before the image of Aphrodite: the artist who fashioned it was Boethus of Chalcedon. Hither were brought from the so-called Philippeum other statues of gold and ivory: Eurydice, Philip's . . .

5 2. . . . There is a chest made of cedar-wood, and on it are wrought figures, some of ivory, some of gold, and some of the cedar-wood itself. In this chest Cypselus, who became tyrant of Corinth, was hidden by his mother when at his birth the Bacchids made diligent search for him. As a thankoffering for his escape his descendants, the Cypselids, dedicated the chest in Olympia. Chests were called *kupselai* by the Corinthians of that time, and it was from
6 this circumstance, they say, that the child got the name of Cypselus. 3. Most of the figures on the chest have inscriptions attached to them in the ancient letters: some of the inscriptions run straight on, but others are in the form which the Greeks call *boustrophedon*. It is this: the second line turns round from the end of the first as in the double race-course. Moreover, the inscriptions on the chest are written in winding lines which it is hard to make out.

7 4. If we begin our survey from below, the first field on the chest exhibits the following scenes. Oenomaus is pursuing Pelops, who has Hippodamia: each of them has two horses, but the horses of Pelops are winged. Next is represented the house of Amphiaraus, and some old woman or other carrying the babe Amphilochus: before the house stands Eriphyle with the necklace; and beside her are her daughters Eurydice and Demonassa, and a naked boy,

Alcmaeon. But Asius in his epic represents Alcmena also as a 8
daughter of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle. Baton, who is driving the chariot of Amphiaraus, holds the reins in one hand and a spear in the other. Amphiaraus has one foot already on the chariot and his sword drawn, and is turning round to Eriphyle in a transport of rage <as if he could hardly> keep his hands off her. After the 9
house of Amphiaraus there are the funeral games of Pelias, and the spectators watching the competitors. Hercules is represented seated on a chair, and behind him is a woman: an inscription is wanting to tell who this woman is, but she is playing on a Phrygian, not a Greek flute. Chariots drawn by pairs of horses are being driven by Pisus, son of Perieres, by Asterion, son of Cometes (Asterion is said to have been one of those who sailed in the *Argo*), by Pollux, by Admetus, and also by Euphemus. Euphemus is said by the poets to have been a son of Poseidon, and he sailed with Jason to Colchis. He it is who is winning in the two-horse chariot-race. The bold 10
boxers are Admetus and Mopsus, son of Ampyx: between them a man stands fluting, just as it is now the custom to play the flute when the competitors in the pentathlum are leaping. Jason and Peleus are wrestling on even terms. Eurybotas, too, is represented throwing the quoit: no doubt he was some famous quoit-thrower. A foot-race is being run between Melanion, Neotheus, Phalareus, Argeus, and Iphiclus. The last is victorious, and Acastus is handing him the crown. He may be the father of the Protesilaus who went with the army to Ilium. There are also tripods, no doubt prizes for the 11
victors; and there are the daughters of Pelias, though Alcestis alone has her name written beside her. Iolaus, who voluntarily shared in the labours of Hercules, is represented victorious in the four-horse chariot-race. Here the funeral games of Pelias stop. Next we see Hercules shooting the hydra (the beast in the river Amymone), and Athena is standing beside him as he shoots. As Hercules is easily recognised both by the subject and his figure, his name is not written beside him. Phineus, the Thracian, is represented, and the sons of Boreas are chasing the harpies from him.

XVIII

1. In the second field on the chest we will begin to go round from the left. A woman is represented carrying a white boy asleep on her right arm: on her other arm she has a black boy who is like one that sleeps: the feet of both boys are turned different ways. The inscriptions show, what it is easy to see without them, that the boys are Death and Sleep, and that Night is nurse to both. A comely 2
woman is punishing an ill-favoured one, throttling her with one hand and with the other smiting her with a rod. It is Justice who thus treats Injustice. Two other women are pounding with pestles in

mortars: they are thought to be skilled in drugs, but there is no inscription at them. The man followed by the woman is explained by the hexameters, which run thus:—

Idas is leading back the daughter of Evenus, fair-ankled Marpessa,
Whom Apollo snatched from him, and she follows nothing loath.

3 There is a man clad in a tunic: in his right hand he holds a cup, and in the left a necklace, and Alcmena is taking hold of them. This is to illustrate the Greek tale that Zeus in the likeness of Amphitryo lay with Alcmena. Menelaus, clad in a breastplate, and with a sword in his hand, is advancing to slay Helen: the scene is clearly laid at the taking of Ilium. Medea is seated on a chair: Jason stands on her right and Aphrodite on her left; and beside them is an inscription:—

Jason weds Medea, for Aphrodite bids him do so.

4 The Muses, too, are represented singing, and Apollo is leading the song; and there is an inscription at them:—

This is the son of Latona, the prince, far-shooting Apollo;
And round him the Muses, a lovely choir, and them he is leading.

Atlas is upholding on his shoulders, as the story has it, heaven and earth; and he bears also the apples of the Hesperides. Who the man with the sword is that is coming towards Atlas there is no writing beside him to show, but every one will recognise Hercules. There is an inscription at this group also:—

This is Atlas bearing the heaven, but the apples he will let go.

5 There is also Ares clad in armour, leading Aphrodite: the inscription at him is Enyalius. Thetis, too, is represented as a maid: Peleus is taking hold of her, and from the hand of Thetis a snake is darting at him. The sisters of Medusa are represented with wings pursuing Perseus, who is flying through the air. The name of Perseus alone is inscribed.

6 2. Armies fill the third field of the chest: most of the men are on foot, but some are riding in two-horse chariots. By the attitudes of the soldiers you can guess that though they are advancing to battle, they will recognise and greet each other as friends. Two explanations are given by the guides. Some of them say that they are the Aetolians under Oxylus, and the ancient Eleans, and that they are meeting in recollection of their old kinship, and with mutual signs of good-will. Others say the armies are advancing to the encounter, and that they are the Pylians and Arcadians about to fight
7 beside the city of Phea and the river Jardanus. But it is incredible that Cypselus' ancestor, who was a Corinthian, and had the

chest made for himself, should have voluntarily passed over all Corinthian history, and should have caused to be wrought on the chest only foreign scenes, and scenes, too, which were not famous. The following conjecture suggested itself to me. Cypselus and his forefathers came originally from Gonussa, the town above Sicyon, and Melas, son of Antasus, was an ancestor of theirs. But, as I have 8
said in my account of Corinth, Aletes refused to allow Melas and his host to enter and dwell in the land, for he was alarmed by an oracle which he had received from Delphi, till at last by coaxing and wheedling, and returning with prayers and entreaties as often as he was driven away, Melas extracted a permission from the reluctant Aletes. We may surmise that it is this army which is represented by the figures wrought on the chest.

XIX

1. On the fourth field of the chest as you go round from the left there is Boreas with Orithyia, whom he has snatched away: instead of feet he has the tails of snakes. There is also the combat of Hercules with Geryon: Geryon is three men joined together. There is Theseus with a lyre, and beside him Ariadne grasping a crown. Achilles and Memnon are fighting, and their mothers are standing beside them. There is Melanion, too, and beside him 2
Atalanta with a fawn. Hector is fighting Ajax according to challenge, and between them stands Strife, a most hideous hag. In his picture of the battle at the Greek ships, which may be seen in the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis, Calliphon of Samos represented Strife in a similar way. On the chest are the Dioscuri, one of them 3
beardless still, and between them is Helen. Aethra, the daughter of Pittheus, clad in black raiment, is cast on the ground under the feet of Helen. Attached to the group is an inscription consisting of a single hexameter verse with the addition of one word:—

> The two sons of Tyndareus are carrying Helen away,
> and are dragging Aethra
> From Athens.

Iphidamas, son of Antenor, is lying on the ground, and Coon 4
is defending him against Agamemnon. Terror, a male figure with a lion's head, is depicted on Agamemnon's shield. Above the corpse of Iphidamas is an inscription:—

> This is Iphidamas, Coon is fighting for him;

and on the shield of Agamemnon:—

> This is the Terror of mortals: he who holds him is Agamemnon.

Hermes is leading to Alexander, son of Priam, the goddesses to be 5

judged by him touching their beauty. This group also has an inscription :—

> This is Hermes : he is showing Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite
> To Alexander, to judge of their beauty.

I do not know for what reason Artemis is represented with wings on her shoulders : in her right hand she grasps a leopard, and in the other hand a lion. Ajax is represented dragging Cassandra from the image of Athena ; and there is an inscription at him :—

> Ajax the Locrian is dragging Cassandra from Athena.

6 There are also the sons of Oedipus : Polynices has fallen on his knee, and Eteocles is rushing at him. Behind Polynices stands a female figure with teeth as cruel as a wild beast's, and the nails of her fingers are hooked : an inscription beside her declares that she is Doom, implying that Polynices is carried off by fate, and that Eteocles has justly met his end. Dionysus is reclining in a cave : he has a beard and a golden cup, and is clad in a tunic that reaches to his feet : round about him are vines and apple-trees and pomegranate-trees.

7 2. The uppermost field, for the fields are five in number, presents no inscription, and we are left to conjecture the meaning of the reliefs. There is a woman in a grotto sleeping with a man upon a bed : we supposed them to be Ulysses and Circe, judging both from the number of the handmaids in front of the grotto, and from the work they were doing ; for the women are four in number, and are doing the works which Homer has described. There is a Centaur not with all his legs those of a horse, but with his forelegs those of
8 a man. Next are chariots drawn by pairs of horses, with women standing in them : the horses have golden wings, and a man is giving arms to one of the women. This scene is conjecturally referred to the death of Patroclus, it being supposed that the women in the chariots are Nereids, and that Thetis is receiving the arms from Hephaestus. Besides, the man who is giving the arms is not strong on his feet, and behind follows a servant with a
9 pair of fire-tongs. As to the Centaur, it is said that he is Chiron who, having quitted this mortal world, and having been found worthy to dwell with gods, has yet come to soothe the grief of Achilles. As to the maidens in the mule-car, one holding the reins, the other with a veil on her head, they believe them to be Nausicaa, daughter of Alcinous, and the handmaid driving to the washing-troughs. The man shooting at Centaurs, some of whom he has already slain, is clearly Hercules, and the scene is one of his exploits.

10 Who the craftsman was that made the chest we were quite unable to conjecture. As to the inscriptions on it, though they may

perhaps be by a different poet, yet on the whole I inclined to guess that they are by Eumelus the Corinthian, chiefly on the ground of the processional hymn which he composed for Delos.

XX

1. There are here other offerings also: a small couch mostly adorned with ivory; the quoit of Iphitus; and the table on which the victors' crowns are displayed. The couch is said to have been a plaything of Hippodamia. On the quoit of Iphitus is inscribed the truce which the Eleans proclaim at the Olympic festival: the inscription is not in a straight line, but the letters run round the quoit in a circle. The table is made of ivory and gold: it is a work 2 of Colotes, who is said to have been a native of Heraclea. But those who have made a special study of the history of the sculptors declare that he was a Parian, a pupil of Pasiteles, and that Pasiteles was himself taught . . . And there are Hera and Zeus, and the Mother of the Gods, and Hermes, and Apollo with Artemis. Behind these is represented the celebration of the games. On the 3 one side there are Aesculapius and Health, one of his daughters, also Ares, and beside him Contest; and on the other side there are Pluto and Dionysus, Proserpine and nymphs, one of them carrying a ball: as to the key which Pluto holds, they say that what is called hell is locked up by Pluto, and that no one will come up out of it again.

2. I ought not to pass over a story which Aristarchus, the guide 4 at Olympia, told. He said that in his time, when the Eleans were repairing the dilapidated roof of the Heraeum, the wounded corpse of a foot-soldier was found between the ceiling and the roof, and that this soldier had taken part in the battle which the Eleans fought against the Lacedaemonians in the Altis. For the Eleans 5 defended themselves from the roofs of the sanctuaries and from every high place. At all events this man, it seemed to us, must have crept in here faint with his wounds; and after he expired, his body being under complete cover would suffer neither from summer heat nor winter frost. Aristarchus added that they carried the dead man out of the Altis and buried him with his arms.

3. What the Eleans call the pillar of Oenomaus is as you go 6 from the great altar to the sanctuary of Zeus: on the left there are four pillars with a roof on them. The structure has been erected in order to protect a wooden pillar which is decayed by time and is kept together chiefly by bands. This pillar stood, they say, in the house of Oenomaus, and when the house was struck by lightning the fire which destroyed all the rest of the house spared this pillar alone. A bronze tablet in front of it contains the following inscrip- 7 tion in elegiacs:—

Stranger, a remnant am I of a famous house, for a pillar
Ages ago was I in the mansion of Oenomaus.
But now by the temple of Zeus I lie in these bands as you see me.
Honoured am I ; and the deadly flame of fire did not devour me.

8 4. The following incident occurred in my time. A Roman senator had won an Olympic victory, and desiring to bequeath as a memorial of his victory a bronze statue with an inscription, he dug to make a foundation ; and when the excavation was carried very near to the pillar of Oenomaus, the diggers found there fragments of arms and bridles and curb-chains. I saw them excavated myself.

9 5. A small temple in the Doric style still preserves its ancient name of Metroum ('sanctuary of the Mother'). It contains, not an image of the Mother of the Gods, but statues of Roman emperors. It is within the Altis. Also there is a round building named the Philippeum, on the top of which is a bronze poppy to hold together
10 the beams. This building is on the left of the exit which is at the Prytaneum. It is made of burnt bricks and surrounded by pillars. It was built for Philip after the fall of Greece at Chaeronea. Here are statues of Philip and Alexander, also of Amyntas, the father of Philip. These are also by Leochares, and are made of ivory and gold, like the statues of Olympias and Eurydice.

XXI

1. I will now proceed to describe the statues and the dedicatory offerings, but I think it best not to mix up the descriptions of them together. For although on the Acropolis at Athens the statues and everything else are all alike dedicatory offerings, it is not so in the Altis, where, while some of the objects are dedicated to the honour of the gods, the statues of the victors are merely one of the prizes assigned to the successful competitors. The statues I will mention afterwards, but first I will turn to the dedicatory offerings and go over the most remarkable of them.

2 2. On the way from the Metroum to the stadium there is on the left, at the foot of Mount Cronius, a terrace of stone close to the mountain, and steps lead up through the terrace. At the terrace stand bronze images of Zeus. These images were made from the fines imposed on athletes who wantonly violated the rules
3 of the games: they are called Zanes (Zeuses) by the natives. At first six were set up in the ninety-eighth Olympiad ; for Eupolus, a Thessalian, bribed the boxers who presented themselves, to wit, Agetor, an Arcadian, Prytanis of Cyzicus, and Phormio of Halicarnassus, the last of whom had been victorious in the preceding Olympiad. They say that this was the first offence committed by athletes against the rules of the games, and Eupolus and the men he bribed were the first who were fined by the Eleans. Two of the

images are by Cleon of Sicyon: I do not know who made the next four. These images, with the exception of the third and fourth, 4 bear inscriptions in elegiac verse. The purport of the verses on the first is that an Olympic victory is to be gained, not by money, but by fleetness of foot and strength of body. The verses on the second declare that the image has been set up in honour of the deity and by the piety of the Eleans, and to be a terror to athletes who transgress. The sense of the inscription on the fifth image is a general praise of the Eleans, with a particular reference to the punishment of the boxers; and on the sixth and last it is stated that the images are a warning to all the Greeks not to give money for the purpose of gaining an Olympic victory.

3. After Eupolus they say that Callippus, an Athenian, a com- 5 petitor in the pentathlum, bribed his antagonists, and that this happened in the hundred and twelfth Olympiad. A fine being imposed on Callippus and his antagonists by the Eleans, the Athenians sent Hyperides to persuade them to remit the fine. As the Eleans refused this favour, the Athenians treated them with great disdain, neither paying the money nor attending the games, till the god at Delphi declared that he would give them no oracle about anything till they paid the fine to the Eleans. So they paid it, and six more 6 images were made for Zeus, inscribed with verses not a whit better than those about the punishment of Eupolus. The purport of the first inscription is that the images were set up in consequence of an oracle of the god who respected the decision of the Eleans touching the pentathletes. The inscriptions on the second and third images are in praise of the Eleans for punishing the pentathletes. The fourth 7 declares that the Olympic games are a contest of manliness and not of money: the inscription on the fifth explains for what cause the images were set up; and the sixth recalls the oracle which was sent to the Athenians from Delphi.

4. The images next to those I have enumerated are two in 8 number, and were dedicated from the proceeds of a fine imposed on wrestlers. [The names of the wrestlers neither I nor the Elean guides knew.] These images also have inscriptions: the first of them states that the Rhodians paid money to Olympian Zeus on account of the knavery of a wrestler; and the other declares that the image was made from the fines imposed on men who had wrestled for bribes. 5. Furthermore, as to these particular athletes, the Elean 9 guides say that it was in the hundred and seventy-eighth Olympiad that Eudelus accepted a bribe from Philostratus, and that this Philostratus was a Rhodian. I found that the Elean register of the Olympic victors was at variance with this statement. For in that register it is said that Strato, an Alexandrian, in the hundred and seventy-eighth Olympiad, was victorious on the same day in the pancratium and in wrestling. Alexandria, on the Canopic mouth of the Nile,

was founded by Alexander, son of Philip; but it is said that there
10 was a small Egyptian town, Rhacotis, on the spot before. Three men before Strato and three after him are known to have won the crown of wild olive both for the pancratium and for wrestling. The first of them was Caprus of Elis, and two were Greeks from beyond the Aegean, namely, Aristomenes, a Rhodian, and Protophanes of Magnesia on the Lethaeus. The three after Strato were Marion, of the same city as Strato, Aristeas of Stratonicea (anciently both the district and the city of Stratonicea were called Chrysaoris), and seventhly, Nicostratus, from Cilicia on the sea, but he was only a Cilician in
11 name. This Nicostratus was a native of Prymnessus in Phrygia: his family was respectable, but in his infancy he was kidnapped by robbers, who took him to Aegeae and sold him to some one. Afterwards his master had a dream: he thought that a lion's cub lay under the pallet on which Nicostratus was asleep. So when he came to manhood Nicostratus gained victories at Olympia in the pancratium and in wrestling, and he gained other victories elsewhere.

12 Amongst others who were afterwards fined by the Eleans was a boxer of Alexandria in the two hundred and eighteenth Olympiad. The name of the man thus fined was Apollonius, and his surname was Rhantes: the use of surnames is apparently an Alexandrian
13 custom. He was the first Egyptian condemned by the Eleans for misconduct, and he was convicted, not of having given or taken a bribe, but of the following misdemeanour in respect to the games. He did not appear at the appointed time, and therefore the Eleans, in accordance with the law, had no choice but to exclude him from the games. For the excuse he offered, that he had been detained by contrary winds amongst the Cyclades, was proved to be a lie by Heraclides, himself an Alexandrian, who showed that the delay was
14 caused by his stopping to make money at the games in Ionia. So Apollonius and any other of the boxers who did not come at the appointed time were excluded from the games by the Eleans, who allowed the crown to go to Heraclides without a contest. Then Apollonius put on the gloves as if for a fight, and running at Heraclides began to maul him, though Heraclides already had the wild olive on his head, and had taken refuge amongst the umpires.
15 His levity was to cost him dear. 6. There are also two other images, works of the present age. For in the two hundred and twenty-sixth Olympiad thay found that boxers who were contending for victory had made a private monetary agreement. For this a fine was inflicted; and of the images of Zeus which were made, the one stands on the left of the entrance into the stadium, and the other on the right. The name of one of these boxers was Didas, and the name of the one who gave the money was Sarapammon. They both hailed from the same county, Arsinoites, the newest county in

Egypt. 7. It is strange in any case that a man should have no 16
respect for the god of Olympia, and should give or take a bribe for the contest; but it is stranger still that one of the Eleans themselves should have dared to do so. It is said, however, that Damonicus, an Elean, did so dare in the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad. For Polyctor, son of Damonicus, was pitted against Sosander of Smyrna (whose father's name was also Sosander), in the wrestling-match, and Damonicus was so exceedingly anxious for his son to be victorious that he bribed Sosander's father. When this leaked 17
out the umpires imposed a fine. They did not, however, impose it on the sons, but visited their displeasure on the fathers, for it was they who were the wrong-doers. Images were made from the fine thus levied: one of them is set up in the gymnasium at Elis, the other in the Altis in front of the Painted Colonnade, as it is called, because anciently there were paintings on the walls. Some name it the Colonnade of Echo, for the echo repeats a word seven times or even oftener.

They say that in the two hundred and first Olympiad a 18
pancratiast of Alexandria, called Sarapion, was so much afraid of his antagonists that the day before the pancratium was to come on he took to his heels. He is the only man, not to say the only Egyptian, who is known to have been fined for cowardice.

XXII

1. Such I found to be the causes for which the images enumerated above were erected. There are also images of Zeus dedicated by states and by individuals. There is an altar in the Altis near the entrance to the stadium. On this altar the Eleans do not sacrifice to any of the gods, but it is the custom for the trumpeters and heralds to stand on it when they compete. Beside this altar is a bronze pedestal with an image of Zeus on it: the height of the image is about six cubits, and it holds a thunderbolt in either hand. It was dedicated by the Cynaethians. But the image of Zeus as a boy wearing a necklace is the offering of Cleolas, a Phliasian.

2. Beside the Hippodamium, as it is called, is a semicircular 2
pedestal of stone, and on it are images of Zeus, and Thetis, and Day, who is represented in the act of supplicating Zeus on behalf of her children. These are on the middle of the pedestal. Achilles and Memnon are represented in the attitude of antagonists, one at each end of the pedestal. Other pairs are similarly opposed to each other, Greek being matched against barbarian. Ulysses is opposed to Helenus, because these two had the highest reputation for wisdom in their respective armies: Alexander faces Menelaus in virtue of their old feud: Diomede is confronted by Aeneas; and Ajax, son of

3 Telamon, by Deiphobus. These statues are works of Lycius, son of Myron: they were dedicated by the people of Apollonia on the Ionian Sea. There are, moreover, elegiac verses in ancient letters under the feet of Zeus:—

We stand as memorials of Apollonia, which beside the Ionian main
Phoebus founded, god of the unshorn locks.
The Apollonians, after conquering the land of Abantis,
Set up here these images, with the help of the gods, a tithe from the spoil of Thronium.

3. The district called Abantis and the town of Thronium in it were
4 in Thesprotian Epirus, at the Ceraunian Mountains. For when the Greek ships were scattered on their return from Ilium some Locrians from Thronium (the town which stands on the river Boagrius), and some Abantes from Euboea, with eight ships between them, were driven on the Ceraunian Mountains. There they settled and built a city, Thronium, and by common consent they gave to the land, so far as they possessed it, the name of Abantis; but afterwards they were defeated and expelled by their neighbours the Apollonians. But that Apollonia was founded by colonists from Corcyra . . . and some <say that> the Corinthians shared the spoil with them.

5 4. A little farther on is an image of Zeus turned towards the rising sun, holding an eagle in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other; and on his head he wears a wreath of lilies. It is an offering of the Metapontines, and is a work of Aristonus, an Aeginetan. We do not know who was the master of Aristonus, nor when he lived. 5.
6 The Phliasians dedicated an image of Zeus, images of the daughters of Asopus, and an image of Asopus himself. The images are thus arranged. Nemea is the first of the sisters; after her is Zeus laying hold of Aegina; beside Aegina stands Harpina, who, according to the Eleans and Phliasians, was beloved by Ares, and she was the mother of Oenomaus, king of the land of Pisa; after her is Corcyra, and next Thebe; and last Asopus. It is said of Corcyra that she was embraced by Poseidon, and a similar story is told by the poet Pindar about Thebe and Zeus.

7 Some men of Leontini set up an image of Zeus as private individuals, not as representing their state. The height of the image is seven cubits: in its hands are an eagle and the bolt of Zeus in accordance with the poets' tales. It was dedicated by Hippagoras, Phrynon, and Aenesidemus. This last is not, I suppose, the Aenesidemus who was tyrant of Leontini.

XXIII

1. Passing by the entrance to the Council House you come to a

standing image of Zeus without an inscription. Then turning to the north you will come to another image of Zeus, which looks towards the rising sun: it was dedicated by the Greeks who fought at Plataea against Mardonius and the Medes. There are also engraved on the right side of the pedestal the names of the cities that took part in the battle, first the Lacedaemonians, next the Athenians, third and fourth the Corinthians and Sicyonians, fifth the Aeginetans, next the Megarians and Epidaurians, the Arcadians of Tegea and 2
Orchomenus, and after them the peoples of Phlius, Troezen, and Hermion, the Tirynthians of Argolis, the Plataeans (the only Boeotian people), the Argives of Mycenae, the islanders of Ceos and Melos, the Ambraciots of Thesprotis in Epirus, the Tenians and Lepreans. The Lepreans were the only people from Triphylia, but the Tenians were not the only people from the Aegean and the Cyclades, there were also Naxians and Cythnians, also Styrians from Euboea. After these, there are the Eleans and Potidaeans and Anactorians, and, lastly, the Chalcidians of the Euripus. 2. Of these cities the following are now uninhabited:—Mycenae 3
and Tiryns were destroyed by the Argives after the Persian war; and the populations of Ambracia and Anactorium, colonies of Corinth, were removed by the Roman emperor to found Nicopolis near Actium. It befell the Potidaeans to be twice driven from their country, once by Philip, son of Amyntas, and previously by the Athenians. Afterwards they were restored to their homes by Cassander; the city, however, did not take its old name, but was called Cassandrea after its founder. The image at Olympia dedicated by the Greeks was made by Anaxagoras of Aegina. The name of this artist is omitted by the historians of sculpture.

3. In front of this image of Zeus is a bronze tablet containing 4
a thirty years' treaty of peace between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians. This treaty was made by the Athenians after they had subjugated Euboea for the second time in the third year of the .... Olympiad in which Crison of Himera won the foot-race. It is stipulated in the treaty that Argos should be no party to the peace between Athens and Lacedaemon, but that privately the Athenians and Argives might, if they pleased, be friends with each other. Such are the terms of this treaty. 4. There is another image of 5
Zeus beside the chariot of Cleosthenes: the chariot will be mentioned by me later on. The image of Zeus is an offering of the Megarians: it was wrought by two brothers, Phylacus and Onaethus, and by their sons; but the date or country of these artists, or the master under whom they studied, I cannot tell. 5. Beside the chariot of 6
Gelo stands an ancient Zeus holding a sceptre: they say it is an offering of the Hyblaeans. There were two cities called Hybla in Sicily, one surnamed Gereatis, the other surnamed Greater, as indeed it was the greater. They still retain their names in the district

of Catana: Hybla the Greater is entirely desolate; but Hybla Gereatis is a Catanian village, and contains a sanctuary of the goddess Hyblaea which is venerated by the Sicilians. It was from this Hybla, I believe, that the image was brought to Olympia; for Philistus, son of Archomenides, says that these Hyblaeans were interpreters of portents and dreams, and were the most devout of all the barbarians in Sicily.

7 6. Near the offering of the Hyblaeans is a bronze pedestal, and on it an image of Zeus, which we guessed to be about eighteen feet high. An inscription in elegiac verse declares who presented it to the god and who made it:—

> The Clitorians dedicated this image to the god as a tithe
> From many cities which they conquered.
> <It was made by> Aristo and Telestas,
> Own brothers and Laconians.

These Laconians cannot, I suppose, have been celebrated all over Greece, else the Eleans would have been able to tell something about them, and the Lacedaemonians would have been able to tell still more, seeing that they were citizens of Lacedaemon.

XXIV

1. Beside the altar of Zeus Laoetas and Poseidon Laoetas is an image of Zeus on a bronze pedestal: it is a gift of the Corinthian people, and a work of Musus, whoever he was. On the way from the Council House to the great temple there is an image of Zeus on the left, crowned as with flowers and with a thunderbolt in his right hand. This is a work of Ascarus, a Theban, a pupil of the Sicyonian . . . . states that it is . . . . and of the Thessalians.

2 If it is an offering from spoils taken from the Phocians in a war which the Thessalians waged on them, that war could not be the Sacred War, but must have been the war which they waged before the Medes and their king crossed over to attack Greece. Not far from it is a Zeus which the verse inscribed on it declares to have

3 been dedicated by the Psophidians for a success in war. On the right of the great temple is a Zeus looking to the rising sun: it is twelve feet high, and they say that it was dedicated by the Lacedaemonians when they entered on the second war with the rebel Messenians. There is a couplet inscribed on it:—

> Receive, O prince, son of Cronus, Olympian Zeus, a fair image,
> And be propitious to the Lacedaemonians.

4 We know of no Roman before Mummius, whether private person or senator, who dedicated an offering in a Greek sanctuary, but Mummius dedicated a bronze Zeus in Olympia from the spoils of Achaia. It stands on the left of the offering of the Lacedaemonians,

beside the first pillar on this side of the temple. The largest of all the bronze images of Zeus in the Altis was dedicated by the Eleans themselves from the spoils of the war with the Arcadians: its height is twenty-seven feet. Beside the Pelopium is a low pillar on which 5
is a small image of Zeus holding out one hand. Opposite it there are other offerings in a row, also images of Zeus and Ganymede. Homer has told how Ganymede was carried off by the gods to be cup-bearer to Zeus, and how horses were given to Tros in compensation for the loss of Ganymede. The offering was dedicated by Gnathis, a Thessalian: the sculptor was Aristocles, pupil and son of Cleoetas. There is also another Zeus without a beard: it is among 6
the offerings of Micythus. As to Micythus, I will show in the sequel what was his lineage and why he dedicated so many offerings in Olympia. Going straight on for a little distance from the said image you come to another image of Zeus, also beardless, an offering of the people of Elaea, which is the first city in Aeolis after you have descended from the plain of the Caicus to the sea. Next to it is another image of Zeus, the inscription on which declares 7
that it was dedicated by the Chersonesians of Cnidus from the spoils of their enemies. On either side of it they also dedicated images of Pelops and the river Alpheus. The greater part of the city of Cnidus is built on the mainland of Caria, where are also the chief objects of interest in the city: what they call the Chersonese ('peninsula') is an island off the mainland, from which it is reached by a bridge. It was the people living in the Chersonese who dedicated at 8
Olympia the offerings to Zeus, just as if the people who occupy the quarter called Coresus at Ephesus were to say that they had dedicated an offering independently of Ephesus as a whole. Beside the wall of the Altis there is another image of Zeus facing the west, but it has no inscription. This image also was said to have been dedicated by Mummius from the spoils of the Achaean war.

2. But the image of Zeus in the Council House is of all the images 9
of Zeus the best calculated to strike terror into wicked men: it bears the surname of the God of Oaths, and holds a thunderbolt in each hand. Beside this image it is the custom for the athletes, their fathers and brothers, and also the trainers, to swear upon the cut pieces of a boar that they will be guilty of no foul play in respect of the Olympic games. The athletes take an additional oath, that for ten successive months they have strictly observed the rules of training. Also those who examine the boys or the 10
foals which are entered for the races swear that they will decide justly and will take no bribes, and that they will keep secret what they know about the accepted or rejected candidate. I forgot to ask what they do with the boar after the athletes have taken the oath. With the ancients it was a rule that a sacrificed animal on which an oath had been taken should not be eaten by man. Homer

11 proves this clearly. For the boar, on the cut pieces of which Agamemnon swore that in good sooth Briseis was a stranger to his bed, is represented by Homer as being cast by the herald into the sea:—

> He spake, and cut the boar's throat with pitiless bronze.
> Talthybius lightly wheeled and threw the boar
> Into the great deep of the gray sea, a food for fishes.

Such was the ancient custom. At the feet of the God of Oaths is a bronze tablet, with elegiac verses inscribed on it, the intention of which is to strike terror into perjurers.

XXV

1. This is an exact enumeration of the images of Zeus within the Altis. For the votive offering near the great temple is a portrait of Alexander, son of Philip, who is represented, forsooth, in the character of Zeus: it was dedicated by a Corinthian, not one of the ancient Corinthians, but one of the modern population on whom the Emperor bestowed Corinth. I will also mention the offerings of a different kind—those, I mean, which are not representations of Zeus. The statues dedicated, not in honour of the deity, but as a reward of men, will be comprised in the section on the athletes.

2 Once when the Messenians who dwell on the Strait were sending to Rhegium, in accordance with an ancient custom, a chorus of five-and-thirty boys, along with a teacher and a flute-player, to take part in a local festival of Rhegium, a calamity befell them: none of those thus sent returned home, for the ship which carried the 3 boys went down with them. In truth, the sea at this strait is the stormiest of seas, for it is lashed by the winds, which cause a swell from both sides, from the Adriatic and from the Tyrrhenian sea; and even when the winds are still, the strait is of itself in violent agitation, and back-currents run strong. It also swarms so thickly with monsters that the air stinks of them, so that the shipwrecked mariner has no hope of escaping from the strait. If it was here that the ship of Ulysses was wrecked, it would be incredible that he swam safe to Italy, were it not that the favour of the gods makes 4 everything easy. So the Messenians mourned for the loss of the boys, and, among other means devised to do them honour, they dedicated bronze statues of them in Olympia, together with statues of the teacher of the chorus and the flute-player. The ancient inscription declared that they were offerings of the Messenians who dwell at the Strait; but afterwards Hippias, who enjoys the reputation of wisdom amongst the Greeks, composed the elegiac verses on them. The statues are by Callon, an Elean.

2. At Pachynum, the promontory of Sicily which faces towards 5
Libya and the south, there is a city Motye, inhabited by Libyans
and Phoenicians. With these barbarians of Motye the Agrigen-
tines went to war, and having taken booty and spoil from them
they dedicated the bronze statues at Olympia, representing boys
stretching out their right hands as if praying to the god. These
statues stand on the wall of the Altis. I guessed that they were
works of Calamis, and the tradition agreed with my guess. 3.
Sicily is inhabited by the following races: Sicanians, Sicels, and 6
Phrygians, of whom the first two crossed into it from Italy, but the
Phrygians came from the river Scamander and the district of the
Troad. The Phoenicians and Libyans came to the island together,
being colonists from Carthage. Such are the barbarian races in
Sicily: its Greek population consists of Dorians and Ionians, with a
small proportion of people of the Phocian and Attic stocks.

4. On the same wall as the offerings of the Agrigentines are two 7
naked statues of Hercules represented as a boy. The group of
Hercules shooting the Nemean lion was dedicated, the lion as well
as Hercules, by Hippotion, a Tarentine: the artist was Nicodamus, a
Maenalian. The other image is an offering of Anaxippus, a Men-
dean: it was transferred to this place by the Eleans; but formerly it
stood at the end of the road which leads from Elis to Olympia,
and is called the Sacred Way. 5. There are also offerings 8
dedicated by the whole Achaean race, and consisting of statues of
the men who, when Hector challenged a Greek to single combat,
dared to cast lots who should fight him. Their statues stand near
the great temple, armed with spears and shields; and opposite, on
another pedestal, Nestor is represented at the moment when he has
cast each man's lot into the helmet. Of the eight statues of those 9
who drew lots to fight Hector (for the ninth statue, that of Ulysses,
is said to have been taken by Nero to Rome), the statue of Aga-
memnon is the only one that has the name inscribed on it: the
name is written from right to left. The one with the scutcheon of
the cock on the shield is Idomeneus, the descendant of Minos. They
say that Idomeneus was descended from the Sun, who was the sire
of Pasiphae, and that the cock is sacred to the Sun and heralds his
rising. On the pedestal is the following inscription:— 10

> These images were dedicated to Zeus by the Achaeans,
> Descendants of the godlike Tantalid Pelops.

This is the inscription on the base; but the name of the sculptor
is carved on the shield of Idomeneus:—

> This is one of the many works of deft Onatas,
> Whom Micon begat in Aegina.

6. Not far from the offering of the Achaeans there is a statue 11

of Hercules fighting with the Amazon, a woman on horseback, for her girdle. This statue was dedicated by Evagoras, a Zanclean: it was made by Aristocles, a Cydonian. Aristocles may be reckoned among the most ancient sculptors: his exact date cannot be given, but clearly he lived before Zancle got its present name of Messene.

12 7. The Thasians are Phoenicians by descent: having sailed from Tyre in Phoenicia with Thasus, son of Agenor, in search of Europa, they dedicated a statue of Hercules in Olympia, whereof the base as well as the image is of bronze. The height of the image is ten ells: he holds a club in his right hand and a bow in his left. I was told in Thasos that they worshipped the same Hercules whom the Tyrians revere, but that afterwards, when they came to be reckoned among the Greeks, they worshipped also
13 Hercules, the son of Amphitryo. On the offering of the Thasians at Olympia is a couplet:—

> Onatas, son of Micon, wrought me:
> He dwelt in a house in Aegina.

I am inclined to regard Onatas, though he belongs to the Aeginetan school of sculpture, as second to none of the successors of Daedalus and the Attic school.

XXVI

1. The Dorian Messenians, who received Naupactus from the Athenians, dedicated at Olympia the image of Victory that stands on the pillar. It is a work of Paeonius of Mende, and is made from spoils taken from the enemy, at the time, I think, when they made war on the Acarnanians of Oeniadae. But the Messenians themselves say that the offering is a trophy of the battle in which they fought on the Athenian side in the island of Sphacteria, and that they refrained from inscribing the name of the enemy from fear of the Lacedaemonians; for, say they, they had no fear of the Acarnanians of Oeniadae.

2 2. I found that the votive offerings of Micythus were many, and that they were not all together. Next to the group representing Ecechiria crowning Iphitus the Elean, there are the following offerings of Micythus: Amphitrite, and Poseidon, and Hestia, all made by Glaucus, an Argive. Along the left side of the great temple he dedicated the following: the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, and Aphrodite, and Ganymede, and Artemis, and the poets Homer and Hesiod, and then divinities again, Aesculapius and Health.

3 3. Amongst the offerings of Micythus, is a figure of Contest carrying leaping-weights. These leaping-weights are of the following shape: they are half of an elongated, not an accurately round, circle, and

they are made so that the fingers slip through them just as through the handle of a shield. Such is their shape. Beside the statue of Contest there are Dionysus, the Thracian Orpheus, and an image of Zeus, which I mentioned a little above. These are works of Dionysius, an Argive. They say that other works were dedicated by Micythus besides these, but that Nero carried them off also. Dionysius and Glaucus, who made them, were Argives, but it is not 4
added who was their master: their date is shown by that of Micythus, who dedicated the works at Olympia. 4. For Herodotus, in his history, says that this Micythus was slave and steward of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, and that afterwards, when Anaxilas died, Micythus departed to Tegea. The inscriptions on the offer- 5
ings represent the father of Micythus as Choerus, and two Greek cities as his place of abode, namely, Rhegium, his native city, and Messene on the Strait; they also record that he dwelt in Tegea. He dedicated the offerings at Olympia in fulfilment of a vow which he had made for the recovery of a son who had fallen into a decline.

5. Near the greater offerings of Micythus, the works of Glaucus 6
the Argive, stands an image of Athena with a helmet on her head and wearing an aegis: it was made by Nicodamus the Maenalian, and dedicated by the Eleans. Beside the image of Athena is one of Victory, dedicated by the Mantineans, but the war is not mentioned in the inscription. Calamis is said to have made it without wings, in imitation of the wooden image of the Wingless Victory at Athens. 6. Near the smaller offerings of Micythus, the works of Dionysius, 7
there are representations of some of the labours of Hercules, namely, his contests with the Nemean lion, and the hydra, and the hound of hell, and the boar that had his lair by the river Erymanthus. These pieces were brought to Olympia by the people of Heraclea after they had overrun the territory of the Mariandynians, their barbarous neighbours. Heraclea is built beside the Euxine sea: it was a colony of Megara, but some Boeotians of Tanagra also shared in planting the colony.

XXVII

1. Opposite the offerings which I have enumerated there are other offerings in a row: they face the south, and are close to the precinct which is consecrated to Pelops. Amongst them are the offerings dedicated by the Maenalian Phormis, who from Maenalus crossed over to Sicily to the court of Gelo, son of Dinomenes, and by distinguishing himself in the campaigns of Gelo, and afterwards of Gelo's brother Hiero, attained to such wealth that he dedicated these offerings at Olympia, and others to Apollo at Delphi. The offer- 2
ings at Olympia are statues of two horses and two charioteers, a

charioteer standing by each of the horses. The first horse and man are by Dionysius the Argive, the second are by Simon an Aeginetan. On the side of the first of the horses is an inscription, the beginning of which is not in metre, for it runs thus:—

> Dedicated by Phormis,
> An Arcadian of Maenalus, but now a Syracusan.

3 2. This is the horse in which, according to the Eleans, resides the Hippomanes ('that which makes horses mad'). Any one can see that the horse is under the influence of a magician's art. In size and shape the horse is much inferior to all the other statues of horses in the Altis; besides, its tail is cut off, and this makes it still uglier. But the stallions are at heat for it, not in spring only, but 4 every day. For breaking their tethers, or escaping from their drovers, they rush into the Altis and leap on the statue much more madly than on the handsomest brood-mare. Their hoofs slip off, but nevertheless they keep whinnying more and more vehemently, and leaping on it with more and more violence till they are driven away by whips and physical force: till that is done they 5 cannot leave the bronze statue. 3. I have seen another marvel in Lydia, different, indeed, from that of the horse of Phormis, but like it partaking of magic art. The Lydians, who are surnamed Persian, have sanctuaries in the cities of Hierocaesarea and Hypaepa, and in each of the sanctuaries is a chapel, and in the chapel there are ashes on an altar, but the colour of the ashes is not 6 that of ordinary ashes. A magician, after entering the chapel and piling dry wood on the altar, first claps a tiara on his head, and next chants an invocation of some god in a barbarous and, to a Greek, utterly unintelligible tongue: he chants the words from a book. Then without the application of fire the wood must needs kindle and a bright blaze shoot up from it. So much for this subject.
7 4. Amongst these offerings is a statue of Phormis himself confronting an enemy, and in a row with it are two other statues of him fighting a second and yet a third foe. Inscriptions on them declare that the soldier who is fighting is Phormis the Maenalian, and that the statues were dedicated by Lycortas, a Syracusan. Clearly Lycortas dedicated them out of friendship for Phormis; but these offerings of Lycortas are also called by the Greeks offerings 8 of Phormis. 5. The image of Hermes carrying the ram under his arm, and wearing a helmet on his head, and clad in a tunic and cloak, is not one of the offerings of Phormis, but was presented to the god by the Arcadians of Pheneus. The inscription declares that the image is the joint work of Onatas the Aeginetan and Calliteles: I suppose Calliteles was a pupil or son of Onatas. Not far from the offering of the Pheneatians is another image, Hermes holding a herald's staff: an inscription on it declares that it was

dedicated by Glaucias of Rhegium, and made by Callon, an Elean.
6. Of the bronze oxen one is an offering of the Corcyraeans, the 9
other of the Eretrians: the artist was Philesius an Eretrian. Why
the Corcyraeans dedicated the ox at Olympia and another ox at
Delphi will be shown in my description of Phocis. I was told
the following story about their offering at Olympia. A little boy 10
was sitting under the ox: he had stooped down and was playing.
Suddenly lifting his head he broke it against the bronze image, and
not many days afterwards he died of the wound. The Eleans took
counsel to remove the ox from the Altis, on the ground that it was
guilty of blood; but the god at Delphi bade them <to leave it where
it was>, but first to perform the same purification for the bull which
the Greeks observe in the case of involuntary homicide.

7. Under the plane-trees in the Altis, just about the middle of 11
the close, is a bronze trophy, and on the shield of the trophy is an
inscription declaring that the Eleans erected it for a victory over
the Lacedaemonians. It was in this battle that the man lost
his life who was found lying in his armour when the roof of the
Heraeum was being repaired in my time. 8. The offering of the 12
people of Mende, in Thrace, very nearly deceived me into thinking
that it was a statue of a pentathlete: it stands beside the statue
of the Elean Anauchidas, and it has ancient leaping-weights. A
couplet is inscribed on its thigh:—

> To Zeus, the king of the gods, as a first-fruit, here was I placed by
> The Mendeans when they conquered Sipte by force of arms.

Sipte appears to be a Thracian fortress and city. The Mendeans
themselves are a Greek stock from Ionia, and they dwell in a city
that lies inland from the maritime town of Aenus.

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BOOK SIXTH

ELIS II

I

1. After describing the votive offerings, I have now to mention the statues of the race-horses and of the men, whether athletes or not. There are not statues set up of all the Olympic victors; indeed, some of those who specially distinguished themselves in the games
2 or in other walks of life have had no statues. These my subject obliges me to pass over, for it is not a list of the athletes who have gained Olympic victories, but a record of the statues and votive offerings. I will not even go through the entire list of those who have statues erected to them, for I know how many have won the wild olive by the accident of the lot, and not by strength. I will mention only those who had themselves some title to fame or whose statues happened to be better made than others.

3 2. On the right of the temple of Hera is a statue of a wrestler, Symmachus, son of Aeschylus, an Elean by birth. Beside it is a statue of Neolaidas, son of Proxenus, from Pheneus in Arcadia, who won the prize for boxing among the boys. Next is Archedamus, son of Xenius, who, like Symmachus, beat the boys in wrestling, and was, like him, an Elean. The statues of these athletes were made by Alypus, a Sicyonian, who was a pupil of Naucydes the
4 Argive. The inscription on the statue of Cleogenes, son of Silenus, says that he was a native of Elis, and that he won the prize with a riding-horse from his own stud. Near Cleogenes is a statue of Dinolochus, son of Pyrrhus, and another of Troilus, son of Alcinous. These were also natives of Elis, but their victories were not alike. Troilus gained victories in the chariot-races at the same time that he was umpire: one was a victory with a full-grown pair, the other was with a team of foals. These victories were gained by him in
5 the hundred and second Olympiad. After that the Eleans made a law that for the future none of the umpires should enter chariots for a race. The statue of Troilus is by Lysippus. Dinolochus' mother saw a vision in a dream: she thought that she clasped her

child to her bosom, and that he had a crown on his head; therefore Dinolochus was trained for the games, and outran the boys. The statue is by Cleon, a Sicyonian. In my account of the 6
Lacedaemonian kings I have told of the lineage and Olympic victories of Cynisca, daughter of Archidamus. At Olympia there is a basement of stone beside the statue of Troilus, and on this basement there is a chariot and horses, a charioteer, and a statue of Cynisca herself, the work of Apelles. There are also inscriptions referring to Cynisca. Next to her statue are statues of Lacedaemonians 7
who won prizes in the chariot-race. Anaxander was the first who was proclaimed victor in the chariot-race, but the inscription on his statue declares that his paternal grandfather before him won the crown in the pentathlum. He is represented praying to the god. Polycles, who got the surname of Polychalcus, was also victorious with the four-horse chariot, and his statue has a ribbon on its right hand. Beside him are two children, one holding a wheel, the other begging for the ribbon. And, as the inscription on his statue declares, Polycles also won the chariot-race at Pytho (Delphi), the Isthmus, and Nemea.

II

1. There is a statue of a pancratiast by Lysippus. This man was the first not only from Stratus, but from the whole of Acarnania, who won a victory in the pancratium . . . . he was called [Xenarches], son of Philandrides. It seems that after the invasion of the Medes the Lacedaemonians were keener breeders of horses than all the rest of the Greeks. For besides those I have already enumerated, there are statues of the following Spartan horse-breeders, Xenarches, Lycinus, Arcesilaus, and his son Lichas. Their statues are set up beyond that of the Acarnanian athlete. Xenarches gained 2
other victories also in Delphi, Argos, and Corinth. Lycinus brought foals to Olympia, and one of them being rejected, he entered them for the race of the full-grown horses, and won with them. He dedicated also two statues in Olympia, works of Myron the Athenian. Arcesilaus won two Olympic victories. His son Lichas, because at that time the Lacedaemonians were excluded from the games, entered his chariot in the name of the Theban people; and when his chariot won, Lichas with his own hands tied a ribbon on the charioteer: for this he was whipped by the umpires. It was 3
on Lichas' account that the Lacedaemonians, in the reign of Agis, marched against the Eleans and fought a battle inside the Altis. At the conclusion of the war he set up the statue here; but in the Elean register of the Olympic victors, not Lichas, but the Theban people is entered as the victor.

2. Near the statue of Lichas stands the statue of an Elean 4

soothsayer, Thrasybulus, son of Aeneas, one of the Iamids: it was he who divined for the Mantineans at the battle with the Lacedaemonians under King Agis, son of Eudamidas, about which I shall have more to say in treating of Arcadia. On the statue of Thrasybulus a spotted lizard is creeping toward his right shoulder, and a dog (no doubt a sacrificial victim) is lying beside him, cut in
5 two, with its liver exposed. Divination by means of kids and lambs and calves is known to have been practised by mankind from a remote date, and the Cyprians discovered, moreover, how to divine by means of swine; but no people is in the habit of making any use of dogs in divination. It seems, then, that Thrasybulus instituted a mode of divination of his own by means of the inwards of dogs.
3. The soothsayers who are called Iamids are descended from Iamus, of whom Pindar in a song says that he was a son of Apollo and received the gift of divination from him.

6 4. Beside the statue of Thrasybulus stands a statue of Timosthenes, an Elean, who won the foot-race for boys, and there is a statue of a Milesian, Antipater, son of Clinopatrus, who vanquished the boys in boxing. Some Syracusans, who were bringing a sacrifice to Olympia from Dionysius, tried to bribe the father of Antipater to let his son be proclaimed as a Syracusan. But Antipater, despising the tyrant's bribe, proclaimed himself a Milesian, and inscribed on the statue that he was a Milesian by birth, and was the first
7 Ionian who had dedicated a statue at Olympia. The statue of Antipater is by Polyclitus, and that of Timosthenes is by Eutychides, a Sicyonian, a pupil of Lysippus. This Eutychides also made an image of Fortune for the Syrians on the Orontes, and the image is much venerated by the natives.

8 In the Altis, beside the statue of Timosthenes, are statues of Timon and his son Aesypus, the latter a child on horseback. For the boy won the horse-race, but Timon was proclaimed victor in the chariot-race. The statues of Timon and his son are by Daedalus, a Sicyonian, who also made the trophy in the Altis, which commemorates the victory of the Eleans over the Lacedaemonians.
9 The inscription on the statue of the Samian boxer declares that the statue was dedicated by his trainer, Mycon, and that the Samians are the best of the Ionians at athletics and sea-fights; but about the boxer himself the inscription says not a word.

10 5. Beside this statue is one of Damiscus, a Messenian, who won a prize at Olympia at the age of twelve. It is a very surprising fact, that while the Messenians were banished from Peloponnese their luck in the Olympic games deserted them. For, except Leontiscus and Symmachus, both from Messene on the Strait, no Messenian, either from Sicily or from Naupactus, is known to have won a victory at Olympia; and the Sicilians say that even Leontiscus and Symmachus were not Messenians, but of the old Zanclean stock.

However, when the Messenians returned to Peloponnese their luck 11
in the Olympic games returned with them. For at the Olympic festival, which was held in the year after the foundation of Messene, this Damiscus beat the boys in the foot-race, and afterwards he won victories in the pentathlum at Nemea and the Isthmus.

III

1. Close to the statue of Damiscus stands the statue of a man whose name is not given, but the statue was dedicated by Ptolemy, son of Lagus. In the inscription Ptolemy calls himself a Macedonian, though he was king of Egypt. On the statue of Chaereas, a boy boxer of Sicyon, there is an inscription stating that he was young when he gained the victory, and that his father was Chaeremon. The name of the sculptor is also recorded, Asterion, son of Aeschylus. After the statue of Chaereas there are statues of 2
a Messenian boy, Sophius, and an Elean man, Stomius: Sophius outran the boys who competed with him; and Stomius won one victory in the pentathlum at Olympia, and three in the Nemean games. The inscription on the latter statue adds that, as commander of the Elean cavalry, he set up trophies, and challenged a general of the enemy to single combat, and slew him with his own hand. The 3
Eleans say that the slain general was a Sicyonian, and that the troops he commanded were Sicyonians; and that they themselves, out of friendship to Thebes, had marched with a Boeotian force against Sicyon. 2. It would appear, then, that the expedition of the Eleans and Thebans against Sicyon took place after the Lacedaemonian disaster at Leuctra.

Next there is a statue of a boxer from Lepreus in Elis, Labax, 4
son of Euphron, and one of a wrestler, Aristodemus, son of Thrasis, a native of the city of Elis, who also gained two victories at Pytho. The statue of Aristodemus is a work of Daedalus, the Sicyonian, a pupil and son of Patrocles. The statue of Hippus, an 5
Elean, who won the boxing-match among the boys, is by Damocritus, a Sicyonian, between whom and the Attic Critias three masters intervened. For Ptolichus, the Corcyraean, studied under Critias himself; Amphion was a pupil of Ptolichus; Pison, a man of Calauria, studied under Amphion; and Damocritus studied under Pison. 3. Cratinus, 6
of Aegira, in Achaia, was the handsomest man of his time, and the most skilful wrestler. After his victory over the boys in wrestling the Eleans allowed him to set up also a statue of his trainer. The statue of Cratinus is by Cantharus, a Sicyonian, son of Alexis, and pupil of Eutychides.

The statue of Eupolemus, an Elean, is by Daedalus, of Sicyon: 7
the inscription on it sets forth that Eupolemus was victor at Olympia in the men's foot-race, and that he also won two Pythian crowns

in the pentathlum, and one at Nemea. It is said about Eupolemus that three umpires were appointed to judge the race, and that two of them gave the victory to Eupolemus, but one of them to Leon, an Ambraciot, and that Leon got the Olympic Council to fine both the judges who had decided in favour of Eupolemus.

8 4. The statue of Oebotas was dedicated by the Achaeans in obedience to a command of the Delphic Apollo in the eightieth Olympiad; but the victory of Oebotas in the foot-race took place in the sixth Olympiad. How, then, could Oebotas have fought in the Greek army at the battle of Plataea? For the defeat of Mardonius and the Medes at Plataea happened in the seventy-fifth Olympiad. I am bound to record the Greek traditions, but I am not bound to believe them all. The other incidents in the career of Oebotas will be mentioned in my account of Achaia.

9 The statue of Antiochus was made by Nicodamus. Antiochus was a native of Lepreus. He was once victorious at Olympia in the pancratium for men; and in the pentathlum he was twice victorious in the Isthmian, and twice in the Nemean games. For the Lepreans have not the same dread of the Isthmian games that the Eleans themselves have. For example, Hysmon, an Elean (whose statue stands near that of Antiochus), though he was victorious in the pentathlum both at Olympia and Nemea, nevertheless, like the rest of the Eleans, obviously abstained from competing at the 10 Isthmian games. It is said that when Hysmon was a boy a rheum settled on his sinews, and that for this reason he practised the pentathlum in order that by hard exercise he might grow to be a sound and healthy man. Thus his training was destined to win him also illustrious victories. His statue is a work of Cleon: it 11 has ancient leaping-weights. After the statue of Hysmon there is a statue of a boy wrestler, from Heraea in Arcadia, Nicostratus, son of Xenoclides: the statue was made by Pantias, who came of the school of Aristocles, the Sicyonian, through an intermediate line of five masters.

5. Dicon, son of Callibrotus, won five victories in running at Pytho, three at the Isthmus, and four at Nemea; and he won at Olympia one victory amongst the boys, and two others amongst the men; and he has at Olympia as many statues as victories. In his boyhood he was proclaimed a Caulonian, as in fact he was; but afterwards for a sum of money he proclaimed himself a Syracusan. 12 Caulonia was an Achaean colony in Italy: its founder was Typhon, of Aegium. In the war which Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides, and the Tarentines waged against the Romans, sundry Italian cities were destroyed, some by the Romans, some by the Epirots, and amongst them it befell Caulonia to be laid utterly waste; for it was taken by the Campanians, the most numerous of the Roman allies.

13 Next to the statue of Dicon is a statue of Xenophon, son of

Menephylus, a pancratiast from Aegium, in Achaia, and a statue of Pyrilampes, an Ephesian, who won a victory in the long foot-race. The statue of Xenophon is by Olympus; that of Pyrilampes is by a sculptor also called Pyrilampes, who, however, was a native, not of Sicyon, but of Messene on Ithome.

6. A statue of the Spartan Lysander, son of Aristocritus, was 14
dedicated in Olympia by the Samians: the first of the inscriptions is this:—

> In the much-seen precinct of Zeus the high ruler
> I stand, an offering of the Samian state.

This explains who dedicated the offering. The next is in praise of Lysander himself:—

> Immortal glory in war for thy country and for Aristocritus,
> O Lysander, hast thou achieved, and enjoyest the fame of valour.

It is clear that the Samians and the other Ionians, to use an 15
Ionian expression, painted both walls. For when Alcibiades commanded a powerful Athenian fleet in Ionian waters, most of the Ionians paid him court, and there is a bronze statue of Alcibiades dedicated in the sanctuary of Hera in Samos. But when the Attic fleet was captured at Aegospotami the Samians dedicated a statue of Lysander at Olympia, and the Ephesians dedicated in the sanctuary of Artemis statues of Lysander himself, Eteonicus, Pharax, and other Spartans, who were scarcely known to the rest of Greece. When fortune changed again, and Conon had won the 16
sea-fight off Cnidus and Mount Dorium, the Ionians changed sides also, and you may see bronze statues of Conon and Timotheus in the sanctuary of Hera in Samos, and also in the sanctuary of the Ephesian goddess at Ephesus. It is ever so: all mankind, like the Ionians, flatter the powerful.

IV

1. Next to the statue of Lysander is the statue of an Ephesian boxer, Athenaeus by name, who was victorious among the boys, and the statue of a Sicyonian, Sostratus, a pancratiast, surnamed Acrochersites, because he used to seize and bend his adversary's fingers (*akrai cheires*), and never let go till he saw that he gave in. He gained twelve victories at the Nemean and Isthmian 2
games together, two victories at Pytho, and three at Olympia. 2. But the hundred and fourth Olympiad, in which Sostratus was victorious for the first time, is not recorded by the Eleans, because the games were not held by themselves, but by the Pisans and Arcadians. Beside the statue of Sostratus is the statue of a 3

wrestler, Leontiscus, a Sicilian from Messene on the Strait. It is said that he was crowned by the Amphictyons and twice by the Eleans, and his mode of wrestling is reported to have been the same as the pancratium of the Sicyonian Sostratus; for Leontiscus, it is said, was not able to throw his adversaries, but vanquished them by
4 bending their fingers. The statue is by Pythagoras of Rhegium, a good sculptor if ever there was one. They say that Pythagoras was taught by Clearchus, who was himself a native of Rhegium and a pupil of Euchirus; and Euchirus, it is said, was a Corinthian, and studied under two Spartan masters, Syadras and Chartas.

5 3. A mention of the statue of the boy binding a fillet on his head may here be introduced, because the statue is by the great sculptor Phidias, but we do not know of whom it is a portrait. Satyrus, an Elean, son of Lysianax, of the race of the Iamids, was victorious five times in boxing at Nemea, twice at Pytho, and twice at Olympia: the statue is by Silanion, an Athenian. Polycles, another sculptor of the Attic school, a pupil of the Athenian Stadieus, made the statue of an Ephesian boy pancratiast, Amyntas, son of Hellanicus.

6 4. Chilon, an Achaean of Patrae, won two Olympic victories in wrestling among the men, one at Delphi, four at the Isthmus, and three at Nemea. He died in battle, and was buried by the Achaean state. The inscription at Olympia proves it:—

Twice in wrestling alone I conquered the men at Olympia and at Pytho,
Thrice at Nemea, and four times at the Isthmus by the sea:
I am Chilon of Patrae, the son of Chilon; I perished in war,
And was buried for my valour's sake by the Achaean people.

7 Thus far the inscription. If I may guess the war in which Chilon fell by reference to the date of Lysippus, the sculptor who made the statue, I should say either that he marched to Chaeronea with the whole body of the Achaeans, or that, prompted by his personal valour and courage, he alone of all the Achaeans fought against Antipater and the Macedonians at Lamia in Thessaly.

8 5. Next to the statue of Chilon are the statues of two men. The name of the one was Molpion, and the inscription says that he was crowned by the Eleans. On the other statue there is no inscription, but they have a tradition that it represents Aristotle of Stagira in Thrace: it was set up either by a pupil or a soldier who knew that Aristotle had had great influence with Antipater and with Alex-
9 ander before him. Sodamas of Assus in the Troad, at the foot of Mount Ida, was the first Aeolian from that district that won the boys' foot-race at Olympia. 6. Beside Sodamas is a statue of a Lacedaemonian king, Archidamus, son of Agesilaus. Before this Archidamus I could not find that the Lacedaemonians set up a

statue of any of their kings outside their own boundaries. They sent the statue of Archidamus to Olympia chiefly, I believe, on account of the manner of his death, because he met his death in a foreign land, and was the only Spartan king who is known not to have received burial. All this I have set forth at greater length in treating 10
of Sparta. Euanthes of Cyzicus was victorious in boxing, once at Olympia among the men, and at Nemea and the Isthmus among the boys. Beside Euanthes is the statue of a horse-breeder and his chariot; and on the chariot a young girl is mounted. The man's name is Lampus, and his native town was the newest of the cities in Macedonia, which got its name from its founder, Philip, son of Amyntas. The statue of Cyniscus, a boy boxer from Mantinea, is by Polyclitus. 11
7. Ergoteles, son of Philanor, won two victories in the long foot-race at Olympia, and as many more at Pytho, the Isthmus, and Nemea: he is said not to have been a Himeraean originally, as the inscription on the statue states, but a Cretan from Cnosus; but being expelled by a faction from Cnosus he went to Himera, where he received the citizenship and many other honours. It was natural, then, that he should be proclaimed a Himeraean at the games.

V

1. The statue on the lofty pedestal is a work of Lysippus: the man it represents was the tallest of men, if we except the heroes and the mortal race, if such there were, that preceded the heroes. Certainly of the present race of men this Pulydamas, son of Nicias, was the tallest. 2. Scotusa, the native town of Pulydamas, is now 2
no longer inhabited. For Alexander, tyrant of Pherae, seized it in time of truce. Some of the townspeople were gathered in the theatre, for it happened that they were holding a public assembly. So Alexander surrounded them with targeteers and archers, and shot them all down, and he butchered all the rest of the men, and sold the women and children in order to pay his mercenaries. This 3
calamity befell Scotusa when Phrasiclides was archon at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and second Olympiad, the Olympiad in which Damon of Thurii was victorious for the second time. The handful that escaped abode for a little while in the city, but afterwards they too were obliged, by their weak and forlorn condition, to abandon it at the time when God visited the whole Greek nation with a second overthrow in the war with Macedonia. 3. Other men 4
besides Pulydamas have won famous victories in the pancratium, but besides the crowns he won in the pancratium, Pulydamas performed the following exploits of a different sort. The highlands of Thrace, on this side the river Nestus, which flows through the land of Abdera, are the home of wild animals, including lions. These lions attacked the army of Xerxes of old, and made havoc of the camels which were

5 carrying the provisions. Often they roam into the country about Mount Olympus, one side of which is turned to Macedonia, and the other to Thessaly and the river Peneus. Here on Mount Olympus Pulydamas unarmed slew a lion, a great and mighty beast. He was incited to the feat by a desire to emulate the deeds of Hercules, because the story goes that Hercules also conquered the Nemean
6 lion. Yet another marvellous exploit of Pulydamas is on record. He went among a herd of cattle, and catching the largest and most savage bull by one of its hind feet, he held fast its hoof, and though the beast plunged and struggled he did not let go, till at last the bull putting forth all its strength escaped, leaving its hoof in the hands of Pulydamas. It is said, too, that he stopped a chariot driven at speed; for, seizing it from behind with one hand, he held as in a
7 vice the horses and their driver. Hearing of his exploits, Darius, a bastard son of Artaxerxes, who, supported by the commons of Persia, had dethroned Sogdius, the legitimate son of Artaxerxes, and reigned in his stead, sent messengers, and by the promise of gifts persuaded Pulydamas to go up to Susa and see him. There he challenged three of the band called Immortals to fight him all at once, and slew them all. Of the feats I have enumerated, some are represented on the pedestal of his statue at Olympia, others are mentioned in the
8 inscription. 4. But after all the prophecy of Homer was destined to come true of Pulydamas, as of others who have prided themselves on their strength; for his strength was to prove his bane, as it has proved the bane of others. It was summer-time, and Pulydamas, with some of his boon companions, had gone into a cavern, when, as ill-luck would have it, the roof began to crack, and showed clearly that it
9 would soon fall in, and could not hold up much longer. Seeing their danger the rest took to their heels, but Pulydamas thought he would stay, and he held up his hands as if he would bear up against the fall of the cave, and not be crushed by the mountain. Here, then, he met his end.

VI

1. In Olympia, beside the statue of Pulydamas, there are two statues of Arcadians and a third of an Attic athlete. The statue of the Mantinean, Protolaus, son of Dialces, victor in the boys' boxing-match, is by Pythagoras of Rhegium; that of Narycidas, son of Damaretus, a wrestler from Phigalia, is by Daedalus of Sicyon; that of Callias of Athens, a pancratiast, is by an Athenian, the painter Micon. Nicodamus, the Maenalian, made the statue of a Maenalian pancratiast, Androsthenes, son of Lochaeus, who won
2 two victories amongst the men. After these is a statue of Eucles, son of Callianax, a Rhodian, of the house of the Diagorids, for his mother was a daughter of Diagoras: he gained an Olympic victory

in boxing among the men. His statue is a work of Naucydes. Polyclitus, an Argive, not he who made the image of Hera, but a pupil of Naucydes, wrought the statue of a boy wrestler, Agenor, a Theban. The statue was dedicated by the Phocian confederacy, for Theopompus, father of Agenor, was a public friend of the Phocian nation. Nicodamus, the Maenalian sculptor, made the 3
statue of Damoxenidas, a boxer of Maenalus. There is also the statue of a boy Lastratidas, an Elean, who won a crown in wrestling. He also won a victory at Nemea among the boys, and another among the beardless youths. His father, Paraballon, was victorious in the double foot-race, and he bequeathed to posterity an incentive to ambition, by inscribing in the gymnasium at Olympia the names of the Olympic victors.

2. It would not be right for me to pass over the victories and 4
the other glories of the boxer Euthymus. By birth Euthymus was one of the Italian Locrians who own the country near Cape Zephyrium, and he passed for the son of Astycles. But his countrymen say that his father was not Astycles, but the river Caecinus, which divides the lands of Locri and Rhegium, and is associated with the wonderful phenomenon of the grasshoppers. For the grasshoppers in the Locrian territory, as far as the Caecinus, sing like any other grasshoppers, but across the Caecinus the grasshoppers in the Rhegian territory utter never a cheep. Of this river, then, it is said 5
that Euthymus was the son. Though he won a victory in boxing at Olympia in the seventy-fourth Olympiad, he was not to be equally successful in the next, for Theagenes, the Thasian, wishing to win victories in the same Olympiad both in boxing and the pancratium, beat Euthymus at boxing. But Theagenes could not win the wild olive in the pancratium, being exhausted by his contest with Euthymus. Therefore the umpires sentenced Theagenes to pay a talent as a 6
sacred fine to the god, and a talent for the injury he had done to Euthymus, because it appeared to them that he had entered for the boxing-match merely to spite Euthymus. That was why they condemned him to pay a sum of money privately to Euthymus. In the seventy-sixth Olympiad Theagenes paid the sum due to the god, and by way of compensation to Euthymus did not enter for the boxing-match. In that and the next Olympiad Euthymus won the crown for boxing. His statue is by Pythagoras, and most well worth seeing it is. 3. On his return to Italy, Euthymus fought with the Hero. 7
The facts about the Hero were these. In his wanderings after the taking of Ilium, Ulysses, it is said, was driven by the winds to various cities of Italy and Sicily, and amongst the rest he came with his ships to Temesa. There a tipsy sailor of his ravished a maiden, for which offence he was stoned to death by the natives. Ulysses thought 8
nothing of the fellow's loss and sailed away; but the ghost of the murdered man began to kill the people of Temesa, sparing neither

old nor young, and he never left off till the people were fain to flee from Italy altogether; but the Pythian priestess bade them not to abandon Temesa, but to appease the Hero and build him a temple in a precinct of his own, and to give him every year the fairest
9 maiden in Temesa to wife. They did as the god bade them, and had nothing more to fear from the ghost. But Euthymus chanced to come to Temesa at the very time when the people were paying the usual respects to the ghost; and learning how matters stood, he desired to go into the temple and behold the maiden. When he saw her he was first touched with pity, and then he fell in love with her, and the girl swore she would be his wife if he saved her. So Euthymus put on his armour, and awaited
10 the assault of the ghost; and he had the best of it in the fight, and the Hero, driven from the land, plunged into the sea and vanished. Euthymus had a splendid wedding, and the men of that country were rid of the ghost for ever. I have heard say that Euthymus lived to extreme old age, and that he escaped death, but took leave of the world in some other way. I have been told by a man who made a trading voyage to Temesa, that the town is
11 inhabited to this day. 4. That is what I have heard; and I have seen a picture, which was a copy of an old painting. It was like this. There was a youth Sybaris, and a river Calabrus, and a spring Lyca, and moreover a hero's shrine, and the city of Temesa; and there, too, was the ghost which Euthymus expelled. The ghost was of a horrid black colour, and his whole appearance was most dreadful, and he wore a wolfskin. The writing on the picture gave him the name of Lycas. So much for that.

VII

1. After the statue of Euthymus is a statue of Pytharchus, a Mantinean, a runner, and one of Charmides, an Elean, a boxer, both of them victors among the boys. After observing them you will come to the statues of the Rhodian athletes, Diagoras and his family. They stand beside each other in the following order: Acusilaus, who won a crown for boxing among the men; and Dorieus the youngest, who conquered in the pancratium in three successive Olympiads. Before him Damagetus also had vanquished
2 all comers in the pancratium. These were brothers, sons of Diagoras. After them is a statue of Diagoras himself, who won a victory in boxing among the men. The statue of Diagoras is by Callicles, a Megarian, whose father Theocosmus made the statue of Zeus at Megara. The sons of Diagoras' daughters also practised boxing and won Olympic victories: Eucles, son of Callianax and of Callipatira, daughter of Diagoras, was victorious among the men, and Pisirodus was victorious among the boys. It was this Pisirodus whom his

mother, in the guise of a trainer, brought to the Olympic games. His statue stands in the Altis beside that of his mother's father. 3 They say that Diagoras came with his sons Acusilaus and Damagetus to Olympia; and when the young men had won their prizes, they carried their father through the assembly, while the people pelted him with flowers, and called him happy in his children. Diagoras was Messenian by extraction on the female side, being descended from the daughter of Aristomenes. 2. Dorieus, son 4 of Diagoras, besides his victories at Olympia, won eight victories at the Isthmian, and seven at the Nemean games, and it is said that he was victorious at the Pythian games without a contest. He and Pisirodus were proclaimed as Thurians, because being chased by the opposite faction from Rhodes they had gone to Thurii in Italy. But afterwards Dorieus was restored to Rhodes. No one man ever sided more openly with the Lacedaemonians than he, for he even fought against the Athenians with ships of his own, till being taken by some Attic galleys he was carried a prisoner to Athens. Before Dorieus was brought before them the Athenians 5 were wroth with him and indulged in threats; but when they met in public assembly, and beheld so great and famous a man in the guise of a captive, their feelings towards him changed, and they let him go free and did him no harm, though they might justly have treated him with severity. Androtion, in his work on Attica, has described 6 the death of Dorieus. He says that the king's fleet, commanded by Conon, was then at Caunus, and the Rhodian people were persuaded by Conon to renounce the Lacedaemonian alliance and join the king and the Athenians. Dorieus was at that time absent in the interior of Peloponnese, and being arrested by some Lacedaemonians and brought to Sparta, he was condemned as a traitor by the Lacedaemonians and sentenced to death. If what Androtion says is 7 true, he seems to wish to put the Lacedaemonians in the same position as the Athenians, because the Athenians also stand charged with rash haste in their treatment of Thrasyllus and the men who commanded jointly with him at Arginusae. To such a height of glory, then, did Diagoras and his descendants attain.

3. Alcaenetus, son of Theantus, a Leprean, also gained Olympic 8 victories, he and his sons. Alcaenetus himself was victorious in the men's boxing-match, and he had previously won the boys' match. His sons, Hellanicus and Theantus, were proclaimed victors in the boys' boxing-match,—Hellanicus in the eighty-ninth Olympiad, and Theantus in the next. There are statues of them all at Olympia. After the statues of the sons of Alcaenetus is a statue of Gnathon, 9 a Maenalian of Dipaea, and another of Lycinus, an Elean; these also were victorious in the boys' boxing-match at Olympia. The inscription on the statue of Gnathon declares that he was very young when he gained the victory. The statue is by Callicles the

10 Megarian. A man of Stymphalus, by name Dromeus ('runner'), verified his name in the long race, for he won two victories at Olympia, as many at Pytho, three at the Isthmian games, and five at Nemea. It is said that the use of a flesh diet was an idea of his, for previously the athletes had been fed on cheese from the basket. His statue is by Pythagoras; and the one next to it, that of Pythocles, an Elean pentathlete, is by Polyclitus.

VIII

1. Socrates of Pellene was victorious in the boys' race, but the name of the sculptor who made his statue is not mentioned. The statue of Amertes, an Elean, who was victorious at Olympia in the boys' wrestling-match, and vanquished all comers in the men's wrestling-match at Pytho, is by Phradmon, an Argive. Euanoridas, an Elean, won the boy's wrestling-match both at Olympia and Nemea; when he was umpire, he also inscribed at Olympia the
2 names of the victors. 2. As to a certain boxer, Damarchus by name, an Arcadian of the Parrhasian district, the story told of him is to me incredible, except, of course, what relates to his Olympic victory. The story, as told by some humbugs, is this: he was turned into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean Zeus, and in the tenth year afterwards he became a man again. I do not believe that the Arcadians themselves say this of him, otherwise it would have been recorded in the inscription at Olympia, which runs thus:—

> This image was dedicated by Damarchus, son of Dinnytas,
> By birth a Parrhasian from Arcadia.

3 Eubotas the Cyrenian, being informed beforehand by the oracle in Libya that he would be victorious in the foot-race at Olympia, had his statue made before the race was run, and dedicated it on the very same day on which he was proclaimed victor. It is said that he was also victorious in the chariot-race in that Olympiad which, according to the Eleans, was no real Olympiad, because the Arcadians presided over the games.

4 3. The statue of Timanthes of Cleonae, who won the crown in the men's pancratium, is by Myron the Athenian; and the statue of Baucis of Troezen, victor in the men's wrestling-match, is by Naucydes. The occasion of Timanthes' death is said to have been as follows. He had ceased practising as an athlete, but nevertheless he continued to test his strength by bending a mighty bow every day. Well, he went away from home, and while he was away his practice with the bow was discontinued. But when he came back and could no longer bend the bow, he lit a fire and flung himself on the burning pile. In my opinion such deeds, whether they have

been done in the past or shall be done hereafter, ought to be set down to the score of madness rather than of courage.

After the statue of Baucis there are statues of Arcadian athletes : 5
Euthymenes, from the town of Maenalus, who won a victory in the men's wrestling-match, and had won the boys' match previously; Philip, an Azanian from Pellana, who was victorious in the boys' boxing-match; and Critodamus from Clitor, who, like Philip, was proclaimed for a victory in the boys' boxing-match. The statue of Euthymenes as victor among the boys is by Alypus: the statue of Damocritus is by Cleon; and that of Philip the Azanian is by Myron. The history of Promachus, son of Dryon, a pancratiast of Pellene, will be comprised in my account of Achaia. 4. Not far 6
from the statue of Promachus is the statue of Timasitheus, a Delphian: it is a work of Ageladas the Argive. Timasitheus won two victories in the pancratium at Olympia, and three at Pytho. In the wars, too, he did bright deeds of valour, and fortune attended him in all his enterprises save the last, and that proved fatal to him. For when Isagoras, the Athenian, seized the Acropolis of Athens to make himself tyrant, Timasitheus had a hand in the affair, and being one of those who were captured on the Acropolis, he paid the forfeit with his life.

IX

1. Theognetus, an Aeginetan, won a crown in the boys' wrestling-match, and his statue is by Ptolichus, an Aeginetan. Ptolichus was taught by his father Synnoon, and Synnoon by Aristocles, a Sicyonian, brother of Canachus, and not much inferior to him in reputation. Why Theognetus is represented carrying a cone of the cultivated pine-tree and a pomegranate I could not conjecture, but perhaps the Aeginetans may have some story of their own about him. After the statue of the man whose name, the Eleans 2
say, was not recorded with the rest because he had won in the trotting-race, there is a statue of Xenocles, a Maenalian, a victor in the boys' wrestling-match, and one of Alcetus, son of Alcinous, who won the boys' boxing-match; he also was an Arcadian from Clitor. His statue is by Cleon, that of Xenocles is by Polyclitus. Aristeus, an 3
Argive, won a victory in the long foot-race, and his father Chimon won a victory in wrestling. Their statues stand near each other: the statue of Aristeus is by Pantias, a Chian, who was taught by his father Sostratus. The statues of Chimon are, it seems to me, amongst the finest works of Naucydes: the one is the statue at Olympia, the other is the statue which was taken from Argos to the sanctuary of Peace in Rome. It is said that Chimon beat Taurosthenes, the Aeginetan, in wrestling, and that in the next Olympiad Taurosthenes overthrew all comers in the wrestling-match, and that

on the very same day a phantom in the likeness of Taurosthenes
4 appeared in Aegina and announced the victory. The statue of Philles, an Elean, a victor in the boys' wrestling-match, is by Cratinus, a Spartan.

2. With regard to the chariot of Gelo, I formed a different opinion from that of those who have spoken on the subject before me. According to them the chariot is an offering of Gelo the Sicilian tyrant. Now the inscription on the chariot states that it was dedicated by Gelo of Gela, son of Dinomenes, and the date of this Gelo's victory is the seventy-third Olympiad.
5 But Gelo, tyrant of Sicily, got possession of Syracuse when Hybrilides was archon at Athens, in the second year of the seventy-second Olympiad, in which Tisicrates of Croton won the foot-race. Clearly, then, Gelo would have proclaimed himself as of Syracuse, not of Gela. So this Gelo must be some private person, who bore the same name as the tyrant, and whose father bore the same name as the tyrant's father. The chariot and statue of Gelo are by Glaucias of Aegina.

6 3. They say that in the previous Olympiad Cleomedes of Astypalaea, in boxing with Iccus, an Epidaurian, killed him. Being condemned by the umpires for foul play, and deprived of his prize, he went mad with grief. Returning to Astypalaea, and going to a school there in which there were about sixty children, he pulled down
7 the pillar which propped the roof. The roof fell on the children, and he, being pelted with stones by the townspeople, took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena. He stepped into a chest which stood in the sanctuary, and drew down the lid, and the people laboured in vain to open the chest. At last they broke open the woodwork, and finding no Cleomedes in it either alive or dead, they sent men to
8 Delphi to ask what had become of him. They say that the Pythian priestess answered them :—

> Last of the heroes is Cleomedes of Astypalaea :
> Him honour with sacrifices as no longer a mortal.

Accordingly since then the Astypaleans pay honour to him as a hero.
9 Beside the chariot of Gelo is a statue of Philo, a work of Glaucias the Aeginetan. On this Philo a very clever couplet was composed by Simonides, son of Leoprepes :—

> My native land is Corcyra ; Philon's my name ; I am Glaucus'
> Son, and am victor in boxing in two Olympiads.

There is also a statue of Agametor, a Mantinean, who gained a victory in the boys' boxing-match.

X

1. After the statues I have enumerated stands the statue of Glaucus the Carystian. They say that his family came originally from Anthedon in Boeotia, being descended from Glaucus, the sea-demon. The father of this Carystian was Demylus, and they say that Glaucus at first tilled the ground. Once when the ploughshare had fallen out of the plough, he fitted it in, using his hand instead of a hammer. Demylus observed what the boy did, and therefore 2 took him to Olympia to box. There Glaucus, having no practice in boxing, was wounded by his antagonists, and when he was boxing with the last of them, it was thought that he was breaking down under the number of his hurts. Then they say that his father called out, 'The one from the plough, boy!' So Glaucus dealt his adversary a harder blow, and immediately gained the victory. He is said to have gained other crowns: two in the Pythian games, 3 and eight at the Nemean and Isthmian games respectively. The statue of Glaucus was dedicated by his son: it is the work of Glaucias of Aegina. The figure is that of a man in the act of sparring, for Glaucus was the best boxer of his time. The Carystians say that when he died he was buried in an island, called the island of Glaucus to this day.

2. Damaretus, a Heraean, and his son, and his grandson, each 4 won two victories at Olympia. Damaretus was victorious in the sixty-fifth Olympiad, when the race in armour was first introduced, and he was also victorious in the following Olympiad. His statue has not only a shield, as the armed runners still have, but also a helmet on his head and greaves on his legs. In course of time the wearing of helmet and greaves in the race was abolished both by the Eleans and by the rest of the Greeks. Theopompus, son of Damaretus, won his victories in the pentathlum, and his son of the same name, Theopompus the second, won his victories in wrestling. I do not 5 know who made the statue of Theopompus the wrestler; but the inscription states that the statues of his father and grandfather are by the Argives Eutelidas and Chrysothemis. It does not say, however, under whom they learned their art. The inscription runs thus:—

> Eutelidas and Chrysothemis made these works:
> Argives they were, and learned their art from those that went before.

Iccus, a Tarentine, son of Nicolaidas, gained the Olympic crown in the pentathlum, and is said to have been afterwards the best trainer of his day. After the statue of Iccus is a statue of Pantarces, an 6 Elean, who won the boys' wrestling-match, and was beloved of

Phidias. After the statue of Pantarces there is a chariot of Cleosthenes, an Epidamnian: it is a work of Ageladas, and stands behind the image of Zeus, which was dedicated by the Greeks from the spoils of the battle of Plataea. Cleosthenes was victorious in the sixty-sixth Olympiad, and along with the statue of the chariot and horses he dedicated statues of himself and the charioteer.
7 The names of the horses also are inscribed: Phoenix and Corax ('raven'), and on either side of them the horses beside the yoke (*i.e.* the outriggers), Cnacias on the right, and Samus on the left. There is this couplet on the chariot:—

> Cleosthenes, son of Pontis, from Epidamnus, dedicated me
> After he had won a victory with his horses in the glorious games of Zeus.

8 This Cleosthenes is the first horse-breeder in Greece who dedicated his statue at Olympia. For the votive offering of Evagoras, the Laconian, is only a chariot without a figure of Evagoras himself in it; and as to the votive offerings of Miltiades, the Athenian, at Olympia, I will describe them elsewhere. The Epidamnians still possess their original territory, but their present city is not the ancient city, but at a little distance from it. The present city is
9 named Dyrrhachium after its founder. Lycinus, a Heraean, Epicradius, a Mantinean, Tellon, an Oresthasian, and Agiadas, an Elean, won victories among the boys, Lycinus in the foot-race, and the rest in boxing. The statue of Epicradius is by Ptolichus of Aegina, that of Agiadas is by Serambus, also of Aegina: the statue of Lycinus is a work of Cleon; but the name of the sculptor who made the statue of Tellon is not remembered.

XI

1. Next to these are votive offerings of the Eleans, consisting of statues of Philip, son of Amyntas, Alexander, son of Philip, Seleucus, and Antigonus. Antigonus is represented on foot, the rest on horseback.

2 2. Not far from the statues of these kings stands a statue of Theagenes, a Thasian, son of Timosthenes. But the Thasians say that Theagenes was not a son of Timosthenes, but that Timosthenes was priest to the Thasian Hercules, and that the mother of Theagenes was visited by a phantom of Hercules in the likeness of Timosthenes. They say that when Theagenes was a boy of nine years of age, as he was coming home from school, he wrenched up the bronze image of some god or other which stood in the market-place, and for which he had a fancy, and putting it on his
3 shoulders, carried it home. The citizens were enraged at him for what he had done, but one of them, an old and respected man,

would not let them kill the boy, but ordered him to carry the image back from his house to the market-place. He did so, and straightway great was the boy's reputation for strength, and the deed was noised abroad throughout all Greece. I have already narrated 4
the most famous of Theagenes' exploits in the Olympic games, how he defeated Euthymus the boxer, and how he was fined by the Eleans. On that occasion the victory in the pancratium is said to have been gained for the first time on record without a contest by Dromeus, a Mantinean; but in the next Olympiad Theagenes was victorious in the pancratium. He also won three 5
victories at Pytho in boxing, and nine victories at the Nemean, and ten at the Isthmian games, of which nineteen victories some were in the pancratium, some in boxing. But at Phthia, in Thessaly, he abandoned the practice of boxing and the pancratium, and set himself to win a reputation for running also, and he vanquished all comers in the long race. His ambition was, it appears to me, to emulate Achilles by winning a race in the native country of the fleetest of the heroes. The total number of crowns that he won was one thousand four hundred. When he departed this world, one 6
of the men who had been at enmity with him in his life came every night to the statue of Theagenes, and whipped the bronze figure as if he were maltreating Theagenes himself. The statue checked his insolence by falling on him; but the sons of the deceased prosecuted the statue for murder. The Thasians sunk the statue in the sea, herein following the view taken by Draco, who, in the laws touching homicide which he drew up for the Athenians, enacted that even lifeless things should be banished if they fell on anybody and killed him. But in course of time, their land yielding them no fruits, the 7
Thasians sent envoys to Delphi, and the god told them to bring back the exiles. The exiles were accordingly brought back, but their restoration brought no cessation of the dearth. So they went to the Pythian priestess a second time, saying that though they had done as she bade them, the wrath of the gods still abode upon 8
them. Then the Pythian priestess answered them:—

But you have forgotten your great Theagenes.

While they were at a loss to know how they should recover the statue of Theagenes, it is said that some fishermen who had gone a-fishing on the sea caught the statue in their net and brought it back to land. So the Thasians set it up in its old place, and they are wont to sacrifice to him as a god. 3. I know of many other 9
places in Greece and in foreign lands where images of Theagenes are set up, and where he heals diseases, and is honoured by the natives. His statue is in the Altis: it is a work of Glaucias of Aegina.

XII

1. Near it is a bronze chariot with a man mounted on it, and race-horses stand beside the chariot, one on each side, and boys are seated on the horses. They are memorials of Olympic victories gained by Hiero, son of Dinomenes, who was tyrant of Syracuse after his brother Gelo. The offerings, however, were not sent by Hiero: it was his son Dinomenes who presented them to the god. The chariot is a work of Onatas the Aeginetan; but the horses on each side and the boys on them are by Calamis.

2 2. Beside the chariot of Hiero is the statue of a man who bore the same name as the son of Dinomenes, and was, like him, tyrant of Syracuse. He was called Hiero, son of Hierocles. For after the death of the former tyrant Agathocles, another tyrant of Syracuse cropped up in the person of this Hiero. He acquired the sovereignty in the second year of the hundred and twenty-sixth Olympiad, in which Idaeus, a Cyrenian, won the foot-race. This Hiero entered 3 into friendly relations with Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides, and cemented them by marriage, for he married his son Gelo to Nereis, daughter of Pyrrhus. At the time that the Romans went to war with the Carthaginians for the possession of Sicily, the Carthaginians held more than half of the island, and at the beginning of the war Hiero chose to side with the Carthaginians; but not long afterwards, believing that the Romans were the stronger power and the firmer 4 friends, he went over to their side. He met his death at the hands of Dinomenes, a Syracusan, a bitter foe of tyranny, who afterwards, when Hippocrates, brother of Epicydes, had just come from Erbessus to Syracuse, and was beginning to address the multitude, made a rush at him to kill him. But Hippocrates withstood him, and his guards overpowered and despatched Dinomenes. The statues of Hiero at Olympia—one on horseback, the other on foot —were dedicated by his sons, and are the works of Micon, a Syracusan, son of Niceratus.

5 3. After the statues of Hiero is a statue of a Lacedaemonian king, Areus, son of Acrotatus, and one of Aratus, son of Clinias, and another of Areus on horseback. The statue of Aratus is an offering of the Corinthians, that of Areus is an offering of the Eleans. I have already given some account both of Aratus and of Areus. Aratus was also proclaimed victor in the chariot-race at 6 Olympia. Timon, an Elean, son of Aegyptus, entered a four-horse chariot for the race at Olympia . . . <the chariot> is of bronze, and on it is mounted a maiden, who, I think, is Victory. Callon, son of Harmodius, and Hippomachus, son of Moschion, were both Eleans, and both victors in the boys' boxing-match. The statue of the former is by Daippus. Who made the statue of

Hippomachus I do not know. They say that Hippomachus vanquished three antagonists without receiving a blow or a wound in his body. Theochrestus, a Cyrenian, bred horses according to the 7
Libyan custom, and he and his paternal grandfather before him, of the same name, gained victories at Olympia with the four-horse chariot, and his father gained a victory at the Isthmus: all this is stated in the inscription on the chariot. That Agesarchus the 8
Tritaean, son of Haemostratus, conquered in the men's boxing-match at Olympia, Nemea, Pytho, and the Isthmus, is attested by the elegiac verses (on his statue), which also declare that the Tritaeans are Arcadians, but the latter statement I found to be false. For the founders of all the famous cities in Arcadia are known; and the names of the cities which had always been feeble and obscure, and were therefore absorbed into Megalopolis, are all comprised in a resolution which was adopted at the time by the Arcadian confederacy; and there is no 9
city Tritia to be found in Greece except the one in Achaia. However, we may suppose that in the time of Agesarchus the people of Tritia were reckoned among the Arcadians, just as at present some of the Arcadians are reckoned among the Argives. The statue of Agesarchus is a work of the sons of Polycles, of whom mention will again be made in the sequel.

XIII

1. The statue of Astylus of Crotona is a work of Pythagoras: Astylus was victorious in three successive Olympiads, both in the short and in the double race. But because in the two latter Olympiads he, to please Hiero, son of Dinomenes, proclaimed himself a Syracusan, the people of Crotona condemned his house to be turned into a gaol, and pulled down his statue which stood in the sanctuary of Lacinian Hera.

There is also in Olympia a tablet recording the victories of 2
the Lacedaemonian Chionis. They are simple who think that the tablet was dedicated by Chionis himself, and not by the Lacedaemonian state. For granting the truth of the statement on the tablet that the armed race was not yet introduced, how was Chionis to know whether it ever would be instituted by the Eleans? But they are even simpler who say that the statue beside the tablet is a portrait of Chionis, it being a work of Myron, the Athenian.

2. Like the renown of Chionis is the renown of a Lycian, 3
Hermogenes of Xanthus, who in three Olympiads won the wild olive eight times, and was surnamed Horse by the Greeks. Polites may also be regarded as a wonder. He was from Ceramus in Caria, and proved at Olympia that he excelled in every species of running. For after the longest race, and one which required the

greatest endurance, he after the briefest interval adapted himself to the shortest and fastest, and after winning a victory in the long course, and another immediately afterwards in the short course, he
4 added in the same day a third victory in the double course. Polites then in the second . . . and four, as they happen to be grouped together by the lot, and they do not start them all together; but the winners in each heat run again for the prize. Thus the man who wins the crown in the foot-race is necessarily victorious twice.
3. But the best performances in running were those of a Rhodian, Leonidas, who maintained his fleetness of foot unabated for four
5 Olympiads, and won twelve prizes for running. Not far from the tablet of Chionis at Olympia is a statue of Scaeus, a Samian, son of Duris, a victor in the boys' boxing-match. The statue is a work of Hippias; and the inscription on it declares that the victory of Scaeus took place when the Samian people were banished from their island. But the occasion . . . the people to their own.
6 4. Beside the statue of the tyrant is a statue of Diallus, a Smyrnaean, son of Pollis. The inscription states that this Diallus was the first Ionian who won a crown at Olympia in the boys' pancratium. The statues of Thersilochus of Corcyra, who won a crown in the boys' boxing-match, and Aristion, son of Theophiles, an Epidaurian, who was victorious in the men's boxing-match, are both by Polyclitus the
7 Argive. The statue of Bycelus, the first Sicyonian who won the prize in the boys' boxing-match, is a work of a Sicyonian, Canachus, a pupil of the Argive Polyclitus. Beside the statue of Bycelus stands the statue of an armed man, Mnaseas, a Cyrenian, surnamed the Libyan: the statue is by Pythagoras of Rhegium. Agemachus of Cyzicus from the mainland of Asia . . . the inscription on the
8 statue shows that he was born in Argos. Naxus was founded in Sicily by the Chalcidians who dwell on the Euripus. Not a vestige of the city is now left, and that its name has survived to after ages is chiefly due to Tisander, son of Cleocritus. For Tisander four times vanquished his competitors in the men's boxing-match at Olympia, and he won as many victories at Pytho. But in those days the Corinthians and Argives had not begun to keep records of all <the victors> at Nemea <and the Isthmus>.
9 5. The mare of the Corinthian Phidolas was named Aura ('breeze'), according to the Corinthians: at the start she happened to throw her rider, but continuing, nevertheless, to race in due form, she rounded the turning-post, and on hearing the trumpet quickened her pace, reached the umpires first, knew that she had won, and stopped. The Eleans proclaimed Phidolas victor, and allowed him to dedicate this
10 statue of the mare. 6. The sons of Phidolas were also victorious in the horse-race, and the horse is represented on a monument with this inscription:—

By a victory at the Isthmus, and two victories here, the fleet steed
Lycus
Brought glory to the house of the sons of Phidolas.

However, the Elean register of the Olympic victors does not tally with the inscription. For the register records a victory of the sons of Phidolas in the sixty-eighth Olympiad only. As to two men of 11
Elis, Agathinus, son of Thrasybulus, and Telemechus, the statue of the latter is for a victory with the four-horse chariot, that of Agathinus was dedicated by the Achaeans of Pellene. The statue of Aristophon, son of Lysinus, a victor in the men's pancratium at Olympia, was dedicated by the Athenian people.

XIV

1. Pherias of Aegina, whose statue stands beside that of the Athenian Aristophon, was thought in the seventy-eighth Olympiad to be too young, and being judged not yet fit to wrestle, was excluded from the games. But in the next Olympiad, being admitted among the boys, he was victorious in wrestling. The fortune of Nicasylus, a Rhodian, at Olympia was very different from that of Pherias; for, being excluded from the boys' wrestling-match because he was 2
eighteen years old, he gained a victory among the men; and he was afterwards victorious at Nemea and the Isthmus. But he died at the age of twenty, before returning home to Rhodes. The feat of the Rhodian wrestler at Olympia was surpassed, in my opinion, by Artemidorus of Tralles. Artemidorus failed, it is true, in the boys' pancratium at Olympia, the cause of his failure being his extreme youth. But when the time came for the games which the Ionians 3
of Smyrna celebrate, his strength had grown so much, that on one and the same day he vanquished in the pancratium his former boy antagonists from Olympia, and besides them, the youths called beardless, and, thirdly, the best of the men. He competed amongst the beardless youths in consequence of the encouragement of his trainer, and amongst the men in consequence of a taunt which one of the men had levelled at him. He gained an Olympic victory amongst the men in the two hundred and twelfth Olympiad. Next 4
to the statue of Nicasylus is a small bronze horse, dedicated by Crocon, an Eretrian, when he gained a crown in the horse-race; and near the horse is a statue of Telestas, a Messenian, who was victorious in the boys' boxing-match. The statue of Telestas is a work of Silanion.

2. The statue of Milo, son of Diotimus, is by Dameas, also a 5
native of Crotona. Milo gained six victories in wrestling at Olympia, one of them being in the boys' match; and at Pytho he gained six victories among the men, and one there also among the boys. He came to Olympia to wrestle for the seventh time, but he could not beat

Timasitheus, a fellow-townsman, who had the advantage of youth,
6 and who besides would not grapple with him. It is said that Milo carried his own statue into the Altis. His feats with the pomegranate and the quoit are also narrated. He would hold a pomegranate so fast that no one could wrest it from his hand, yet so daintily that he did not crush it; again he used to stand on a greased quoit, and jeer at those who charged at him and tried to
7 push him off it. Other exhibitions of his were these. He would tie a cord round his brow like a fillet or a crown; then, holding in his breath and filling the veins in his head with blood, he would, by the strength of his veins, burst the cord in two. It is said, too, that he would let down at his side his upper right arm from the shoulder to the elbow, and stretch out straight the lower arm from the elbow, so that the thumb was uppermost and the other fingers in a row; in this position, then, the little finger was lowest, and no one could
8 stir it by any exertion of strength. 3. They say that he was killed by wild beasts; for in the land of Crotona, falling in with a withered tree into which wedges were driven to keep the trunk open, Milo in his pride thrust his hands into the trunk; but the wedges slipped, and Milo, being held fast by the tree, fell a prey to wolves; for these brutes prowl in great packs in the territory of Crotona. Such was the end of Milo.

9 4. The statue of Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides, king of Thesprotis in Epirus, whose many memorable deeds I have chronicled in my account of Athens, was dedicated in the Altis by Thrasybulus, an Elean. Beside the statue of Pyrrhus there is a small man with flutes wrought in relief on a slab. The man thus represented is said to have won victories at the Pythian games next after Sacadas
10 the Argive; for Sacadas was victorious in the games celebrated by the Amphictyons before crowns were yet given as prizes, and afterwards he gained two victories for which he received crowns. 5. But Pythocritus of Sicyon was victorious in the next six celebrations of the Pythian games, being the only flute-player who attained this distinction. It is manifest that he also fluted at the pentathlum in the Olympic games. For these reasons the monument at Olympia was erected to him with this inscription:—

This is the monument of Pythocritus the flute-player, son of Callinicus.

11 The Aetolian confederacy dedicated a statue of Cylon, who freed the Eleans from the tyranny of Aristotimus. The statue of Gorgus, a Messenian, son of Eucletus, victor in the pentathlum, was made by Theron, a Boeotian; and the statue of Damaretus, another Messenian, victor in the boys' boxing-match, was made by Silanion, an Athenian. Anauchidas, an Elean, son of Philys, gained a crown in the boys' wrestling-match, and afterwards in the men's: who made his statue I do not know. The statue of Anochus, a Tarentine, son of Adamatas,

who won victories in the short and the double foot-race, is by Ageladas the Argive. As to the statue of a boy seated on a horse, 12
and a man standing beside the horse, the inscription states that the one is Xenombrotus, of Meropian Cos, a victor in the horse-race, and the other Xenodicus, victor in the boys' boxing-match. The statue of the latter is by Pantias, that of Xenombrotus is by Philotimus of Aegina. The two statues of Pythes, son of Andromachus, a man of Abdera, are by Lysippus: they were dedicated by his soldiers. Pythes seems to have been a captain of free-lances, or a good soldier in some capacity. There are also statues of victors in the 13
boys' race, to wit, Meneptolemus of Apollonia on the Ionian Gulf, and Philo of Corcyra. After them is a statue of Hieronymus of Andros who defeated the Elean Tisamenus in the pentathlum at Olympia. It was this Tisamenus who afterwards acted as soothsayer to the Greeks against Mardonius and the Medes at Plataea. Beside the statue of Hieronymus is the statue of a boy wrestler, also of Andros, Procles the son of Lycastidas. The sculptor who made the statue of Hieronymus was named Stomius; the one who made the statue of Procles was called Somis. Aeschines, an Elean, gained two victories in the pentathlum, and he has as many statues as victories.

XV

1. Archippus, a Mitylenian, was victor in the men's boxing-match, and the Mitylenians relate another circumstance that redounds to his honour, namely, that he won the crown at Olympia, Pytho, Nemea, and the Isthmus, when he was not more than twenty years of age. The statue of the boy runner Xenon, son of Calliteles, from Lepreus in Triphylia, is by Pyrilampes, a Messenian. Who made the statue of Clinomachus, an Elean, I do not know; but Clinomachus was proclaimed for a victory in the pentathlum. 2. The inscription 2
on the statue of Pantarces, an Elean, states that it is an offering of the Achaeans, because he made peace between them and the Eleans, and procured the release of the prisoners on both sides. This Pantarces also gained a victory in the horse-race, and there is a memorial of his victory at Olympia. The statue of Olidas, an Elean, was dedicated by the Aetolian nation. There is a statue of Charinus, an Elean, for a victory in the double race and in the armed race. Beside his statue is one of Ageles, a Chian, a victor in the boys' boxing-match: it is a work of Theomnestus of Sardes.

3. The statue of Clitomachus, a Theban, was dedicated by his 3
father Hermocrates. His glories are these. At the Isthmus he was victorious in the men's wrestling-match, and on the same day he vanquished all comers in the boxing-match and in the pancratium. His victories at Pytho were all in the pancratium, and they were three in number. This Clitomachus was the first man after the

Thasian Theagenes who was victorious both in the pancratium and
4 in boxing at Olympia. His victory in the pancratium was won in the hundred and forty-first Olympiad. In the next Olympiad Clitomachus was a competitor in the pancratium and in boxing, and Caprus, an Elean, purposed to compete in the wrestling and
5 pancratium on the same day. When Caprus had won in the wrestling, Clitomachus pointed out to the umpires that it would be fair that they should bring on the pancratium before he had received hurts in boxing. His proposal seemed reasonable, the pancratium was brought on, and though Clitomachus was beaten in it by Caprus, he nevertheless boxed afterwards with a stout spirit and unabated strength.

6 The Ionians of Erythrae set up a statue of Epitherses, son of Metrodorus, who won two victories at Olympia in boxing, and two at Pytho, as well as victories at Nemea and the Isthmus. The Syracusan state dedicated two statues of Hiero, and Hiero's children dedicated a third. I pointed out a little above that this Hiero bore the same name as the son of Dinomenes, and was like him tyrant of
7 Syracuse. The Paleans, one of the four divisions of the Cephallenians, dedicated a statue of an Elean, Timoptolis, son of Lampis. These Paleans were formerly called Dulichians. 4. There is also a statue of Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, and of some man or other in the attitude of hunting. There is a statue of Demetrius who marched against Seleucus, and was taken prisoner in the battle, and a statue of Demetrius' son Antigonus: both are offerings of the
8 Byzantines. Eutelidas, a Spartan, won two victories among the boys in the thirty-eighth Olympiad, one in wrestling, the other in the pentathlum; for that was the first and last time that there was a competition in the pentathlum for boys. The statue of Eutelidas
9 is ancient, and the inscription on the pedestal is time-worn. 5. After the statue of Eutelidas there is another statue of Areus, king of the Lacedaemonians, and beside it is one of Gorgus, an Elean. Gorgus is the only man down to my time who has gained four Olympic victories in the pancratium, and one in the double race and the
10 armed race respectively. 6. The statue of the man with the boys standing beside him is said to be Ptolemy, son of Lagus. Beside it are two statues of Caprus the Elean, son of Pythagoras, who won crowns in wrestling and in the pancratium on the same day. He was the first man who won these two victories. I have already mentioned the man whom he defeated in the pancratium. In wrestling he overthrew Paeanius, an Elean, who had been victorious in wrestling in the previous Olympiad, and in the Pythian games had won a crown in the boys' boxing-match, and again in the men's wrestling and boxing matches on the same day.

XVI

1. The victories of Caprus were not won without great toil and severe exertion. There are statues in Olympia to Anauchidas and Pherenicus, Eleans who won crowns in the boys' wrestling-match. The statue of Plistaenus, son of that Eurydamus who commanded the Aetolians in the war with the Gauls, was dedicated by the Thespians. The statue of Antigonus, father of Demetrius, and the 2 statue of Seleucus, were dedicated by Tydeus, an Elean. It was the capture of Demetrius that chiefly helped to spread abroad the fame of Seleucus. 2. Timon won victories in the pentathlum at all the Greek games except the Isthmian, at which, like the rest of the Eleans, he abstained from competing. The inscription on his statue further records that he shared in the expedition of the Aetolians against the Thessalians, and commanded the garrison in Naupactus out of friendship for the Aetolians. 3. Not far from the 3 statue of Timon is a statue of Greece, and beside it a statue of Elis. Greece is represented in the act of crowning, with one hand, Antigonus the guardian of Philip, son of Demetrius, while with the other she places a crown on the head of Philip himself. Elis is crowning Demetrius, who marched against Seleucus and Ptolemy, son of Lagus. The inscription on the statue of Aristides, an Elean, 4 sets forth that he won the armed race at Olympia and the double race at Pytho, and the boys' race in the horse-course at the Nemean games. 4. The length of the horse-course is equal to two double courses. This race had been omitted from the Nemean and Isthmian games, but it was reintroduced into the winter Nemean games by the Emperor Hadrian. Close to the 5 statue of Aristides is the statue of Menalces, an Elean, who was proclaimed victor in the pentathlum at Olympia; also a statue of Philonides, son of Zotes, a native of Chersonesus in Crete: he was a courier of Alexander, son of Philip. After him is a statue of Brimias, an Elean, a victor in the men's boxing-match; a statue of Leonidas, a native of Naxos in the Aegean, dedicated by the Arcadians of Psophis; a statue of Asamon, a conqueror in the men's boxing-match; and a statue of Nicander, who won two victories in the double course at Olympia, and six victories at the Nemean games in foot-races of various sorts. Asamon and Nicander were Eleans: the statue of the latter is by Daippus, that of Asamon is by Pyrilampes a Messenian. Eualcidas, 6 an Elean, won victories among the boys in boxing; Seleadas, a Lacedaemonian, among the men in wrestling. 5. Here stands also a small chariot of Polypithes, a Laconian, and on the same monument a figure of Polypithes' father Calliteles, a wrestler: the son was victorious with the four-horse chariot, the father in wrestling.

7 There are statues of private Eleans, Lampus, son of Arniscus, and . . . of Aristarchus; they were dedicated by the Psophidians, because the men represented were their public friends, or at all events their well-wishers. Between them is a statue of Lysippus, an Elean, a victor in the boys' wrestling-match: the statue is by
8 Andreas, an Argive. 6. Dinosthenes, a Lacedaemonian, gained an Olympic victory in the men's foot-race. In the Altis he set up a slab beside his statue: <an inscription on the slab records that> the distance from Olympia to another slab in Lacedaemon is six hundred and sixty furlongs. 7. Theodorus, victor in the pentathlum, Pyttalus, son of Lampis, victor in the boys' boxing-match, and Neolaidas, victor in the foot-race and in the armed race, were all, be it known, Eleans. Of Pyttalus they further tell that when the Eleans had a dispute with the Arcadians as to boundaries, he gave judgment.
9 His statue is a work of Sthennis, an Olynthian. Next is a statue of Ptolemy on horseback, and beside it a statue of an Elean athlete, Paeanius, son of Damatrius: Paeanius won a victory in wrestling at Olympia, and the two Pythian victories. There is a statue of Clearetus, an Elean, who won a crown in the pentathlum, and a chariot of an Athenian, Glaucon, son of Eteocles. This Glaucon was victorious in the chariot-race for full-grown horses.

XVII

1. These are the most remarkable objects that meet you as you make the round of the Altis, following the directions I have given. But if you will go to the right from the Leonidaeum towards the great altar, you will see the following notable objects:—Statues of Democrates, a Tenedian, and Criannius, an Elean: the latter was victorious in the armed race, the former in the men's wrestling-match. The statue of Democrates is by Dionysicles, a Milesian;
2 that of Criannius is by Lysus, a Macedonian. The statues of Herodotus, a Clazomenian, and Philinus, a Coan, son of Hegepolis, were dedicated by their respective states. The Clazomenians dedicated the statue of Herodotus, because he was the first Clazomenian to be proclaimed victor at Olympia: his victory was in the boys' foot-race. The Coans dedicated the statue of Philinus for the sake of the glory he had won; for he gained five victories in running at Olympia, four at Pytho, the same number at Nemea, and
3 eleven at the Isthmus. 2. The statue of Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, was dedicated by Aristolaus, a Macedonian. There is also a statue of a boxer who was victorious among the boys, Butas, a Milesian, son of Polynices; and a statue of Callicrates, a native of Magnesia, on the Lethaeus, who won two crowns in the armed race: the statue of Callicrates is a work of Lysippus.
4 Emaution gained a victory in the boys' foot-race, and Alexibius in

the pentathlum. Heraea, in Arcadia, was the native place of Alexibius, and his statue is by Acestor. The inscription on the statue of Emaution does not mention his native place, but signifies that he was of the Arcadian race. 3. Two Colophonians were victorious in wrestling among the boys: one of them was Hermesianax, son of Agoneus, the other was Icasius, a son of Lycinus by the daughter of Hermesianax. The statue of Hermesianax was dedicated by the Colophonian community. Near these are statues of Eleans, who 5
were victorious in boxing among the boys: a statue of Choerilus, by Sthennis, the Olynthian; and one of Theotimus, by Daetondas, a Sicyonian. Theotimus was a son of Moschion, who took part in the expedition of Alexander, son of Philip, against Darius and the Persians. 4. Then there are two more Eleans: Archidamus, victorious with a four-horse chariot, and Eperastus, son of Theogonus, a victor in the armed race. Eperastus states at the end of 6
the inscription on his statue that he was a soothsayer of the race of the Clytids:—

I boast that I am a soothsayer of the stock of the sacred-tongued
Clytids,
A scion of the god-like Melampodids.

For Mantius was a son of Melampus, who was a son of Amythaon; and Mantius had a son Oicles; and Clytius was a son of Alcmaeon, who was a son of Amphiaraus, who was a son of Oicles. Clytius was a son of Alcmaeon by the daughter of Phegeus, and he migrated to Elis, because he would not dwell with his mother's brethren, knowing that they had murdered Alcmaeon.

5. Standing amid less illustrious offerings may be seen two 7
statues: one of Alexinicus, an Elean, a victor in the boys' wrestling-match, by Cantharus, the Sicyonian; the other, the statue of Gorgias, the Leontinian. Eumolpus, grandson of the Deicrates who married the sister of Gorgias, says (in the inscription) that it was he who dedicated the statue at Olympia. This Gorgias was a son 8
of Charmantides, and is said to have been the first to revive the study of rhetoric, which had been utterly neglected and almost forgotten. They say that Gorgias gained a reputation for eloquence at the Olympic festival and at Athens, whither he had gone on an embassy with Tisias. Yet Tisias had made various contributions to rhetoric; in particular, he wrote the most plausible speech of his time in support of the claim of a Syracusan woman to some property. But at Athens he was outshone by Gorgias. Indeed, Jason, tyrant 9
of Thessaly, even put Gorgias above Polycrates, a leading ornament of the Attic school. They say that Gorgias lived a hundred and five years. Leontini was once laid waste by the Syracusans, but was again inhabited in my time.

XVIII

1. There is also a bronze chariot of Cratisthenes, the Cyrenian: a Victory and a statue of Cratisthenes himself are mounted on the chariot. Clearly his victory was gained in the chariot-race. It is said that he was a son of Mnaseas, the runner, surnamed by the Greeks the Libyan. His offerings in Olympia are works of
2 Pythagoras of Rhegium. 2. Here, too, I discovered a statue of Anaximenes, who wrote a complete ancient history of Greece, and complete histories of Philip, son of Amyntas, and of Alexander. This honour at Olympia was done him by the people of Lampsacus. The following anecdotes are told of him. He overreached that somewhat stern and extremely passionate monarch, Alexander, son of Philip,
3 by the following artifice. The people of Lampsacus sympathised with the cause of the Persian king, or had at least incurred the imputation of doing so, and accordingly Alexander, boiling over with rage at them, threatened them with the most rigorous treatment. As their wives and children, and their country itself, were in peril, the people of Lampsacus sent Anaximenes to intercede with the king, because Anaximenes was known to him, and had been known to Philip before him. Anaximenes approached the king, and when Alexander learned on what errand he had come, he is said to have sworn by the gods of Greece, naming them, that he would assuredly
4 do the opposite of whatever Anaximenes asked for. Thereupon Anaximenes said: 'Grant me this favour, O king: enslave the women and children of the people of Lampsacus, raze the whole city to the ground, and set fire to the sanctuaries of their gods.' So spoke Anaximenes; and Alexander finding no way of eluding the artifice, and bound by the stringency of his oath, reluctantly
5 pardoned the people of Lampsacus. 3. Anaximenes is further known to have taken a very clever but very ill-natured revenge upon a personal enemy of his. He was himself a born rhetorician, with a knack of imitating other people's style. So having quarrelled with Theopompus, son of Damasistratus, he wrote a book in abuse of the Athenians, Lacedaemonians, and Thebans, in exactly the style of Theopompus, and published it in his name. In this way, though Anaximenes was the real author of the book, Theopompus was hated
6 up and down Greece. Anaximenes was the first who practised the art of speaking extemporaneously. But I cannot believe he was the author of the epic on Alexander.

4. Sotades won the long race in the ninety-ninth Olympiad, and was proclaimed as a Cretan, as in fact he was; but in the next Olympiad he was bribed by the Ephesian community to accept the citizenship of Ephesus. For this he was punished with exile by the Cretans.

5. The first statues of athletes dedicated at Olympia were those 7
of Praxidamas, an Aeginetan, who won the boxing-match in the fifty-ninth Olympiad, and Rexibius, an Opuntian, victor in the pancratium in the sixty-first Olympiad. These statues stand not far from the pillar of Oenomaus: they are made of wood; that of Rexibius is of fig-wood; that of the Aeginetan is of cypress-wood, and is less decayed than the other.

XIX

1. There is a terrace made of conglomerate stone in the Altis to the north of the Heraeum, and at the back of it extends Mount Cronius. On this terrace are the treasuries, just as at Delphi some of the Greeks have made treasuries for Apollo. 2. At Olympia there is a treasury called the treasury of the Sicyonians, an offering of Myron, tyrant of Sicyon. Myron built it after he had gained a victory in 2
the chariot-race in the thirty-third Olympiad. In the treasury he made two chambers, one in the Doric, the other in the Ionic style. I saw that they were made of bronze, but whether the bronze is Tartessian bronze, as the Eleans say, I do not know. 3. They say 3
that Tartessus is a river in the land of the Iberians, which empties itself into the sea by two mouths, and that there is a city of the same name situated between the mouths of the river. The river, which is the greatest in Iberia, and is moreover tidal, received in later times the name of Baetis. But some think that Carpia, a city of the Iberians, was anciently called Tartessus. On the lesser of the 4
chambers at Olympia there are inscriptions, mentioning that the weight of the bronze is five hundred talents, and that the treasury was dedicated by Myron and the people of Sicyon. In this treasury are kept three quoits, which are employed in the pentathlum. There is also a bronze-plated shield, curiously painted on its inner side, and along with the shield there are a helmet and greaves. An inscription on the arms states that they are a first-fruit offering presented to Zeus by the Myanians. Different conjectures have been made as to who these Myanians were. I recollected that Thucydides in his 5
history mentions various cities of the Locrians who border on Phocis, and amongst others the city of the Myonians. In my opinion, then, the Myanians referred to on the shield are the same as the Myonians in Locris. The inscription on the shield runs a little awry, which is to be explained by the antiquity of the votive offering. Here are 6
also deposited other notable things: the sword of Pelops with a golden hilt; the horn of Amalthea, made of ivory, an offering of that Miltiades, son of Cimon, who was the first of his family to reign in the Thracian Chersonese. On the horn is an inscription in old Attic letters:—

I was dedicated as an offering to Olympian Zeus by the men of Chersonese After they had taken the stronghold of Aratus: their leader was Miltiades.

There is also a boxwood image of Apollo with the head gilt: the inscription says that it was dedicated by the Locrians who dwell near Cape Zephyrium, and that it was made by Patrocles of Crotona, son of Catillus.

7 4. Next to the treasury of the Sicyonians is the treasury of the Carthaginians, a work of Pothaeus, Antiphilus, and Megacles. In it are dedicated a colossal image of Zeus and three linen corselets. It is an offering of Gelo and the Syracusans for a victory over the Phoenicians either by sea or land.

8 5. The third and fourth of the treasuries are offerings of the Epidamnians. . . . It contains a representation of Atlas upholding the firmament, and another of Hercules and the apple-tree of the Hesperides, with the serpent coiled about the tree. These also are of cedar-wood, and are works of Theocles, son of Hegylus: the inscription on the firmament states that he made them with the help of his son. The Hesperides were removed by the Eleans, but were still to be seen in my time in the Heraeum. The treasury was made for the Epidamnians by Pyrrhus and his sons Lacrates and Hermon.

9 6. The Sybarites also built a treasury next to that of the Byzantines. Those who have made a study of Italy and its cities say that the city of Lupiae, situated between Brundusium and Hydrus, is the ancient Sybaris with a changed name. The road-stead is artificial, a work of the Emperor Hadrian.

10 7. Beside the treasury of the Sybarites is a treasury of the Libyans of Cyrene: it contains statues of Roman emperors. Selinus, in Sicily, was destroyed by the Carthaginians in war, but before this calamity befell them the people of Selinus dedicated a treasury to Zeus at Olympia. It contains an image of Dionysus, whereof the face, feet, and hands are made of ivory.

11 8. In the treasury of the Metapontines, which adjoins that of the Selinuntians, there is a figure of Endymion, also of ivory, except the drapery. I do not know what was the occasion of the destruction of Metapontum, but in my time nothing was left of it save the theatre and the circuit wall.

12 9. The people of Megara, near Attica, built a treasury, and dedicated offerings in it, consisting of small cedar-wood figures inlaid with gold, and representing Hercules' fight with Achelous. Here are represented Zeus, Dejanira, Achelous, and Hercules, and Ares who is helping Achelous. Also there was formerly an image of Athena, because she was an ally of Hercules; but this
13 image now stands beside the Hesperides in the Heraeum. In the gable of the treasury is wrought in relief the war of the giants and

the gods, and above the gable is a shield with an inscription stating that the treasury was dedicated by the Megarians from the spoils of the Corinthians. I believe that this victory was won by the Megarians when Phorbas was archon for life at Athens; for in those days the annual archonships were not yet instituted at Athens, and the Eleans had not yet begun to record the Olympiads. The Argives 14
are said to have helped the Megarians against the Corinthians. The treasury in Olympia was made by the Megarians years after the battle, but they must have had the votive offerings from of old, since they were made by the Lacedaemonian Dontas, a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis.

10. The last of the treasuries is beside the stadium: the inscription states that the treasury and the images in it were dedicated by the people of Gela. However, there are images in it no longer.

XX

1. Mount Cronius, as I have said, extends parallel to the terrace on which are the treasuries. On the top of the mountain the Basilae, as they are called, sacrifice to Cronus at the spring equinox, in the Elean month Elaphius. 2. On the skirts of 2
the mountain at the northern side <of the Altis> there is a sanctuary of Ilithyia between the treasuries and the mountain. In this sanctuary Sosipolis ('saviour of the city'), a native Elean spirit, is worshipped. To Ilithyia they gave the surname Olympian, and they choose a priestess for her every year. The old woman who attends to Sosipolis is also bound by the Elean custom to live chaste: she brings water for washing to the god, and sets down for him barley cakes kneaded with honey. In the front part of the 3
temple, for the temple is double, there is an altar of Ilithyia, and people may enter; but in the inner part of the temple Sosipolis is worshipped, and no one may enter it save the woman who attends to the god, and she has to draw down a white veil over her head and face. Meantime maids and matrons wait in the sanctuary of Ilithyia and chant a hymn; they also burn all sorts of incense to him, but they do not pour libations of wine. An oath by Sosipolis is taken on the most solemn occasions. 3. It is said that when the 4
Arcadians had invaded the land of Elis, and the Eleans lay encamped over against them, there came a woman to the captains of the host of the Eleans with a babe at her breast. And she said that the babe was the fruit of her womb, but that she gave him to fight for the Eleans, for so she had been bidden in dreams to do. And the men in authority believed the words of the woman, and they set the child naked in the forefront of the host. So the 5
Arcadians came on, and, lo! the child was changed into a serpent. And fear fell upon the Arcadians at the sight, and they turned

to flee, and the Eleans pursued after them, and won a famous victory, and bestowed on the god the name of Sosipolis ('saviour of the city'). And where the serpent appeared to go down into the ground after the battle, there they made the sanctuary. Along with him the Eleans resolved to worship Ilithyia, because she
6 was the goddess who had brought the child into the world. The tomb of the Arcadians who fell in the battle is on the hill across the Cladeus to the west. Near the sanctuary of Ilithyia are the ruins of a sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite, and they sacrifice there upon the altars.

7 4. Inside the Altis, at the processional entrance, there is a place called the Hippodamium, consisting of about a quarter of an acre of ground enclosed by a wall. Into it once a year the women are permitted to enter, who sacrifice to Hippodamia and perform other rites in her honour. They say that Hippodamia withdrew to Midea in Argolis, because Pelops was very angry with her on account of the death of Chrysippus; but the Eleans say that afterwards, in obedience to an oracle, they brought back the bones of Hippodamia
8 to Olympia. 5. At the end of the row of statues which they made from the fines levied upon athletes, there is an entrance called the Secret Entrance, through which it is the custom for the umpires and competitors to enter the stadium. The stadium is formed of an embankment, and it contains a seat for the presidents of the games.
9 6. Opposite the umpires is an altar of white marble: on this altar a woman sits and beholds the Olympic games; she is the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, an office conferred from time to time by the Eleans on different women. But they do not hinder maidens from beholding the games. At the end of the stadium, where the runners start, there is, according to the Eleans, the tomb of Endymion.

10 7. Passing out of and over the stadium at the point where the umpires sit, you come to the place set apart for the horse-races, and to the starting-place of the horses. The starting-place is shaped like the prow of a ship, the beak being turned towards the course, and the broad end abutting on the colonnade of Agnaptus. At the
11 very tip of the beak is a bronze dolphin on a rod. Each side of the starting-place is more than four hundred feet long, and in each of the sides stalls are built. These are assigned to the competitors by lot. In front of the chariots or race-horses stretches a rope as a barrier. An altar of unburnt brick, plastered over on the outside, is made every Olympiad as nearly as may be at the middle of the
12 prow. On the altar is a bronze eagle, with its wings spread to the full. The starter sets the machinery in the altar agoing, whereupon up jumps the eagle in the sight of the spectators, and down falls the
13 dolphin to the ground. The first ropes to be let go on each side of the prow are those next to the colonnade of Agnaptus, and the

horses stationed here are the first off. Away they go till they come opposite the chariots that have drawn the second stations. Then the ropes at the second stations are let go. And so it runs on down the whole of the chariots till they are all abreast of each other at the beak of the prow. After that it is for the charioteers to display their skill and the horses their speed. This way of starting the 14
race was invented by Cleoetas, and he seems to have been so proud of his invention that on a statue at Athens he carved the following inscription :—

> He who first invented the way of starting the horses at Olympia
> Made me : he was Cleoetas, son of Aristocles.

They say that after Cleoetas' time some further improvement in the machinery was introduced by Aristides.

8. One side of the hippodrome is longer than the other: it is a 15
bank of earth, and upon it, just at the passage through the bank, there stands the terror of the horses, Taraxippus. It is in the form of a round altar. When the horses are racing past this point they are seized with a sudden panic without any apparent cause, and confusion is the consequence. So the chariots are generally shivered and the charioteers wounded. Therefore the charioteers offer sacrifices, and pray that Taraxippus will be gracious to them. Different views are taken of Taraxippus by the Greeks. Some of 16
them think it is the grave of an aboriginal, a skilful horseman: they call him Olenius, and say that the Olenian rock in Elis was named after him. Others say that he is Dameon, son of Phlius, who marched with Hercules against Augeas and the Eleans: they say that he and the horse he rode were slain by Cteatus, son of Actor, and that the tomb was made for Dameon and his horse together. Another story is that Pelops made here an empty barrow 17
for Myrtilus and sacrificed to him, to soothe the angry spirit of the murdered man, and surnamed him Taraxippus ('he who startles horses'), because he had contrived that the horses of Oenomaus should be startled. But some have averred that it is Oenomaus himself who balks the charioteers in the race. I have also heard some lay the blame on Alcathus, son of Porthaon: they alleged that as a suitor of Hippodamia he was slain by Oenomaus, and laid here in his earthy bed; and that, having been unlucky in the race-course, he is a spiteful, surly demon to the charioteers. An Egyptian 18
assured me that Pelops had got something from Amphion, the Theban, and had buried it at the spot which they call Taraxippus: it was this buried thing, said he, which startled the horses of Oenomaus, and has startled the horses of every one since. My Egyptian friend would have it that Amphion and the Thracian Orpheus were both of them cunning enchanters, at whose spells the wild beasts came to Orpheus, and the stones came to Amphion

to be built into the city wall. However, the most plausible account, it seems to me, is that Taraxippus is a surname of Horse
19 Poseidon. 9. There is also a Taraxippus at the Isthmus: he is Glaucus, son of Sisyphus. They say he was killed by his horses at the games which Acastus held in memory of his father. At Nemea in Argolis there was no hero who balked the horses, but above the turning-point of the course there rose a red rock, the light from which, like a fire, frightened the horses. But the Taraxippus at Olympia is far worse for frightening the horses.

10. On one of the turning-posts is a bronze statue of Hippodamia holding a ribbon, and about to decorate Pelops for his victory.

XXI

1. The other side of the hippodrome is not a bank of earth, but a low hill. At the extremity of the hill is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Chamyne. Some think that the name is ancient, its explanation being that the earth here gaped (*chanein*) for the chariot of Hades and closed up (*musai*) again. Others say that Chamynus was a man of Pisa who opposed Pantaleon, son of Omphalion, tyrant of Pisa, when the tyrant meditated revolting from Elis; but Chamynus, they say, was killed by Pantaleon, and out of his property
2 the sanctuary was built to Demeter. 2. Instead of the old images, Herodes the Athenian dedicated new images of the Maid and Demeter, made of Pentelic marble. In the gymnasium at Olympia the pentathletes and the runners practise. In the open air there is a stone basement, on which stood originally a trophy of a victory over the Arcadians. There is another smaller enclosure on the left of the entrance into the gymnasium: here the athletes practise wrestling. Abutting on the wall of the eastern colonnade of the gymnasium are the houses of the athletes facing south-west.
3 Across the Cladeus is the grave of Oenomaus, a mound of earth enclosed by a retaining-wall of stones, and above the tomb are remains of buildings where Oenomaus is said to have stabled his mares.

What are now the boundaries between Arcadia and Elis, but were originally the boundaries between Arcadia and Pisa, are situated as follows. 3. Across the river Erymanthus there is, at the ridge called the ridge of Saurus, a tomb of Saurus and a sanctuary of Hercules, now in ruins. They say that Saurus malfreated wayfarers and the people of the neighbourhood, till he received his
4 deserts at the hands of Hercules. 4. At this ridge, which takes its name from the robber, the river that falls into the Alpheus from the south, just opposite the Erymanthus, is the boundary between Arcadia and the land of Pisa: its name is Diagon. Going on for forty furlongs from the ridge of Saurus you come to a temple of Aesculapius,

surnamed Demaenetus after the founder; it also is in ruins. It was built on high ground beside the Alpheus. Not far from it is a sanct- 5
uary of Dionysus Leucyanites, beside which flows a river Leucyanias. It also falls into the Alpheus; it descends from Mount Pholoe. 5. After that you will cross the Alpheus and be in the territory of Pisa.

In this district there is a hill rising to a sharp peak, and on it 6
are the ruins of a city, Phrixa; there is also a temple of Athena surnamed Cydonian. The temple is not entire, but the altar still exists. They say that the sanctuary was founded for the goddess by Clymenus, a descendant of the Idaean Hercules, and that Clymenus came from Cydonia in Crete, and from the river Jardanus. The Eleans say that Pelops also sacrificed to Cydonian Athena before he embarked on the contest with Oenomaus. 6. Further on you come 7
to the water of Parthenia, and beside the river is the grave of the horses of Marmax. The story is that this Marmax was the first to arrive of the wooers of Hippodamia, that he was killed by Oenomaus before the rest, that the names of his mares were Parthenia and Eripha, that Oenomaus slew them with their master, but granted them also the privilege of burial, and that the river got the name of Parthenia from Marmax's mare. There is another river called 8
the Harpinates, and not far from it are some ruins of a city Harpina, including the altars. They say that Oenomaus founded the city, and named it after his mother Harpina.

7. Going on a short way you come to a high mound of earth, the 9
grave of the suitors of Hippodamia. Oenomaus, they say, laid them in the ground near each other with no mark of honour; but afterwards Pelops, out of respect to them and for the sake of Hippodamia, reared a single lofty monument to them all. He wished, too, it seems to me, that the monument should record to after ages the number and the quality of the men whom Oenomaus had conquered before he was himself overcome by Pelops. According to the epic poem called 10
the *Great Eoeae*, the next after Marmax who was slain by Oenomaus was Alcathus, son of Porthaon; and after him Euryalus, Eurymachus, and Crotalus. Of these I was not able to ascertain the parents and native countries. Acrias, the next victim, may be supposed to have been a Lacedaemonian and founder of Acriae. After Acrias they say that Capetus was slain by Oenomaus, also Lycurgus, Lasius, Chalcodon, and Tricolonus. The last is said by the Arcadians to have been a descendant of his namesake Tricolonus, son of Lycaon. After Tricolonus, those who met their death in the race were Aris- 11
tomachus, Prias, Pelagon, Aeolius, and Cronius. Some add to this list Erythras, son of Leucon, son of Athamas, from whom the Boeotian town of Erythrae got its name, and Eioneus, son of Magnes, son of Aeolus. These are they whose monument stands here; and it is said that when Pelops became lord of Pisa he sacrificed to them, as to heroes, every year.

XXII

1. Going on about a furlong from the grave you come to traces of a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Cordax, because the followers of Pelops celebrated their victory in the sanctuary of this goddess and danced the *kordax*, a dance in vogue among the people of Mount Sipylus. Not far from the sanctuary is a small building, and in the building is a bronze coffer wherein the bones of Pelops are preserved. Remains of city walls or of any other building there were none; and vines were planted over all the ground where Pisa once stood. 2.
2 They say that the founder of Pisa was Pisus, son of Perieres, son of Aeolus. The people of Pisa brought disaster on themselves by their enmity to the Eleans, and by seeking to wrest the presidency of the Olympic games from the latter. For in the eighth Olympiad they called in the Argive Phidon, the most high-handed of Greek tyrants, and held the games jointly with him. In the thirty-fourth Olympiad, the people of Pisa under their king Pantaleon, son of Omphalion, collected an army from the neighbouring districts, and held the
3 Olympic festival instead of the Eleans. These Olympiads, together with the hundred and fourth (in which the festival was held by the Arcadians) are called Non-Olympiads by the Eleans, who do not register them in the list of Olympiads. In the forty-eighth Olympiad, Damophon, son of Pantaleon, gave the Eleans ground to suspect that he was plotting against them, so they invaded the territory of Pisa, but by prayers and oaths he persuaded them to return home
4 without doing anything. When Pyrrhus, son of Pantaleon, succeeded his brother Damophon on the throne, the people of Pisa voluntarily declared war on the Eleans. In this revolt they were joined by the people of Macistus and Scillus (both towns in Triphylia), and by the people of Dyspontium, another vassal state. The Dyspontians had been on very friendly terms with the Pisans, and had a tradition that their founder Dysponteus was a son of Oenomaus. But Pisa and all the towns that sided with it in the war were destroyed by the Eleans.

5 3. The ruins of Pylus in Elis may be seen on the hill road which leads from Olympia to Elis: they are eighty furlongs from Elis. This Pylus was founded, as I have said before, by a Megarian, Pylon, son of Cleson. After being destroyed by Hercules it was rebuilt by the Eleans, but was destined in course of time to be
6 deserted. Beside it the river Ladon falls into the Peneus. The Eleans say that a verse of Homer refers to this Pylus:—

> And he was sprung from the river
> Alpheus, that flows with broad current through the land of the Pylians.

This argument convinced me, for the Alpheus does flow through

this district, and it is not possible to refer the verse to another Pylus. For it is physically impossible that the Alpheus should pass through the land of the Pylians who dwell over against the island of Sphacteria, and I never heard of a city called Pylus in Arcadia. 4. About fifty furlongs from Olympia is an Elean village called 7
Heraclea, and beside it is the river Cytherus. A spring flows into the river, and there is a sanctuary of the nymphs at the spring. The individual names of the nymphs are Calliphaëa, Synallaxis, Pegaea, and Iasis: collectively they are called the Ionides. To bathe in the spring is a cure for all kinds of sicknesses and pains. They say that the nymphs are called after Ion, son of Gargettus, who migrated thither from Athens.

5. If you would go to Elis by the plain, you must go a hundred 8
and twenty furlongs to Letrini, and a hundred and eighty from Letrini to Elis. Originally Letrini was a town, and Letreus, son of Pelops, was its founder; but in my time there were only a few buildings left, and an image of Alpheaean Artemis in a temple. They say that the 9
goddess got the surname for the following reason. Alpheus fell in love with Artemis, and seeing that he could not win the hand of the goddess by soft speeches, he boldly meditated violence to her person. It chanced that she and her nymphs held high revelry by night at Letrini. So Alpheus came to the revels. But Artemis, suspecting his design, had daubed mud on her own face and the faces of all the nymphs present. Hence when Alpheus came among them, he could not tell Artemis from the rest, and so had to go away baffled. Therefore the people of Letrini called the goddess Alpheaean, 10
because of Alpheus' love for her. But the Eleans, who had always been friends of the Letrineans, transferred their own worship of Elaphiaean Artemis to Letrini, and identified it with the worship of Alpheaean Artemis. And thus in course of time the Alpheaean goddess came to be named the Elaphiaean. It seems to me that 11
the Eleans called Artemis Elaphiaean from the hunting of the deer (*elaphoi*); but they themselves say that Elaphius was the name of a native woman by whom Artemis was brought up. 'About six furlongs from Letrini is a lake that never dries up: it is just about three furlongs across.

XXIII

1. Amongst the notable things in the city of Elis is an old gymnasium. In this gymnasium the athletes go through all the customary training before they repair to Olympia. Tall plane-trees grow between the running paths inside a wall. The whole enclosure is called Xystus ('scraped'), because Hercules, the son of Amphitryo, exercised himself by scraping up (*anaxuein*) every day the thistles that grew there. The running-path for the races is separate from 2

that in which the runners and pentathletes run for practice. The former is named by the natives the Sacred Running-path. 2. In the gymnasium there is a place called Plethrium. In it the umpires match the competitors in wrestling according to age and
3 proficiency. In the gymnasium are also altars to the following gods: Idaean Hercules, surnamed Assistant; Love, and he whom the Eleans and also the Athenians call Love Returned; Demeter and her daughter. Achilles has not an altar, but a cenotaph erected in accordance with an oracle. On a set day, at the beginning of the festival, when the sun is declining in the west, the women of Elis perform various rites in honour of Achilles; in particular it is their wont to bewail him.

4 3. There is another enclosed gymnasium, but of smaller size: it adjoins the larger, and is named the Square on account of its shape. Here the athletes practise wrestling, and here, when the wrestling is over, they are matched in boxing with the softer gloves. Here, too, stands one of the two images which were made for Zeus out of the fine levied on Sosander the Smyrnaean and Polyctor the Elean.

5 4. There is a third enclosed gymnasium which is named Maltho because of the softness (*malakotes*) of the ground. It is given up to the lads the whole time of the festival. In a corner of the Maltho there is a bust of Hercules down to the shoulders, and in one of the wrestling-schools there is a relief representing Love and Love Returned. Love holds a palm-branch, and Love Returned is trying
6 to wrest it from him. At either side of the entrance into the Maltho there is the statue of a boy boxer. The Elean Guardian of the Laws said that this boy was from Alexandria, the city which faces the island of Pharos, that his name was Sarapion, and that having come to Elis in a time of famine he bestowed food on the people; therefore he received these honours here. The date of his victory at Olympia and of the benefit he conferred on the Eleans was
7 the two hundred and seventeenth Olympiad. 5. In this gymnasium is also the Council House of the Eleans. Here are held exhibitions of extemporaneous eloquence and recitations of written works of every sort. The building is called Lalichmium, after the man who dedicated it. Round about it are hung up shields made for show, not for use in war.

8 6. The way from the gymnasium to the baths lies through Silence Street and past the sanctuary of Artemis Philomirax ('friend of youths'). The goddess got this surname from her proximity to the gymnasium, and Silence Street is said to have received its name for the following reason. Some men of the army of Oxylus were sent to spy out what was going on in Elis; and on their way they exhorted each other, when they should be come near the wall, not to utter a sound, but to listen if perchance they could learn something from the talk of the people in the town. Thus they made their way

unobserved into the city by this street, and after hearing all that they wished they returned again to the Aetolians, and the street got its name from the silence of the spies.

XXIV

1. Another way out of the gymnasium leads to the market-place, and to the Umpires' Hall (*Hellanodikeon*), as it is called. The road is above the grave of Achilles, and it is the custom for the umpires to go to the gymnasium by this way. They enter before sunrise to start the runners, and at midday for the pentathlum and the contests called heavy.

2. The market-place of Elis is not constructed after the fashion 2
which prevails in Ionia and in the Greek cities which border on Ionia. It is built in the older style, with separate colonnades and streets between them. The present name of the market-place is Hippodrome, and the natives train their horses here. The southern colonnade is in the Doric style, and is divided into three parts by the columns. In it the umpires usually spend the day. They 3
cause altars to Zeus to be made at the columns, and in the open market-place there are also altars to Zeus, but not many, for, being only improvised, they are easily taken down. 3. As you enter the market-place at this colonnade, the Umpires' Hall is on your left, parallel to the end of the colonnade. It is separated from the market-place by a street. In this Umpires' Hall the umpires-elect reside for ten successive months, and are taught their duties by the Guardians of the Laws. 4. Near the 4
colonnade where the umpires spend the day is another colonnade, separated from the former by a street. It is called the Corcyraean Colonnade by the Eleans, because they say that the Corcyraeans landed in their country. . . . and carried off part of the booty, but they themselves took many times as much booty from the land of the Corcyraeans, and built the colonnade out of a tithe of the spoils. The style of the colonnade is Doric and double, for it has columns 5
both on the side of the market-place and on the side away from the market-place. In the middle the roof of the colonnade is supported, not by columns, but by a wall; and there are statues beside the wall on either side. On the side of the colonnade which faces the market-place is a statue of Pyrrho, son of Pistocrates, a sophist who never allowed himself to make a positive affirmation on any subject. Pyrrho's tomb is also not far from the city of Elis: the place is called Petra, and it is said that Petra was a township of old. 5. The finest things in the open part of the market-place are as 6
follows. There is a temple and image of Healing Apollo. The name appears to signify neither more nor less than Averter of Evil, the title employed by the Athenians. In another part are

stone images of the Sun and Moon: horns project from her head, and beams from his. There is also a sanctuary of the Graces: their images are of wood, the drapery being gilded, but the faces, hands, and feet are of white marble. One of them holds a rose, the middle
7 one a die, and the third a sprig of myrtle. The reason why they hold these things may be conjectured to be this:—As the rose and the myrtle are sacred to Aphrodite, and associated with the story of Adonis, so of all deities the Graces are most akin to Aphrodite; and the die is a plaything of youths and maidens whom age has not yet robbed of youthful grace. On the right of the Graces, but
8 on the same pedestal, is an image of Love. 6. There is also a temple of Silenus here: it belongs to Silenus alone, and not to him jointly with Dionysus: Drunkenness is represented giving him wine in a cup. That the Silenuses are a mortal race may be inferred especially from their graves; for there is a tomb of one Silenus in the land of the Hebrews, and there is the tomb of another at Pergamus.
9 7. In the market-place of Elis I saw another structure: it was in the form of a temple, low, without walls, the roof being supported by oaken pillars. The natives agree that it is a tomb, but do not remember whose it is. If the old man whom I questioned spoke
10 the truth, it is the tomb of Oxylus. 8. There is also in the market-place a building for the women called the Sixteen, where they weave the robe for Hera.

XXV

1. Adjoining the market-place is an old temple with a colonnade all round it. The roof had fallen in, and there was no image left: it is consecrated to the Roman emperors. 2. Behind the colonnade which is constructed from the spoils of Corcyra there is a temple of Aphrodite, and a precinct in the open air, not far from the temple. The Aphrodite in the temple is called Heavenly: the image is of ivory and gold, a work of Phidias; the goddess stands with one foot on a tortoise. The precinct of the other Aphrodite is surrounded by a wall, and within the precinct is a basement, and on the basement is a bronze image of Aphrodite seated on a bronze he-goat. The group is a work of Scopas, and this Aphrodite is surnamed Vulgar. I leave the curious to guess the meaning of the tortoise and the he-goat.

2 3. The sacred close and temple of Hades (for he has both at Elis) are opened once a year, but even then no one is allowed to enter save the officiating priest. The Eleans are the only people we know of who worship Hades, and they do so for the following reason. They say that when Hercules was leading an army against Pylus in Elis, Athena was with him to help him, and therefore Hades, who was worshipped at Pylus, came to fight for the Pylians because of

the hatred he bore to Hercules. In proof of their story they quote 3
Homer, who says in the *Iliad*:—

And among the rest huge Hades put up with a wound from a swift arrow,
When the same man, son of aegis-holding Zeus,
Hit him with a shaft in Pylus among the dead, and delivered him to pangs.

If in the expedition of Agamemnon and Menelaus against Ilium, Poseidon, according to Homer, was an ally of the Greeks, it cannot seem unnatural that in the opinion of the same poet Hades should have stood by the Pylians. At all events the Eleans made the sanctuary for the god, accounting him a friend of their own and an enemy of Hercules. Their reason for opening the sanctuary only once a year is, I suppose, that men only once go down to the mansion of Hades. 4. The Eleans have also a sanctuary of Fortune. 4
In a colonnade of the sanctuary stands a colossal image made of gilt wood, except the face, hands, and feet, which are of white marble. Here, too, Sosipolis ('saviour of the city') is worshipped in a small chapel on the left of Fortune. The god is painted as he appeared in a dream, namely, as a boy clad in a star-spangled robe, and holding in one hand the horn of Amalthea.

5. In the most crowded part of the city there is a bronze statue, 5
not larger than a tall man: it represents a beardless youth with his feet crossed, and leaning with both hands on a spear. They clothe it in a garment of wool, another of linen, and another of fine linen. The image was said to represent Poseidon, and to have been 6
worshipped of old at Samicum in Triphylia. After its removal to Elis it was honoured still more, but the Eleans give it the name of Satrap, and not Poseidon: they learned the name of Satrap (which is a surname of Corybas) after the extension of Patrae.

XXVI

1. Between the market-place and the Menius is an old theatre and a sanctuary of Dionysus: the image is by Praxiteles. No god is more revered by the Eleans than Dionysus, and they say that he attends their festival of the Thyia. The place where they hold the festival called Thyia is about eight furlongs from the city. Three empty kettles are taken into a building and deposited there by the priests in the presence of the citizens and of any strangers who may happen to be staying in the country. On the doors of the building the priests, and all who choose to do so, put their seals. Next 2
day they are free to examine the seals, and on entering the building they find the kettles full of wine. I was not there myself at the time of the festival, but the most respectable men of Elis, and

strangers too, swore that the facts were as I have said. The people of Andros also say that every other year, at their festival of Dionysus, wine flows of itself from the sanctuary. If these Greek stories are to be trusted, one might, by the same token, believe what the Ethiopians above Syene say about the Table of the Sun.

3 2. In the acropolis of Elis is a sanctuary of Athena: the image is of ivory and gold. They say it is by Phidias. A cock is perched on her helmet, because cocks are very combative. But perhaps the bird might be regarded as sacred to Athena the Worker.

4 3. Cyllene is one hundred and twenty furlongs from Elis: it looks towards Sicily, and offers a good anchorage for ships. It is the seaport of Elis, and got its name from an Arcadian. Cyllene is not mentioned by Homer in his list of the Eleans, but a later passage shows that he knew of the town :—

5 But Pulydamas stripped Otus the Cyllenian,
Companion of Phylides and lord of the high-souled Epeans.

In Cyllene there is a sanctuary of Aesculapius and one of Aphrodite. The image of Hermes, which the people of the place revere exceedingly, is nothing but the male organ of generation erect on a pedestal.

6 4. The land of Elis is fertile, and is especially adapted to the growth of fine flax. Now, whereas hemp and flax (both the common and the fine kind) are sown where the soil is suitable, the threads of which the Seres make their garments are produced, not from a bark, but in the following manner. In the country of the Seres there is an insect which the Greeks call a *ser* (silk-worm), but to which the 7 Seres themselves probably give a different name. In size it is twice as big as the biggest beetle; but in all other respects it resembles the spiders that spin under the trees, and in particular it has, like the spider, eight feet. The Seres rear these creatures, and build houses for them adapted both for winter and summer. The product of these insects is found in the shape of a fine clue wound about their 8 feet. The people keep the insects four years, feeding them on millet; but in the fifth year, knowing that they will not live longer, they give them a green reed to eat. This is the food that the insect likes best of all, and it crams itself with it till it bursts with repletion; and when it is dead they find the bulk of the thread in its inside. The island of Seria is known to be situated in a recess of the Red 9 Sea. But I have also heard that the island is formed, not by the Red Sea, but by a river named the Ser, just as the Delta of Egypt is surrounded by the Nile and not by a sea; such also, it is said, is the island of Seria. Both the Seres and the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands of Abasa and Sacaea are of the Ethiopian race; some say, however, that they are not Ethiopians, but a mixture of Scythians and Indians.

5. Going from Elis to Achaia you travel one hundred and fifty-seven furlongs to the river Larisus. At present the Larisus is the boundary between Elis and Achaia, but in older days Cape Araxus formed the boundary on the coast.

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BOOK SEVENTH

ACHAIA

I

1. THE country which, lying between Elis and Sicyonia, and reaching to the eastern sea, is now named Achaia after its inhabitants, was anciently known as Aegialus, and its inhabitants as Aegialians. According to the Sicyonians the name of Aegialus was derived from one Aegialeus who reigned in what is now Sicyonia, but some derive the name from the nature of the country, most of which is coast-
2 land (*aigialos*). 2. In after time, when Hellen died, his son Xuthus was driven from Thessaly by the rest of his brethren, who accused him of having purloined some of their father's goods. He fled to Athens, where he was honoured with the hand of a daughter of Erechtheus, by whom he had two sons, Achaeus and Ion. When Erechtheus died Xuthus was appointed to decide on the respective claims of his sons to the throne; and because he decided in favour of Cecrops, the eldest, the other sons of Erechtheus drove him
3 from the country. He went to Aegialus and settled there, and there he died. One of his sons, Achaeus, supported by troops from Aegialus and from Athens, returned to Thessaly and sat on the throne of his fathers. Xuthus' other son, Ion, was mustering an army to march against the Aegialians and their king Selinus, when Selinus sent messengers offering to give him his daughter Helice, his only child, in marriage, and to adopt
4 him as his son and successor. The offer was not displeasing to Ion, and he succeeded to the kingdom of Aegialus on the death of Selinus. He founded the city of Helice in Aegialus, and called it after his wife, and he named the inhabitants Ionians after himself. This, however, was not a change of name, but only the addition of a new one, for the people were called Aegialian Ionians. But the old name stuck to the country still more than to the people; at least Homer, in his list of the forces of Agamemnon, is content to give the ancient name of the land:—

Throughout all Aegialus and about broad Helice.

In the reign of Ion the Eleusinians made war on the Athenians, and 5
the latter having invited Ion to take command in the war, he met
his end in Attica, and his tomb is in the township of Potamus.
His descendants became lords of the Ionians, until lords and
commons alike were expelled by the Achaeans.

3. The Achaeans had at that time been themselves driven out
from Lacedaemon and Argos by the Dorians. Before describing the 6
doings of the Ionians and Achaeans to each other, I will explain the
reason why the inhabitants of Lacedaemon and Argos were the only
Peloponnesians who were called Achaeans before the return of the
Dorians. Archander and Architeles, sons of Achaeus, came to
Argos from Phthiotis and married daughters of Danaus, Architeles
getting Automate, and Archander getting Scaea to wife. A special
proof of their settlement in Argos is the fact that Archander gave to
his son the name of Metanastes ('settler'). When the sons of 7
Achaeus had grown powerful in Argos and Lacedaemon, the
inhabitants of these places came to be known as Achaeans. This
name was common to both, but the Argives had the special name of
Danai. Being expelled by the Dorians from Argos and Lacedaemon
at the time to which I have referred, they and their king Tisamenus,
son of Orestes, sent heralds to the Ionians asking permission to
settle peaceably among them. But the kings of the Ionians feared
that if the Achaeans joined them Tisamenus might be chosen king
of both peoples by reason of his valour and noble race. So the 8
Ionians rejected the Achaean proposals and marched out to battle.
Tisamenus fell in the battle, but the Achaeans were victorious, and
besieged the Ionians in Helice, in which they had taken refuge.
Afterwards the Ionians capitulated and were suffered to depart.
The body of Tisamenus was buried by the Achaeans in Helice, but
in after time the Lacedaemonians, at the bidding of the Delphic
oracle, brought his bones to Sparta, and his grave was still to be
seen in my time in the place where the Lacedaemonians take the
dinners which they call Phiditia.

4. The Ionians went to Attica, where they were allowed by the 9
Athenians and their king Melanthus, son of Andropompus, to settle.
This permission was presumably granted for the sake of Ion and the
deeds which he had wrought when he was in command of the
Athenians. Another story is that the Athenians suspected that the
Ionians might attack them, and therefore received them for the sake
of strengthening themselves, rather than from any goodwill that
they bore the Ionians.

II

1. Not many years afterwards Medon and Nileus, the eldest of
the sons of Codrus, quarrelled about the sovereignty, and Nileus

declared that he would not endure to be ruled by Medon, because Medon was lame of one leg. They agreed to refer the question to the Delphic oracle, and the Pythian priestess gave the kingdom of Athens to Medon. So Nileus and the rest of the sons of Codrus set out to found a colony, taking with them such of the Athenians as chose to follow them, but the bulk of their army was composed
2 of the Ionians. 2. This was the third expedition sent out by Greece in which the kings were of a different stock from the common folk. The most ancient of such expeditions was when the Theban Iolaus, nephew of Hercules, led a body of Athenians and Thespians to Sardinia; and one generation before the Ionians sailed away from Athens, some Lacedaemonians and the Minyans who had been expelled from Lemnos by the Pelasgians were conducted by the Theban Theras, son of Autesion, to the island which is now named after him, but which was formerly named Calliste.
3 The third occasion was that referred to, when the sons of Codrus were appointed to lead the Ionians, with whom they had no ties of blood; for through Codrus and Melanthus they were sprung from the Messenians of Pylus, and on the mother's side they were Athenians. The Greeks who shared in the expedition of the Ionians were these: some Thebans led by Philotas, a descendant of Peneleus; some Minyans of Orchomenus, because of their kinship
4 with the sons of Codrus; likewise all the Phocians except the Delphians; and besides the Phocians the Abantes from Euboea. The Phocians were supplied with ships for the voyage by the Athenians Philogenes and Damon, sons of Euctemon, who themselves took the lead of the emigrants.

When they landed in Asia, they divided and attacked different cities on the coast. Nileus and his division turned their steps
5 to Miletus. 3. The Milesians themselves give the following account of their early history. For two generations, they say, the land was called Anactoria, the kings being Anax, an aboriginal, and his son Asterius. But when Miletus had put into their shores with a host of Cretans, both the land and the city took their new name from him. Miletus and his army came from Crete, fleeing from Minos, son of Europa. And the Carians, the former inhabitants of the land, fused with the Cretans.
6 But to return. The Ionians, having conquered the ancient Milesians, put the whole male sex to the sword except such as made their escape when the city fell; but the wives and daughters of the Milesians they married. The grave of Nileus is on the left of the road not far from the gate as you go to Didymi. 4. The sanctuary of Apollo at Didymi and the oracle are older than the Ionian immigration, and very much more ancient than that event is
7 the worship of the Ephesian Artemis. But Pindar, it seems to me, was not fully informed touching the goddess, for he says that this

sanctuary was founded by the Amazons on their expedition against Athens and Theseus. It is true that the women from the Thermodon, knowing the sanctuary from of old, sacrificed to the Ephesian goddess both on that occasion and when they fled from Hercules; and some of them had sacrificed there at a still remoter time when they fled from Dionysus and sought the protection of the sanctuary. But it was not by them that the sanctuary was founded. The founders were Coresus, an aboriginal, and Ephesus, who is supposed to have been a son of the river Cayster; and from Ephesus the city took its name. The inhabitants of the land were partly Leleges, 8
a section of the Carian race, but the bulk were Lydians. Besides these a certain number of persons, including some of the Amazons, dwelt in sanctuary round about the holy place. 5. Androclus, son of Codrus (for it was he who had been made king of the Ionians who sailed against Ephesus), expelled from the country the Leleges and the Lydians who inhabited the upper city. But those who dwelt round about the sanctuary had nothing to fear: they plighted faith with the Ionians and were left in peace. Androclus further wrested Samos from the Samians, and for a while the Ephesians held Samos and the neighbouring islands. 6. After the Samians had returned to their own land, Androclus 9
helped the people of Priene against the Carians. The Greeks were victorious, but Androclus fell in the battle. The Ephesians carried off his body and buried it in their own land, at the spot where the tomb is shown to this day, on the road that leads from the sanctuary past the Olympieum towards the Magnesian gate. Over the tomb is the figure of an armed man.

7. The Ionians who settled in Myus and Priene also wrested 10
these cities from Carians. Myus had for its founder Cyaretus, son of Codrus: the Prienians, a mixed population of Thebans and Ionians, had for their founders Philotas, the descendant of Penéleus, and Aepytus, son of Nileus. Priene, though it suffered very severely at the hands of Tabalus the Persian, and afterwards at the hands of Hiero, a native, is still a city of Ionia. But the inhabitants of Myus abandoned their city in consequence of the following occurrence. A creek of the sea used to run up into the land of Myus; 11
but it was turned into a swamp by the river Maeander, which choked up the mouth with mud. When the water became fresh and ceased to be salt, countless swarms of gnats were bred by the swamp, till the people were forced to quit the city. They withdrew to Miletus, taking with them the images of their gods and their other movables, and in my time there was nothing at Myus save a temple of Dionysus of white marble. A like calamity befell the people of Atarneus, a town situated down from Pergamus.

III

1. The people of Colophon believe that the sanctuary at Clarus and the oracle have existed from the most ancient times. They say that while the Carians were still in possession of the land, the first Greeks to arrive were some Cretans under Rhacius, who was followed by a multitude besides; these occupied the coast and were strong in ships, while the most of the country continued in the possession of the Carians. When Thebes was taken by the Argives under Thersander, son of Polynices, some prisoners were brought to Apollo at Delphi, and among them was Manto. Tiresias (her father) had died on the way in Haliartia.
2 The god sent them forth to found a colony, so they crossed in ships to Asia, and when they came to Clarus the Carians marched out against them sword in hand, and carried them to Rhacius. He, learning from Manto who they were and why they were come, took Manto to wife, and allowed the people that were with her to dwell in the land. And Mopsus, son of Rhacius and Manto,
3 drove the Carians out of the country altogether. The Ionians plighted faith with the Greeks of Colophon, and lived among them as citizens on equal terms. The kingship of the Ionians was divided between the leaders Damasichthon and Promethus, sons of Codrus. But afterwards Promethus slew his brother Damasichthon and fled to Naxos, where he died. His body was brought home and received by the sons of Damasichthon, and his grave is at
4 a place called Polytichides. In speaking of Lysimachus I have already told how it fell out that Colophon was laid waste. Of the population that was removed to Ephesus the Colophonians alone fought against Lysimachus and the Macedonians. The grave of the Colophonians and Smyrnaeans who fell in the battle is on the left of the road as you go to Clarus.

5 2. The city of Lebedus was destroyed by Lysimachus in order to swell the population of Ephesus. The district of Lebedus is a happy land; in particular its warm baths are the most numerous and agreeable of any on the coast. Originally Lebedus also was inhabited by the Carians, until they were expelled by the Ionians under Andraemon, son of Codrus. The grave of Andraemon is on the way from Colophon, on the left of the road after you have crossed the river Calaon.

6 3. Teos was inhabited by Minyans of Orchomenus who came with Athamas. This Athamas is said to have been a descendant of Athamas, son of Aeolus. However, here also the Carians were mixed up with the Greeks. Ionians were introduced into Teos by Apoecus, a great grandson of Melanthus: he did not molest the Orchomenians and Teians. Not many years afterwards came men

from Attica and Boeotia: the men of Attica were led by Damasus and Naoclus, sons of Codrus; the Boeotians by Geres, a Boeotian. Both companies were received by Apoecus and the Teians, and allowed to settle among them.

4. The people of Erythrae say that they originally came with 7
Erythrus, son of Rhadamanthys, from Crete, and that Erythrus was the founder of their city. Along with the Cretans the city was inhabited by Lycians, Carians, and Pamphylians: by Lycians on account of their kinship with the Cretans (for the Lycians came originally from Crete, having fled with Sarpedon); by Carians on account of their ancient friendship with Minos; and by Pamphylians because they too are of Greek race, being descended from the Greeks who wandered with Calchas after the taking of Ilium. Such was the population of Erythrae, when Cleopus, son of Codrus, gathered people from all the cities of Ionia, so many from each city, and settled them amongst the old inhabitants of Erythrae.

5. The cities of Clazomenae and Phocaea did not exist before 8
the Ionians came to Asia. But when the Ionians were come, a roving band of them sent for a leader, Parphorus, from Colophon, and founded a city under Mount Ida. They soon abandoned it, however, and returning to Ionia founded Scyppium in the land of Colophon. Once more flitting of their own accord, they quitted 9
the territory of Colophon, and took possession of the land which they still occupy, and here they built on the mainland the city of Clazomenae; but afterwards for fear of the Persians they crossed over to the island. But Alexander, son of Philip, was destined in course of time to turn Clazomenae into a peninsula by carrying a mole from the mainland to the island. The bulk of the Clazomenians were not Ionians, but Cleonaeans and Phliasians, who had abandoned their cities when the Dorians returned to Peloponnese. The 10
Phocaeans came originally from the country which lies under Mount Parnassus, and is still called Phocis: they crossed to Asia with Philogenes and Damon the Athenians. They gained their land not by arms, but by an understanding with the Cymaeans. As the Ionians would not admit them into the Ionian confederacy till they should get kings of the race of Codrus, they got Deoetes, Periclus, and Abartus from Erythrae and Teos.

IV

1. The Ionian cities in the islands are Samos, opposite Mycale, and Chios over against Mimas. 2. Asius, son of Amphiptolemus, a Samian, says in his epic poem that Phoenix had two daughters, Astypalaea and Europa, by Perimede, daughter of Oeneus; that Astypalaea had by Poseidon a son Ancaeus, who reigned over the Leleges, as they are called; that Ancaeus married Samia,

daughter of the river Maeander, and had by her Perilaus, Enudus, Samus, Alitherses, and also a daughter Parthenope; and that Parthenope, daughter of Ancaeus, had Lycomedes by Apollo.
2 Thus far Asius in his epic. 3. But at the time I speak of the people of Samos received a body of Ionian settlers, not because they loved them, but because they could not help it. The leader of the Ionians was Procles, son of Pityreus: he was an Epidaurian, and most of the people that he led were also Epidaurians who had been expelled from Epidauria by the Argives under Deiphontes. This Procles was of the lineage of Ion, son of Xuthus. But the Ephesians, under Androclus, made an expedition against Leogorus, son of Procles, who reigned after his father in Samos, and gaining a victory they drove the Samians out of the island. They charged the Samians with having joined the Carians in plotting
3 against the Ionians. Of the banished Samians some settled in an island off Thrace, and in consequence of this settlement the island is known as Samothrace instead of Dardania. Another body of Samians under Leogorus fortified themselves at Anaea on the opposite mainland, and ten years afterwards, crossing over to Samos, expelled the Ephesians and recovered the island.

4 4. The sanctuary of Hera at Samos is said by some to have been founded by the Argonauts, who brought the image with them from Argos. But the Samians themselves believe that the goddess was born in the island beside the river Imbrasus, and under the willow which still grows in her sanctuary. That this sanctuary is at all events one of the oldest in existence may be inferred especially from the image, for it is a work of an Aeginetan, Smilis, son of Euclides. This Smilis was a contemporary of Daedalus,
5 though he did not equal him in renown. 5. For Daedalus came of the royal house of Athens, the Metionids, and was famous all over the world, not only for his art, but for his wanderings and his sorrows. He had slain his sister's son, and knowing the customs of Athens, he fled of his own accord to the
6 court of Minos in Crete. He made images for Minos and his daughters, as Homer signifies in the *Iliad*, but being condemned by Minos for some offence, and cast into prison with his son, he escaped from Crete and went to the court of Cocalus at Inycus, a city of Sicily. He was the occasion of war between the Sicilians and the Cretans, because Cocalus refused to surrender him at the demand of Minos. So much was he admired by the daughters of Cocalus for his art that for his sake they even plotted the death of
7 Minos. It is clear that the fame of Daedalus spread all over Sicily and over a great part of Italy. But it does not appear that Smilis travelled anywhere except to Samos and Elis. But he did go to these places, and it was he who made the image of Hera in Samos.

6. . . . Ion, the tragic poet, says in his history that Poseidon 8
came to the island, which was then uninhabited, and there he loved
a nymph, and when she was in labour snow (*chion*) fell on the ground,
and therefore Poseidon named the boy Chios. He also states that
Poseidon loved yet another nymph, by whom he had two sons,
Agelus and Melas, and that in course of time Oenopion sailed with
some ships from Crete to Chios, followed by his sons Talus, Euanthes,
Melas, Salagus, and Athamas. Carians, too, came to the island in 9
the reign of Oenopion, and also Abantes from Euboea. Oenopion
and his sons were succeeded on the throne by Amphiclus, who
came from Histiaea in Euboea at the command of the Delphic
oracle. In the third generation after Amphiclus, Hector, who also
had made himself king, waged war on those Abantes and Carians
who dwelt in the island; and some of them he slew in battle, and the
rest he obliged to capitulate and withdraw. When the Chians had 10
rest from war, Hector bethought him that they ought to join with the
Ionians in the sacrifice at Panionium; and he received from the
Ionian confederacy a tripod as a meed of valour. Such is the
account which I find given of the Chians by Ion. He does not,
however, say why the Chians are reckoned among the Ionians.

V

1. Smyrna, one of the twelve Aeolian cities, built on the site which
is still called the Old City, was wrested from the Aeolians by some
Ionians from Colophon; but afterwards the Ionians allowed the
Smyrnaeans to take part in the federal assembly at Panionium. The
present city was founded by Alexander, son of Philip, in consequence
of a vision which he had in a dream. They say he had been hunting 2
on Mount Pagus, and when the chase was over he came to a
sanctuary of the Nemeses, and there he lighted on a spring and a
plane-tree before the sanctuary, the tree overhanging the water. As
he slept under the plane-tree the Nemeses, they say, appeared to
him, and bade him found a city there and transfer to it the
Smyrnaeans from the old town. So the Smyrnaeans sent envoys to
Clarus to inquire about the matter, and the god answered them:—

> Thrice blest, yea four times, shall they be
> Who shall inhabit Pagus beyond the sacred Meles.

So they willingly removed, and they now believe in two Nemeses 3
instead of one. They say that the mother of the two goddesses was
Night, while the Athenians say that the father of the goddess (Nemesis)
at Rhamnus was Ocean.

2. Ionia enjoys the finest of climates, and its sanctuaries are 4
unmatched in the world. The first for size and wealth is the
sanctuary of the Ephesian goddess Next come two unfinished

sanctuaries of Apollo: one at Branchidae, in the land of Miletus, the other at Clarus, in the land of Colophon. Two other temples in Ionia were burned down by the Persians, to wit, the temple of Hera in Samos, and the temple of Athena at Phocaea; but scathed
5 as they are by the flames, they are still wonderful. 3. You would be charmed, too, with the sanctuary of Hercules at Erythrae, and with the temple of Athena at Priene. The attraction of the latter is its image; the charm of the former is its antiquity. For the image of Hercules is like neither the so-called Aeginetan images, nor the most ancient Attic images: but if ever there was a purely Egyptian image, this is it. A wooden raft floated from Tyre in Phoenicia with the god upon it; but how this happened is more
6 than even the Erythraeans can say. When the raft reached the Ionian sea, they say that it came to anchor at the cape called Mesate ('middle'), which is on the mainland exactly mid-way on the voyage from the harbour of Erythrae to the island of Chios. The raft having come to rest at this cape, the Erythraeans on the one side, and the Chians on the other, strained every nerve
7 to tow the image to their own shore. At last a man of Erythrae, Phormio by name, who got his livelihood by the sea and by catching fish, but had lost his eyesight by some disease, dreamed that the women of Erythrae must shear their hair, and that with a rope woven of the women's tresses the men would be able to tow the raft ashore. The ladies of the burgesses would have none of
8 the dream; but the Thracian women, bond and free alike, who dwelt in Erythrae, suffered their hair to be shorn. And thus the Erythraeans towed the raft ashore. So Thracian women are the only women who are free to enter the sanctuary of Hercules; and the rope made of their tresses is preserved by the people of Erythrae to this day. And what is more, they say that the fisherman recovered his
9 sight and kept it for the rest of his life. 4. There is also in Erythrae a temple of Athena Polias, and a colossal wooden image of the goddess seated on a throne, with a distaff in either hand and a firmament on her head. From various indications I judged the image to be a work of Endoeus, particularly from an inspection of the workmanship of the image [in the interior of the temple], and last, but not least, from the style of the images of the Graces and Seasons in white marble that stand in the open air before the entrance. In my time the Smyrnaeans made a sanctuary of Aesculapius betwixt Mount Coryphe and a sea into which no water flows.

10 5. Ionia is remarkable for other things besides its sanctuaries and its climate. Thus in the land of Ephesus there is the river Cenchrius, the peculiar mountain of Pion, and the spring Halitaea. In the land of Miletus there is the spring Biblis, associated with all the poetic legends of Biblis' love. In the land of Colophon

there is a grove of ash-trees sacred to Apollo, and not far from the grove is the Ales, the coldest river in all Ionia. The district of Lebedus can boast its wondrous and salubrious baths. Teos, 11
too, has its baths at Cape Macria, some in the natural clefts of the rock beside the breakers, others built in a costly and showy style. The Clazomenians have also baths; moreover, they worship Agamemnon. They have also a cave called the cave of the mother of Pyrrhus, and they tell a tale of the shepherd Pyrrhus. The 12
Erythraeans own a district called Chalcis, from which their third tribe takes its name. In Chalcis there is a cape stretching into the sea, and on this cape there are salt-water baths, which are the most salubrious of all the baths in Ionia. 6. The Smyrnaeans possess the river Meles, with its beautiful water, and at the springs of the Meles there is a grotto where they say that Homer composed his poems. One of the sights of Chios is the grave of Oenopion, 13
whose deeds are the theme of stories that still linger on the spot. In Samos, on the road to the sanctuary of Hera, there is the tomb of Rhadine and Leontichus, and sad lovers go and offer their orisons at the tomb. In sooth Ionia is a land of many wonders that fall little short of the marvels of Greece itself.

VI

1. When the Ionians were gone the Achaeans divided their land among themselves and settled in the cities. These cities, or at least those which were known to all the Greek world, were twelve in number: Dyme, the nearest to Elis; next Olenus, Pharae, Tritia, Rhypes, Aegium, Cerynea, Bura, also Helice, Aegae, and Aegira, and Pellene, the last town in the direction of Sicyonia. In these cities, which had been previously inhabited by the Ionians, the Achaeans and their kings settled. 2. The most powerful leaders 2
of the Achaeans were the sons of Tisamenus, to wit, Daimenes, Sparton, Tellis, and Leontomenes. But Cometes, the eldest of the sons of Tisamenus, had previously crossed the seà to Asia. Besides these chiefs of the Achaeans there was also Damasias, son of Penthilus, son of Orestes: he was cousin to the sons of Tisamenus on his father's side. Of equal power with those I have mentioned were Preugenes and his son Patreus. They belonged to the Achaeans of Lacedaemon, and were allowed by the Achaeans to found a city in the land, and the city was named after Patreus.

3. The wars of the Achaeans are as follows. At the time of 3
Agamemnon's expedition to Ilium they still dwelt in Lacedaemon and Argos, and formed the greatest portion of the Grecian host. But when the Medes under Xerxes invaded Greece, the Achaeans are not known to have shared in the march of Leonidas to Thermopylae, nor to have helped Themistocles and the Athenians

at the sea-fights of Euboea and Salamis, and their name does not appear in the list either of the Lacedaemonian or of the Athenian
4 allies. They were also absent from the battle of Plataea, else the name of the Achaeans would have been graved with the rest on the votive offering of the Greeks at Olympia. I suppose that they stayed at home to guard their native towns, and that, moreover, remembering the Trojan war they disdained to be led by the Dorians of Lacedaemon. This they showed in course of time. For when the Lacedaemonians afterwards went to war with the Athenians, the Achaeans were warm allies of the Patreans, and they were not less
5 friendly to the Athenians. In the later Greek wars the Achaeans took part in the battle of Chaeronea against Philip and the Macedonians, but they say they did not march into Thessaly to join in the war known as the Lamian war, alleging that they had not yet recovered from the disaster in Boeotia. 4. The guide at Patrae said that the wrestler Chilon was the only Achaean who took part
6 in the fighting at Lamia. I myself know of a Lydian, Adrastus by name, who fought on the Greek side as a volunteer without the sanction of the Lydian community. But the Lydians set up a bronze statue of him in front of the sanctuary of Persian Artemis, and they carved an inscription on it, setting forth how he fell fighting for
7 Greece against Leonnatus. The march to Thermopylae to meet the army of the Gauls was taken as little notice of by the Achaeans as by the rest of the Peloponnesians; for as the barbarians had no ships, the Peloponnesians thought that if only they fortified the Isthmus of Corinth from the one sea at Lechaeum to the other sea at Cenchreae, they would have nothing to fear from the Gauls.

8 5. Such was the policy adopted by all the Peloponnesians at the time of the Gallic war. But when the Gauls had somehow succeeded in crossing the sea to Asia, the condition of Greece was this. There was no longer any state strong enough to take the lead. For the defeat at Leuctra, the consolidation of Arcadia at Megalopolis, and the settlement of the Messenians on her flank, still forbade Sparta to retrieve her shattered fortunes. As for
9 Thebes, so low had the city been laid by Alexander, that when a few years afterwards the people were brought back by Cassander, they were unable even to hold their own. Athens, it is true, had earned the good-will of Greece, especially by her later exploits, but she was never able to recover from the effects of the war with Macedonia.

VII

1. In the days when the Greeks had ceased to act in concert, and when every state stood by itself, Achaia enjoyed a preponderance of power. For, except Pellene, none of the Achaean cities

had ever known a tyrant, and the calamities of war and pestilence had visited Achaia less heavily than the rest of Greece. Accordingly, the Achaean League, as it was called, took its rise, and concerted and carried out a federal policy. It was resolved 2
that the federal assemblies should be held at Aegium; for since Helice had been swallowed up by the sea there was no city in Achaia that could vie with Aegium in power and old renown. Of the rest of the Greeks the Sicyonians were the first to join the League; and they were followed sooner or later by other Peloponnesians. Indeed, the steady growth of the Achaean power won adherents to the League even beyond the bounds of Peloponnese. 2. The Lacedaemonians alone were the bitter foes 3
of the Achaeans, and openly waged war on them. The Spartan king Agis, son of Eudamidas, captured Pellene, a city of Achaia, but was immediately driven out of it by the Sicyonians under Aratus. However, the king of the other house, Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, son of Cleonymus, in a pitched battle at Dyme, gained a decisive victory over the Achaeans, under Aratus, and afterwards concluded a peace with the Achaeans and Antigonus. This Antigonus was 4
then governor of Macedonia, acting as regent for the youthful Philip, son of Demetrius. The regent was a cousin of the young prince, whose mother he had espoused. No sooner, however, had Cleomenes made peace with Antigonus and the Achaeans than he broke all his oaths by subjugating Megalopolis in Arcadia. His perfidy drew down upon his country the defeat of Sellasia, where the Lacedaemonians were worsted by the Achaeans under Antigonus. In my description of Arcadia I shall again have occasion to mention Cleomenes.

3. When Philip, son of Demetrius, was come to manhood, 5
Antigonus resigned the sovereignty into his hands. The new king struck terror into the whole of Greece by aping the manners and policy of Philip, son of Amyntas, who was in truth not his ancestor, but his lord. In particular he copied his predecessor's example, by flattering every traitor who was ready to sell his country for gold. At drinking-bouts he would pass the flowing bowl with a 'Here's to you, sir'; only the bowl flowed not with wine, but with poison. Such a thing, I do believe, never entered into the head of Philip, son of Amyntas; but to his namesake, the son of Demetrius, the poisoned cup was child's play. And as a base of operations against Greece he garrisoned three 6
cities which, in contemptuous mockery of the Greeks, he dubbed the keys of Greece. Peloponnese was dominated by Corinth with its frowning citadel; Euboea, Boeotia, and Phocis, by Chalcis, on the Euripus; and by holding Magnesia, at the foot of Mount Pelion, he menaced Thessaly and Aetolia. 4. But it was the Athenians and Aetolians whom he most cruelly harassed by

7 constant invasions and raids of freebooters. In my account of Attica I have already enumerated the various peoples, both Greeks and foreigners, who made common cause with Athens against Philip; and I showed how, through the weakness of their allies, the Athenians had to fall back for help upon the Romans. Not long before the Romans had despatched troops, nominally to aid the Aetolians against Philip, but really to spy out the state of 8 affairs in Macedonia. In answer to the Athenian appeal the Romans sent an army under Otilius, for that was the name he was best known by. The Romans do not, like the Greeks, add their fathers' names to their own, but every man has three names at least, 9 and sometimes more. Otilius had orders to protect the Athenians and Aetolians from the attacks of Philip. He carried out his orders, but incurred the displeasure of his countrymen by capturing and destroying the cities of Hestiaea in Euboea, and Anticyra in Phocis, which had perforce acknowledged the sway of Philip. That, I take it, was why the Senate, on being apprised of what had passed, sent out Flamininus to relieve him of the command.

VIII

1. On his arrival Flamininus defeated the Macedonian garrison of Eretria and sacked the town. Then marching to Corinth, which was garrisoned by Philip, he sat down before it, and sent to the Achaeans, desiring that, if they loved Greece and valued the honour of an alliance with Rome, they would join him with 2 a force before Corinth. But the Achaeans deeply resented the conduct of Flamininus and of Otilius before him, both of whom had behaved with merciless severity to ancient Greek cities that had never done the Romans any harm, and had been loath to yield to the Macedonian rule. They foresaw also that, like the rest of Greece, they were only about to exchange the dominion of Macedonia for that of Rome. The debate was long and keen, but at last the Roman party carried the day, and Achaean troops shared 3 with Flamininus in the capture of Corinth. Thus delivered from the Macedonian yoke the Corinthians at once joined the Achaean League: they had joined it before, when the Sicyonians, under Aratus, drove the garrison out of Acro-Corinth, and slew the commander, Persaeus, who had received his commission from Antigonus.

2. Henceforth the Achaeans were styled the allies of Rome, and zealous allies they proved themselves on all occasions. They followed the Romans into Macedonia to attack Philip: they shared in the expedition into Aetolia; and they fought on the Roman side against Anti- 4 ochus and his Syrians. In fighting the Macedonians or the Syrians the Achaeans were animated only by their friendship for Rome; but with the Aetolians they had a long score of their own to settle.

3. No sooner was the ferocious tyranny of Nabis at Sparta put down than the affairs of Lacedaemon engaged the attention of the Achaeans. They drew the Lacedaemonians into the Achaean con- 5
federacy, meeted out to them a rigorous justice, and razed the walls of Sparta to the ground. These walls had been hastily run up at the time of the invasion, first of Demetrius, and afterwards of the Epirots, under Pyrrhus; but they had been vastly strengthened during the tyranny of Nabis. The Achaeans not only demolished the walls of Sparta, but also repealed the laws of Lycurgus relating to the training of the lads, and ordained that the Spartan lads should be trained on the Achaean model. I shall treat of this topic more at large in de- 6
scribing Arcadia. 4. Chafing at the Achaean ordinances, the Lacedaemonians had recourse to Metellus and his colleagues, who had come on an embassy from Rome, not to stir up war against Philip and the Macedonians, for peace had already been concluded between Philip and the Romans, but to look into the grievances which the Thessalians or Epirots had against him. In truth, Philip and 7
the power of Macedonia had already been humbled by the Romans. For in a battle with the Romans, under Flamininus, on the heights called Cynoscephalae, Philip had been worsted; nay, though he strained every nerve in the engagement, he was so soundly beaten that he lost most of his army, and had to enter into an engagement with the Romans, in virtue of which he withdrew his garrisons from every Greek city which he had reduced by force of arms. 5. However, by dint of prayers and entreaties, seconded 8
by a lavish expenditure of treasure, he procured a nominal peace from the Romans. The history of Macedonia, its rise to power under Philip, son of Amyntas, and its fall under the later Philip, had been divinely foretold by the Sibyl. The prophecy ran thus:—

> Ye Macedonians, who glory in your kings of Argive race, 9
> The reign of Philip will be your bliss and bane.
> The first Philip will make you lords of cities and peoples;
> But the younger will lose all honour,
> Vanquished by the men of the West and of the East.

Now the Macedonian empire was destroyed by the Romans who dwell in the west of Europe, and amongst their allies was Attalus, <who sent> an army from Mysia, an eastern land.

IX

1. Metellus and his colleagues resolved not to overlook the affairs of the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans. They requested the officers of the League to summon a diet with a view to advising the assembled confederacy to treat the Lacedaemonians with greater

lenity. The officers replied that they would summon the diet neither for them nor for anybody else who could not produce a decree of the Roman Senate sanctioning the proposal with which he intended to come before the assembly. Deeply affronted, Metellus and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, denounced the Achaeans to the Senate in unmeasured and not always accurate terms.
2 2. Still more numerous were the charges brought against the Achaeans by Areus and Alcibiadas, Lacedaemonians of the highest standing, who, however, did not act fairly by the Achaeans. For when they were driven into exile by Nabis, they had been hospitably received by the Achaeans, who, on the death of Nabis, restored them to Sparta against the wishes of the Lacedaemonian commons. They now appeared before the Senate, and loudly inveighed against the Achaeans; wherefore on their return the Achaean diet sen-
3 tenced them to death. 3. The Senate sent a commission, with Appius at its head, to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans. But the very sight of the commissioners could not but be distasteful to the Achaeans, since in their suite were Areus and Alcibiadas, the men against whom at that moment the Achaeans were most exasperated. The feelings of the Achaeans were wounded still more deeply by the speeches addressed by the commissioners to the
4 diet, for their tone was angry rather than conciliatory. But Lycortas of Megalopolis, a man of the highest reputation in Arcadia, who had caught some of his friend Philopoemen's high spirit, asserted the rights of the Achaeans in a speech, in the course of which he insinuated a covert reflection on the Romans. His speech was received with jeers by Appius and his colleagues, who absolved Areus and Alcibiadas from all guilt touching the Achaeans, and allowed the Lacedaemonians to send ambassadors to Rome, thereby violating the treaty between the Romans and Achaeans, by which it had been provided that the right of sending ambassadors to the Roman Senate should be vested in the Achaean confederacy as such, and that none of the federal states should send a separate embassy of its own.
5 After the Achaeans had despatched a counter embassy, and both sides had been heard by the Senate, the Romans sent once more the same commissioners (namely, Appius and those who had accompanied him to Greece before) to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans. The commissioners restored to Sparta the men who had been expelled by the Achaeans, and they remitted the punishments to which the Achaeans had sentenced all who had withdrawn without standing their trial. They did not indeed release the Lacedaemonians from their connection with the Achaean League, but they established foreign courts for the trial of capital charges: all other cases they left to the federal jurisdiction. 4. Also the circuit
6 of the walls of Sparta was rebuilt. Of all the plots on which the restored Lacedaemonian exiles embarked, the one by which they

hoped to mortify the Achaeans most cruelly was the following. They prevailed on the Achaean exiles, and those Messenians who had been banished by the Achaeans for their supposed share in the death of Philopoemen, to go to Rome, and accompanying them they intrigued to have them restored to their native lands. 5. As Appius was a warm partisan of Lacedaemon and a steady adversary of the Achaeans, the intrigues of the Messenian and Achaean exiles were assured of an easy success. Despatches were at once forwarded by the Senate to Athens and Aetolia, containing instructions to restore the Messenians and Achaeans to their homes. This touched the 7
Achaeans to the quick: they reflected what scanty justice they had received at the hands of the Romans, and how all the services they had done them had been done in vain. To please the Romans they had turned their arms against Philip, against the Aetolians, and afterwards against Antiochus, and now they were treated as of less account than a pack of exiles who had imbrued their hands in blood. Nevertheless, they resolved to yield.

X

1. That foulest of all crimes, the betrayal of native land and fellow-countrymen for personal gain, was fated to be the source of a series of disasters to the Achaeans as it has been to others. Indeed the crime has never been unknown in Greece since time began. In the reign of Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of Persia, the cause of Ionia was lost because all the Samian captains save eleven deserted the Ionian fleet. After the subjugation of Ionia, the Medes en- 2
slaved Eretria, the place being betrayed by Philagrus, son of Cyneas, and Euphorbus, son of Alcimachus, the two men of fairest fame in the city. When Xerxes marched against Greece, Thessaly was betrayed into his hands by the Aleuads, and Thebes by Attaginus and Timegenidas, men of the first rank in that city. After the Peloponnesian war, Xenias, an Elean, tried to betray Elis to the Lacedaemonians under Agis. The friends of Lysander, as they were 3
called, never ceased intriguing to hand over their respective countries to Lysander. In the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas, you will find that Lacedaemon was the only city in Greece that was not betrayed. All the rest suffered more from treachery than they had formerly done from the plague. On the other hand, the good fortune of Alexander, son of Philip, enabled him to dispense almost wholly with the services of traitors. After the defeat of the Greeks at Lamia, 4
Antipater, burning to carry the war into Asia, was fain to patch up a hasty peace, and it mattered nothing to him whether he left Athens and the whole of Greece free. But Demades and the gang of traitors at Athens brought him round to a policy of inflexible rigour,
11 and by creating a panic at Athens, they were instrumental in bring-

ing Macedonian garrisons both into that city and into most others.
5 The following consideration confirms this view. The Athenians were not reduced to subjection by Philip after their discomfiture in Boeotia, although they lost a thousand killed in the battle and two thousand prisoners; whereas after Lamia they were actually enslaved by the Macedonians, though not more than two hundred of them perished in the field. Thus the plague of treachery never died out in Greece. 2. It was Callicrates, an Achaean, who, at the time I speak of, completed the subjection of his countrymen to Rome. But their troubles began with the overthrow of Perseus and the Macedonian empire by the Romans.

6 Peace reigned between Perseus and the Romans under the treaty concluded by his father Philip, till Perseus took it into his head to break his oaths. So he led an army against . . . Abrupolis, king of the Sapaeans, and drove them from house and home, though they were allies of the Romans. These Sapaeans are men-
7 tioned by Archilochus in an iambic line. For this wrong done to the Sapaeans, Perseus and the Macedonians were conquered, and after the conquest ten Roman senators were sent to settle the affairs of Macedonia in the interests of Rome. When they were come to Greece, Callicrates left no means untried to worm himself into their good graces by fair speeches and flattering attentions. One of the commissioners, a man of little honesty, he attached so completely to
8 himself that he even induced him to attend the Achaean diet. On appearing before the assembly this person averred that in his war with Rome Perseus had received supplies of money and other assistance from the most influential men among the Achaeans. He therefore desired the diet to sentence them to death; if sentence were passed, he would then, he said, disclose their names. The proposal seemed monstrous, and the members present demanded that he should name the Achaeans who had sided with Perseus, if there were any such; until he did so, it was unreasonable, they said,
9 that they should condemn them. Thus put to it, the Roman had the effrontery to declare that the Achaean generals, one and all, were implicated in the charge; 'For all of them,' said he, 'favoured the cause of Macedonia and Perseus.' It was Callicrates who prompted him to say this. But when he had sat down, up got Xenon, a man much esteemed by the Achaeans, who said, 'Touching this charge, the facts are these. I was one of the Achaean generals, but neither was I a traitor to Rome nor a friend to Perseus. And on this charge I am willing to be tried either in the
10 diet or before the Romans.' He spoke frankly out of a good conscience. The Roman at once seized the pretext, and sent all whom Callicrates accused of having favoured Perseus to be tried by a Roman court. Never before had this been done to Greeks. Even the most powerful sovereigns of Macedonia, Philip, son of

Amyntas, and Alexander, had not obliged their Greek opponents to be sent to Macedonia, but had allowed them to be brought to account by the Amphictyons. But on this occasion it was decided 11
that every man of the Achaean nation whom Callicrates chose to accuse, innocent though he might be, should be taken to Rome; and the number of those who were thus taken was over a thousand. The Romans, believing that these men had been already condemned by the Achaeans, distributed them among the cities of Etruria, and though the Achaeans sent embassy after embassy, and petition after petition, on behalf of the prisoners, no heed was paid to them. However, in the seventeenth year of their captivity, three hundred 12
prisoners or less—the remnant of the Achaeans in Italy—were released, it being thought that they had been punished enough. But as for such as had escaped, either on the way to Rome or from the cities to which they had been sent by the Romans, there was no help for them, but, if retaken, they must pay the forfeit.

XI

1. Again the Romans despatched a senator to Greece. His name was Gallus, and he was sent to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and Argives in a dispute about land. This Gallus treated the Greeks in general with much haughtiness, both in word and deed; but as for the Lacedaemonians and Argives, he absolutely mocked them. Between these renowned states which on a question 2
of boundaries had freely shed their blood in a famous war of old, and in a later age had had their disputes settled by Philip, son of Amyntas, between these states, I say, Gallus disdained to arbitrate in person, and left the decision to Callicrates, the evil genius of Greece. Furthermore, the Aetolians of Pleuron applied to Gallus 3
for leave to sever their connection with the Achaean confederacy. He suffered them to send an embassy on their own account to Rome, and the Roman Senate allowed them to secede from the Achaean League. The Senate, moreover, instructed Gallus to release as many cities as possible from their connection with the Achaean confederacy.

2. Whilst he was carrying out his orders, the Athenian 4
democracy pillaged Oropus, a town that was subject to their sway. They did so from necessity, rather than choice, being reduced to the utmost poverty by the Macedonian war, which had told more heavily on them than on the rest of the Greeks. So the Oropians appealed to the Roman Senate, which decided that they had been unjustly treated, and accordingly instructed the Sicyonians to levy a fine on the Athenians proportionate to the injury which the latter had wantonly inflicted on Oropus. The Athenians failing to appear at 5
the bar when the case came on, the Sicyonians sentenced them to pay

a fine of five hundred talents; but at the petition of the Athenians the Roman Senate remitted the fine except one hundred talents. Even that sum was not paid by the Athenians, who by promises and gifts cajoled the Oropians into a compact that an Athenian garrison should march into Oropus, and that the Athenians should take hostages from them; but that if the Oropians should again have any ground of complaint against the Athenians, then the latter were to
6 withdraw their garrison and restore the hostages. It was not long before some of the garrison ill-treated some of the Oropians. But when the Oropians sent to Athens, demanding the restoration of the hostages and the withdrawal of the garrison in accordance with the compact, the Athenians refused to do either, alleging that the blame rested on the garrison and not on the Athenian people, but promis-
7 ing that the guilty persons should be brought to justice. 3. The Oropians then appealed for help to the Achaeans; but the latter, out of friendship and respect for the Athenians, refused it. Thereupon the Oropians promised ten talents to Menalcidas, a Lacedaemonian, who was then general of the Achaeans, if he would induce the Achaeans to come to their aid. Menalcidas promised half the money to Callicrates, whose friendship with Rome gave him a para-
8 mount influence in the League. So when Callicrates had been brought over to the views of Menalcidas, it was decided to assist the Oropians against the Athenians. Getting word of this, the Athenians hastened with all speed to Oropus, and after making a clean sweep of everything that had been overlooked in their former raids, they brought off the garrison. The Achaeans having arrived too late, Menalcidas and Callicrates would fain have persuaded them to make an inroad into Attica; but their advice was opposed, particularly by the Lacedaemonians, and the army beat a retreat.

XII

1. Though the Oropians had received no assistance from the Achaeans, nevertheless Menalcidas extorted the money from them. But no sooner did he finger the bribe than he began to think it hard that he should have to go shares with Callicrates. At first he lied and procrastinated; but soon he plucked up courage and flatly
2 refused to give him a farthing. It is a true saying, that one flame is more devouring than another, one wolf fiercer than his fellows, and one hawk swifter than another on the wing, since in perfidy Menalcidas outdid Callicrates, the greatest villain of the age, a man who was never proof against a bribe. Having incurred the enmity of Athens without making a penny by the transaction, Callicrates, as soon as Menalcidas' term of office was at end, arraigned him before the Achaeans on a capital charge, asserting that on an embassy to Rome Menalcidas had intrigued against the Achaeans, and had done

his best to detach Sparta from the Achaean League. Being thus in 3
great peril, Menalcidas gave three of the talents which he had got
from Oropus to one Diaeus, of Megalopolis, who had succeeded him
in office, and who, in consideration of the bribe, exerted himself
successfully to save Menalcidas in the teeth of the Achaeans them-
selves. The blame of Menalcidas' acquittal was laid by the
Achaeans, one and all, at the door of Diaeus. 2. But he sought to
divert their attention from the accusations against himself by stirring
them up to fly at higher game. The pretext which he used to hood-
wink them was as follows. The Lacedaemonians had appealed to the 4
Roman Senate on a question of disputed territory, and in answer
to their appeal the Senate had ordered them to submit all cases,
except capital ones, to the judgment of the Achaean diet. This was
the Senate's answer; but Diaeus, instead of telling the Achaeans
the truth, flattered their vanity by assuring them that the Senate
had accorded them capital jurisdiction over the Spartans. So the 5
Achaeans claimed the right of trying Lacedaemonians on capital
charges; but the Lacedaemonians denied the truth of Diaeus'
statement, and desired to refer the question to the Roman Senate.
The Achaeans then seized another pretext, affirming that none of
the states which composed the League was entitled to send an
embassy on its own account to Rome. These disputes led to a war 6
between the Achaeans and Lacedaemonians. The latter, perceiving
they were no match for their adversaries, sent embassies to the
Achaean cities, and opened private negotiations with Diaeus. The
cities all answered to the same effect, that they could not lawfully
disobey their general if he ordered them to take the field. Now,
Diaeus was general, and he gave out that he would turn his arms,
not against Sparta herself, but against the troublers of her peace.
When the Spartan senate inquired how many he thought guilty, he 7
sent them the names of four-and-twenty of the first men in Sparta.
On this the motion of Agasisthenes was put and carried; and if the
mover had been respected before, his reputation stood higher than
ever for the advice he gave that day. He counselled the men who
had been named to retire into voluntary exile, and not to draw down
war on Sparta by staying where they were, adding that if they fled to
Rome they would soon be restored by the Romans. In their 8
absence they were nominally tried by the Spartans and sentenced to
death. The Achaeans despatched Callicrates and Diaeus to Rome
to plead against the Spartan exiles before the Senate. Callicrates
fell sick, and died on the road; but even if he had reached Rome, I
doubt whether, instead of doing the Achaeans any good, he would not
have landed them into a worse scrape than ever. Diaeus, however,
stood up to Menalcidas in the Senate, and the language they used to
each other was more copious than decent. The Senate answered 9
that they would send commissioners to decide the differences between

the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans. However, the commissioners journeyed so leisurely, that Diaeus had time once more to befool the Achaeans, and Menalcidas to hoodwink the Lacedaemonians. The former were deluded by Diaeus into believing that the Roman Senate had placed the Lacedaemonians completely under their control; and the Lacedaemonians in their turn were deceived by Menalcidas into imagining that the Romans had relieved them from all connection with the Achaean League.

XIII

1. These bickerings brought the Achaeans once more to the brink of war with Lacedaemon. Indeed Damocritus, who had been elected general of the League, was in the act of mustering an army to take the field against Sparta, when a Roman force under Metellus arrived in Macedonia to put down a revolt headed by Andriscus, son of Perseus, son of Philip. The war in Macedonia was very easily
2 decided in favour of the Romans; and the commissioners, whom the Senate had despatched to settle the affairs of Asia, were requested by Metellus, before they crossed the sea, to confer with the Achaean leaders, and forbid them to direct their arms against Sparta, enjoining them further to abide the arrival of the Roman arbitrators.
3 The commissioners delivered their message, but finding that the Achaeans, under Damocritus, had already taken the field against Lacedaemon, and that their advice fell on deaf ears, they proceeded on their journey to Asia. 2. The Lacedaemonians, with a spirit disproportionate to their resources, flew to arms, and marched out to defend their country, but were speedily overpowered. A thousand, the flower of their youth and valour, fell in the battle: the rest of the army
4 fled to the city as fast as they could lay legs to the ground. If Damocritus had acted with energy, the Achaeans could have entered the walls in the rush of fugitives from the battlefield. As it was, he recalled his men from the pursuit, and then, instead of pushing the siege vigorously, contented himself with overrunning and pillaging
5 the territory. 3. On leading his army home again, he was sentenced by the Achaeans as a traitor to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable to find the money, he fled from Peloponnese. 4. Diaeus, chosen to succeed him in the command, promised the envoys, who had been again sent by Metellus, that he would not wage war on the Lacedaemonians, but would abide the arrival of the mediators
6 from Rome. However, he played the Lacedaemonians another trick, by seducing from their allegiance and garrisoning the towns round about Sparta, thus providing the Achaeans with so
7 many bases for attacking the Lacedaemonian capital. 5. The Lacedaemonians chose Menalcidas to command them against Diaeus; and though they were but ill equipped with the ammuni-

tions of war, though their coffers especially were nearly empty, and the fields lay unsowed, nevertheless he persuaded them to violate the truce. He stormed and laid in ruins the town of Iasus, situated on the borders of Laconia, but at that time subject to the Achaeans. For thus stirring up war once more between the Lacedaemonians 8
and Achaeans he earned the reproaches of his countrymen, and seeing no escape for the Lacedaemonians from the impending peril, he made away with himself by drinking poison. Such was the end of Menalcidas, who at the time of his death was commander-in-chief of the Lacedaemonians, as he had previously been of the Achaeans. In the former capacity he proved himself the worst general, and in the latter capacity the greatest rascal in the world.

XIV

1. The commissioners sent from Rome to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans arrived in Greece. Amongst them was Orestes. . . . He summoned the magistrates of the Achaean cities, including Diaeus, to meet him. When they were come to his lodgings he unfolded to them the whole scheme, how the Roman Senate deemed it fair that neither Lacedaemon nor yet Corinth should belong to the Achaean League, and that Argos, Heraclea under Oeta, and Orchomenus of Arcadia, should also be released from their connection with the League, on the ground that they were not of the Achaean stock, and had only subsequently been incorporated in the confederacy. 2. He was still speaking 2
when the Achaean magistrates, without waiting to hear him out, rushed from the house and summoned the Achaeans to a parliament. They, on hearing the decision of the Romans, immediately fell upon the Spartans who happened to be staying in Corinth, and seized every one of them, not only those whom they knew for certain to be Lacedaemonians, but also those whom they merely suspected of being so from the cut of their hair, from the make of their shoes or clothes, or from their names. Some succeeded in taking refuge in the house where Orestes lodged, but even thence the Achaeans attempted to drag them by force. Orestes and his 3
colleagues strove to bridle their fury, bidding them remember that they were committing a wanton and wicked aggression on the Romans. Not many days afterwards the Achaeans clapped into gaol all the Lacedaemonians they had apprehended; but they picked out the foreigners and let them go. They also sent some of the chief men of Achaia, including Thearidas, as envoys to Rome. These men on their way to Rome met a Roman embassy which had been sent after the departure of Orestes to settle the affairs of Lacedaemon and Achaia; so they turned and came back

with them. When Diaeus' term of office had expired, Critolaus was chosen general by the Achaeans.

3. This Critolaus was seized with a deep but senseless craving to make war on the Romans. By this time the Roman commissioners had arrived to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans; and Critolaus had a conference with them at Tegea in Arcadia. Though he was most unwilling to call a general assembly of the Achaeans, he despatched messengers whom, in the hearing of the Romans, he charged to summon the deputies to the diet. But privately he sent word to the deputies of the various cities to stay away from the meeting. When the members did not appear, Critolaus plainly showed his hand by desiring the Romans to wait for another assembly of the League, which would be in six months' time; for he refused to treat with them without the authority of his government. The commissioners saw that they were being played upon, and so took their departure for Rome. 4. But Critolaus assembled the Achaeans in Corinth, and persuaded them to take arms against Sparta, and even to declare war openly against Rome. Now when a king or a state goes to war and is unfortunate, the issue is due to the jealousy of one of the higher powers, and throws no slur on the persons who made the war. But rashness combined with weakness is madness rather than misfortune. It was this that ruined Critolaus and the Achaeans. They were also goaded on by Pytheas, who was then Boeotarch at Thebes; and the Thebans professed that they would join heartily in the war. For the Thebans had been tried and sentenced by Metellus to pay a fine, first, to the Phocians, for invading Phocis; second, to the Euboeans, for devastating Euboea; and, third, to the Amphissians, for ravaging their lands when the corn was ripe.

XV

1. The Romans, informed of these facts by the commissioners whom they had sent to Greece, as well as by the despatches of Metellus, found the Achaeans culpable, and ordered Mummius, who had been elected consul, to lead a fleet and army against them. As soon as Metellus got word of the approach of Mummius and his army, he made an effort to bring the war to an end before that general should arrive in Greece. He therefore sent messengers to the Achaeans, ordering them to release Lacedaemon and the other states mentioned by the Romans from their connection with the League, and promising them an amnesty for their past disobedience. At the same time that he made these overtures, he was marching with his army from Macedonia, through Thessaly and by the Lamian Gulf. 2. But Critolaus and the Achaeans would listen to no proposals for an accommodation, and invested the town of Heraclea, which refused

to join the Achaean League. However, when Critolaus learned 3
from his scouts that the Romans under Metellus had crossed
the Spercheus, he fled to Scarphea in Locris, without daring to
offer Metellus battle in the pass between Heraclea and Thermopylae.
Not even the spot where the Lacedaemonians had fought for Greece
against the Medes, and the Athenians had fought as gloriously
against the Gauls, could fire with bright hope that craven heart.
3. A little way outside of Scarphea the Roman general came up 4
with the fugitives. The carnage was great, and about a thousand
prisoners fell into his hands. Critolaus was not seen alive after the
battle, nor was he found among the dead. If he ventured to
plunge into the salt marsh at the foot of Mount Oeta, he must
infallibly have sunk into the depths unnoticed and unknown.
But his death gives ample scope for conjecture. Meantime a 5
thousand picked Arcadian troops, who cast in their lot with
Critolaus, had taken the field and advanced as far as Elatea
in Phocis, where they were received into the city on the strength
of some ancient tie of kinship, real or imaginary. But when
news came of the defeat of the Achaeans under Critolaus, the
Phocians ordered the Arcadians out of Elatea. As they were 6
retreating into Peloponnese, the Romans under Metellus came
upon them at Chaeronea. There and then the gods of Greece
took vengeance on the Arcadians, who were now slaughtered by the
Romans on the very ground where they had left the Greeks to fight
against Philip and the Macedonians.

4. Diaeus now came forward once more and took the command 7
of the Achaean army. Following the example set by Miltiades and
the Athenians before the battle of Marathon, he set the slaves free,
and called out all the men of military age from the cities of Achaia
and Arcadia. Inclusive of slaves, the levy amounted to six
hundred horse and fourteen thousand foot. But now Diaeus acted 8
like an utter fool. Though he knew what a poor fight the whole
Achaean forces under Critolaus had made against Metellus, he
detached four thousand men under Alcamenes and sent them to
garrison the city of Megara, and to intercept the march of Metellus
and the Romans if they should advance that way. 5. After 9
the overthrow of the picked Arcadian troops at Chaeronea,
Metellus marched with his army against Thebes, for the Thebans
had joined the Achaeans in besieging Heraclea, and had
taken part in the battle of Scarphea. The whole population,
male and female, old and young, now abandoned the city and
roamed up and down Boeotia, or fled to the mountain-tops.
Metellus, however, allowed his men neither to fire the sanctuaries 10
of the gods nor to pull down the buildings; and he forbade
them to kill or make prisoner any of the Thebans; only he gave
orders that if Pytheas were taken, he should be brought to him.

Pytheas was quickly discovered, and being taken to Metellus, he paid the forfeit. On the approach of the Roman army to Megara, Alcamenes and his men did not stand their ground, but fled to the
11 Achaean camp at Corinth. The Megarians surrendered the city to the Romans without striking a blow. When Metellus reached the Isthmus, he again made overtures of peace to the Achaeans, for he was bent on winding up the affairs of Achaia as well as of Macedonia. But the stubborn folly of Diaeus baffled all his efforts.

XVI

1. In the early morning Mummius joined the Roman army. He was accompanied by Orestes, who had formerly come to settle the difference between the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans. On his arrival Mummius sent away Metellus and his troops to Macedonia, and remained himself at the Isthmus till his whole force should assemble. The cavalry mustered three thousand five hundred strong: the infantry amounted to twenty-three thousand. To these were added a corps of Cretan archers; and Attalus sent from Pergamus on the Caicus a contingent under the command of
2 Philopoemen. An advance guard, consisting of the auxiliaries and some Italian troops, was posted by Mummius at a distance of twelve furlongs. 2. But the haughty Romans kept a careless look-out, the enemy surprised them in the first watch of the night, put some to the sword, and drove in the main body on the camp, capturing about five hundred shields. Flushed with their success in this skirmish, the Achaeans drew out in order of battle without
3 waiting for the Romans to attack. But the moment Mummius advanced to meet them the Achaean horse took to flight, without standing even the first charge of the Roman cavalry. The foot, disheartened by the rout of the horse, nevertheless abided the onslaught of the Roman infantry, and though outnumbered and faint with wounds stood their ground bravely, till a thousand picked
4 Roman troops fell on their flank. Then they broke and fled. Now if Diaeus had boldly thrown himself into Corinth after the battle and opened the gates to the fugitives, the Achaeans might have been able to get favourable terms from Mummius, who would have been reduced to the lingering operations of a siege. 3. But, instead of that, while his men were still wavering, he fled straight for Megalopolis. Very different from his behaviour towards the Achaeans was the behaviour of Callistratus, son of Empedus, towards the Athenians.
5 Callistratus commanded a cavalry regiment in Sicily. When the Athenians with all their allies fell at the river Asinarus, he gallantly cut his way through the enemy at the head of his regiment. But as soon as he had brought most of his men safe to Catana, he wheeled about and rode back to Syracuse the way he came. There,

finding the enemy still engaged in pillaging the Athenian camp, he cut down five of them, and then fell, horse and man together, covered with mortal wounds. Thus he shed lustre not only on 6
himself, but on his country, by choosing to save his regiment and to die himself. 4. But Diaeus, after ruining the Achaeans, brought the evil tidings to the people of Megalopolis, and having put his wife to death with his own hand, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, he drank poison and died. Thus the parallel which he presented to Menalcidas in the rapacity of his life, he now completed by the cowardice of his death.

5. At nightfall the fugitives from the battlefield who had 7
escaped to Corinth fled from the city, and most of the population fled also. Though the gates stood open, Mummius hesitated at first to enter the city, for he suspected that an ambush might be lurking inside the walls. But on the second day after the battle he stormed the city and set it on fire. Most of the people found in it 8
were massacred by the Romans, and Mummius sold the women and children. He sold also such of the liberated slaves as had fought in the ranks of the Achaeans, and had not met their death on the battlefield. The most admired monuments of piety and art he carried off; the less valuable he presented to Philopoemen, the general of Attalus, and in my time the spoils of Corinth were still to be seen at Pergamus. He also dismantled the walls of all the cities that had 9
fought against the Romans, and he disarmed the inhabitants without waiting for assessors to be sent from Rome. 6. When they came he put down the democracies, and established the government on the base of a property qualification. Greece was assessed to pay tribute, and owners of property were forbidden to acquire property abroad: all national confederacies, whether Achaean, Phocian, Boeotian, or what not, were dissolved. 7. Not many years afterwards the Romans 10
took pity on Greece, and restored the old national confederacies and the right of acquiring property abroad. They further remitted all the fines imposed by Mummius, who had ordered the Boeotians to pay a hundred talents to the Heracleots and Euboeans, and the Achaeans to pay two hundred talents to the Lacedaemonians. Of these burdens the Greeks were relieved by the Romans; but to this day a governor is still sent to Greece. The Romans call him the governor, not of Greece, but of Achaia, because the Achaeans were at the head of Greece at the time of the Roman conquest. The war ended in the archonship of Antitheus at Athens, in the hundred and sixtieth Olympiad, in which the prize was won by Diodorus of Sicyon.

XVII

1. This was the period when Greece sank to the lowest depth of weakness. From time immemorial, indeed, parts of it had been

wasted and ravaged by the hand of God. Argos had reached the highest pitch of power in the heroic age, but after the Dorian revolu-
2 tion the favour of fortune deserted her. The Attic race revived after the Peloponnesian war and the plague, and raised its head once more above water, but only to be dragged down, a few years later, by the vigorous power of Macedonia. From Macedonia the wrath of Alexander fell like a thunderbolt upon Boeotian Thebes. Epaminondas the Theban, and afterwards the Achaean war, proved the bane of Lacedaemon. Then, like a fresh shoot on a blasted and withered trunk, the Achaean League arose on the ruins of Greece. But the roguery and cowardice of its generals blighted the growing
3 plant. 2. In a later age, when the Roman Empire devolved on Nero, he gave the Roman people the rich and fruitful island of Sardinia, and, taking Greece in exchange, he set it free. Musing on this deed of Nero, I was struck by the truth of Plato's saying, that crimes of extraordinary magnitude and audacity proceed not from common men, but from a noble nature depraved by a vicious
4 upbringing. But the Greeks could not profit by the boon. For when Nero had been succeeded on the throne by Vespasian, they fell out among themselves, and Vespasian commanded that they should again pay tribute and submit to a governor, the Emperor remarking that Greece had forgotten what it was to be free. Such I found to be the course of Achaean history.

5 3. The boundary between Achaia and Elis is formed by the river Larisus. There is a temple of Larisaean Athena at the river, and about thirty furlongs from the Larisus is the Achaean city of Dyme. This was the only Achaean city that was subject to Philip, son of Demetrius; hence the Roman general Sulpicius allowed his army to sack it. Afterwards Augustus annexed it to
6 Patrae. Its more ancient name was Palea; but while the Ionians still held it they gave it the name which it still retains. But whether the name is derived from a native woman Dyme, or from Dymas, son of Aegimius, I am not sure. No one, however, is likely to be embarrassed by the elegiac verses on the statue of Oebotas at Olympia. Oebotas was a man of Dyme who won a victory in the foot-race in the sixth Olympiad, and received the honour of a statue at Olympia in the eightieth Olympiad, in consequence of an oracle from Delphi. The inscription on the statue runs thus:—

7 This is Oebotas, son of Oenias, who by a victory in the race
Made his native Palea yet more famous among the Achaeans.

It need embarrass no one that in the inscription the town is called Palea, and not Dyme. For it is a Greek custom to introduce the older instead of the later names into poetry. Thus they call Amphiaraus and Adrastus Phoronids, and they style Theseus an Erechthid.

4. A little before you come to the city of Dyme is the grave of 8
Sostratus on the right of the road. He was a lad, a native of the
place: they say he was beloved by Hercules, and because he died
while Hercules was still among men, Hercules made the tomb for
him and offered him some of the hair of his head. To this day the
barrow is surmounted by a tombstone on which Hercules is repre-
sented in relief. It is said that the natives also offer sacrifice to
Sostratus as to a hero.

5. There is a temple of Athena at Dyme, and a most ancient 9
image of her. There is also a sanctuary of Mother Dindymene and
Attis. Who Attis was I could not discover, for it is a secret.
Hermesianax, the elegiac poet, says that Attis was a son of Calaus,
a Phrygian, and that he was a eunuch from his mother's womb.
When he grew up he migrated, according to Hermesianax, to Lydia,
and celebrated the orgies of the Mother for the Lydians, who honoured
him so highly that Zeus, incensed at him, sent a boar to ravage the
fields of the Lydians. Thereupon Attis and some of the Lydians were 10
slain by the boar, and in consequence of this the Galatians of Pessinus
abstain from swine. But the popular belief about Attis is different,
and they have a local story about him, how that Zeus in his sleep let
fall seed on the ground, and in course of time the earth produced a
demon with two genital organs, one of a man and one of a woman;
and this demon they name Agdistis. But the gods feared Agdistis,
and cut off his male organ of generation. From it sprang an 11
almond-tree with ripe fruit, and they say that a daughter of
the river Sangarius took of the fruit and put it in her bosom.
The fruit immediately vanished and she conceived. The male
child whom she bore was exposed, but a he-goat tended him. As
the boy grew in stature his beauty was more than human, and
Agdistis loved him. But when Attis was grown to man's estate,
his relations sent him to Pessinus to wed the king's daughter. As 12
the wedding song was being sung, Agdistis appeared, and Attis in a
fit of madness mutilated himself, and so did his father-in-law. But
Agdistis repented of what he had done to Attis, and he got Zeus to
grant that no part of Attis' body should moulder or decay. These
are the best-known stories about Attis.

6. In the territory of Dyme is also <the grave> of the runner 13
Oebotas. Though Oebotas was the first Achaean who won a victory
at Olympia he received no special honour from the Achaeans.
Therefore he prayed that no Achaean should win an Olympic victory
any more, and there must have been one of the gods who took care
that the curse of Oebotas should be fulfilled. But at last, by
sending to Delphi, the Achaeans learned why it was that they failed
to win the Olympic crown. So they dedicated the statue of Oebotas 14
at Olympia, and bestowed other marks of honour upon him; and
after they had done so, Sostratus of Pellene won a victory in the

boys' foot-race. To this day Achaeans who mean to compete at Olympia are wont to offer sacrifice to Oebotas as to a hero, and, if they are victorious, to place a wreath on his statue at Olympia.

XVIII

1. About forty furlongs beyond Dyme the river Pirus falls into the sea, and beside the Pirus once stood the Achaean city of Olenus. With the poets who have sung of Hercules and his deeds a favourite theme is Dexamenus, king of Olenus, and the reception he gave to Hercules. That Olenus was from the first a small town is proved by an elegy composed by Hermesianax on the Centaur Eurytion; and in course of time they say that the inhabitants, being a feeble folk, abandoned Olenus and migrated to Pirae and Euryteae.

2 2. About eighty furlongs from the river Pirus is the city of Patrae, and not far from the city the river Glaucus falls into the sea. The antiquaries of Patrae say that the first man who dwelt in the land was Eumelus, an aboriginal, and that he reigned over a few people. When Triptolemus came from Attica, he gave Eumelus seed to sow, and taught him to build a city, which Eumelus 3 named Aroe, because of the tilling of the soil. They say that once when Triptolemus had fallen asleep, Antheas, a son of Eumelus, yoked the dragons to the car of Triptolemus, and tried to sow the ground himself. But he fell off the chariot and was killed, and Triptolemus and Eumelus together founded a city, and called it Anthea after 4 Eumelus' son. A third city, Mesatis, was founded between Anthea and Aroe. 3. As to the stories which the people of Patrae tell about Dionysus, how he was brought up at Mesatis, and there ran all sorts of risks from the plots of the Titans, I will not contradict them, but will allow them to explain the name of Mesatis in their own way. 5 Afterwards when the Achaeans had expelled the Ionians, Patreus, son of Preugenes, son of Agenor, forbade the Achaeans to settle in Anthea and Mesatis, but at Aroe he built a wall of a wider circuit in order to include the town of Aroe within it, and he named the city Patrae after himself. 4. Now Agenor, the father of Preugenes, was a son of Areus, son of Ampyx, and Ampyx was a son of Pelias, who was a son of Aeginetes, who was a son of Derites, who was a son of Harpalus, who was a son of Amyclas, who was a son of 6 Lacedaemon. Such was the ancestry of Patreus. 5. In course of time the Patreans crossed over on their own account to Aetolia to help the Aetolians in their war with the Gauls: they took this step out of friendship for the Aetolians, and they were the only Achaeans who did so. But in consequence both of the unspeakable reverses which they sustained in the battles, and of the poverty by which most of them were oppressed, all but a few of the inhabitants abandoned Patrae, and dispersed up and down the country out of love for an

agricultural life. Besides Patrae, the towns they dwelt in were Mesatis, Anthea, Bolina, Argyra, and Arba. But Augustus, either 7
because he thought Patrae was a convenient place for vessels to touch at in passing, or for some other reason, brought back the people from the other towns to Patrae, and he incorporated with them the Achaeans of Rhypes, after razing that town to the ground. Of all the Achaeans he conferred freedom on the Patreans alone, and he further invested them with all the other privileges which are commonly accorded to a Roman colony.

6. In the acropolis of Patrae is a sanctuary of Artemis Laphria. 8
The name of the goddess is foreign, and her image also was brought from elsewhere. For when Calydon and the rest of Aetolia had been depopulated by the Emperor Augustus, the inhabitants being removed and settled at Nicopolis above Actium as part of the population of that new city, the Patreans got possession of the image of Laphria. Most of the images from Aetolia and Acarnania 9
were taken to Nicopolis by order of Augustus, but he gave to the Patreans some of the spoils of Calydon, including the image of Laphria, which in my time was still worshipped in the acropolis of Patrae. They say that the goddess was called by the surname of Laphria after a man of Phocis, the ancient image of Artemis having been set up at Calydon by Laphrius, son of Castalius, son of Delphus. But some say that the wrath of Artemis, which had been stirred by 10
Oeneus, in course of time pressed more lightly (*elaphroteron*) on the Calydonians, and they hold that this was the cause of the goddess's surname. The image represents the goddess hunting: it is of ivory and gold, the work of two Naupactians, Menaechmus and Soidas. They are supposed to have lived not much later than Canachus of Sicyon and Callon of Aegina. 7. Every year the 11
Patreans hold a festival called the Laphria in honour of Artemis, at which they have a peculiar mode of sacrifice. Round the altar in a circle they set up green logs of wood, each of them sixteen ells long, and inside this fence they pile the driest wood on the altar. When the time of the festival is at hand they construct a smooth ascent to the altar by heaping earth on the altar steps. The festival opens with 12
a most gorgeous procession in honour of Artemis, the rear being brought up by the virgin priestess riding on a car drawn by deer. The sacrifice, however, does not take place till the following day: it is not merely an affair of state, but a highly popular festival. For the people bring the edible kinds of birds and victims of every sort, and throw them alive on the altar; also wild boars, deer, and roe; others bring the cubs of wolves and bears, others the full-grown beasts. They also lay on the altar the fruit of cultivated trees. Next they set fire to the wood. I have seen a bear and other 13
beasts struggling to get out at the first burst of the flames, and some of them actually escaping by sheer strength. But the people who

threw them in drag them back again to the burning pile. They do not remember that any one was ever wounded by the beasts.

XIX

1. Between the temple of Laphria and the altar there is the tomb of Eurypylus. Who he was and why he came to the country I shall relate presently, but I must first explain the state of affairs at the time of his arrival. The Ionians who inhabited Aroe, Anthea, and Mesatis possessed in common a precinct and temple of Artemis surnamed Triclaria; and every year they celebrated a festival and vigils in her honour. The priesthood of the goddess was held by a virgin till it was time for her to be sent
2 away to a husband. 2. Well, they say that once on a time it happened that the priesthood of the goddess was held by a most lovely maid, Comaetho, and she had a lover Melanippus, the best and handsomest of his fellows. He, when he had won the maiden's love, asked her in marriage of her father. But somehow it is characteristic of old age to thwart the young, and especially to be deaf to the sighs of youthful lovers. So it fared with this loving pair: their mutual wishes met only with rebuffs from the
3 parents of both. Their sad story proves, what has been proved in many and many a case beside, that love will break the laws of men and trample on the worship of the gods. For they met in the sanctuary of Artemis and took their fill of love; and it was not the last time they were to turn the sanctuary into a wedding chamber. But straightway the wasting anger of Artemis fell upon the people; for the earth yielded no fruits, and strange distempers broke out and
4 swept many away. When at last they betook them to the oracle at Delphi, the Pythian priestess denounced the lovers, and a behest of the oracle ordained that they should be sacrificed to Artemis, and that every year the people should sacrifice to the goddess a youth and a maiden, the fairest of their sex. Therefore the river that runs by the sanctuary of Triclaria, and that was nameless before, received
5 the name of Amilichus ('the ruthless stream'). Piteous, indeed, was the fate of the innocent youths and maidens who perished on account of Melanippus and Comaetho, and piteous too the lot of their kinsfolk. But the lovers, I take it, were beyond the reach of sorrow; for to man, and to man alone, better is it than life itself to love and to be loved.

6 3. The way in which these human sacrifices came to an end is said to have been as follows. The people had previously received an oracle from Delphi to the effect that a strange king would come to their land bringing a strange demon with him, and would stop the sacrifice to Triclaria. Now, in the division of the spoils which took place among the Greeks after the taking of Ilium, Eurypylus, son of

Euaemon, received a chest, and in this chest was an image of Dionysus. The image, they say, was a work of Hephaestus, and it was a gift of Zeus to Dardanus. Two other stories are told about the chest: one is that 7
it was left behind by Aeneas in his flight; the other is that Cassandra threw it away that it might bring misfortune on the Greek who should find it. However that may be, Eurypylus opened the chest and saw the image, and no sooner did he see it than he went out of his mind, and mad he continued, with a few lucid intervals. In this condition he steered, not for Thessaly, but for the gulf and town of Cirrha, and thence he went up to Delphi and consulted the oracle about his malady. They say the oracle told him, wherever 8
he should find people offering a strange sacrifice, there to set down the chest and take up his abode. Well, the wind wafted his ships to the coast of Aroe, and landing he found a youth and maiden being haled to the altar of Triclaria. He easily perceived that this was the sacrifice referred to by the oracle, and the natives on their side were also reminded of *their* oracle when they saw a king whom they had never beheld before; and as for the chest, they shrewdly suspected there was some god in it. So the disorder of Eurypylus 9
and the local sacrifice came to an end together, and the river got its present name of Milichus ('the kindly stream'). Some writers, however, say that the hero of this tale was not the Thessalian Eurypylus, but another Eurypylus, son of Dexamenus, king of Olenus. They hold that this latter Eurypylus went with Hercules on his expedition to Ilium and received the chest from him. The rest of their story is the same. But I am sure Hercules knew all 10
about the chest, if it really was such a wonderful chest, and I do not believe that knowing about it he would ever have given it away to a comrade in arms. Besides, the Patreans have no recollection of any Eurypylus, except Eurypylus son of Euaemon; nay more, they sacrifice to him as a hero every year at the time when they celebrate the festival of Dionysus.

XX

1. The god in the chest is surnamed Aesymnetes ('president'). The persons who specially wait upon him are nine men, chosen by the people for their worth out of the whole population, and as many women. On one night during the festival the priest carries the chest outside; which is a distinction peculiar to this particular night. Moreover, a certain number of the native children go down to the Milichus, their heads wreathed with ears of corn. It was thus that they used in the olden days to deck the children whom they led to be sacrificed to Artemis. In our time they lay up the 2
wreaths of corn in the sanctuary of the goddess; and after bathing in the river, and putting wreaths of ivy on their heads, they go to the

sanctuary of Aesymnetes. Such are the ceremonies which they perform. 2. Within the enclosure of Laphria is a temple of Panachaean Athena: her image is of ivory and gold.

3 On the way to the lower city you come to a sanctuary of Mother Dindymene, in which Attis also is worshipped. No image of him is shown: the image of the Mother is of stone. In the market-place is a temple of Olympian Zeus: the god is represented seated on a throne, with Athena standing beside the throne. Over against the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus is an image of Hera and a sanctuary of Apollo. The image of Apollo is of bronze: it represents the god naked, but with sandals on his feet, and with one foot resting on the skull of an
4 ox. For that Apollo takes great delight in cattle is shown by Alcaeus in his hymn to Hermes, where he describes how Hermes stole the kine of Apollo. And before Alcaeus was born Homer had told how Apollo herded the kine of Laomedon for hire: in the *Iliad* he assigns to Poseidon the verses:—

5 Truly I built for the Trojans a wall round the city,
A wall broad and very beautiful, that the city might be impregnable;
But thou, Phoebus, didst tend the rolling, crumpled-horned kine.

This, we may conjecture, is the meaning of the ox skull. In the market-place there is an image of Athena in the open air, and in front of it is the grave of Patreus.

6 3. Adjoining the market-place is the Music Hall. Here there is an image of Apollo worth seeing: it was made from the spoils when the Patreans alone of the Achaeans helped the Aetolians against the Gallic host. This Music Hall is the grandest in Greece, except the one at Athens, which excels it both in size and in its whole style. The latter was erected by the Athenian Herodes in memory of his dead wife. In my book on Attica this Music Hall is not mentioned, because my description of Athens was finished before
7 Herodes began to build the hall. In the market-place of Patrae, at the exit adjoining the sanctuary of Apollo, there is a gate surmounted by gilded statues of Patreus, Preugenes, and Atherion: the two latter are represented as boys because Patreus is so also. 4. Facing the market-place, just at the way out of it, there is a
8 precinct of Artemis and a temple of the Lady of the Lake. When the Dorians were now in possession of Lacedaemon and Argos, it is said that Preugenes, in obedience to a dream, stole the image of the Lady of the Lake from Sparta, being assisted in the enterprise by the most devoted of his slaves. The image thus brought from Lacedaemon is generally kept at Mesoa, because that was the place to which Preugenes brought it originally. But when they celebrate the festival in honour of the Lady of the Lake, one of the slaves of the goddess fetches the ancient wooden image from Mesoa to the
9 precinct in the city. 5. <Adjoining> this precinct are other

sanctuaries: they do not stand open to the sky, and the entrance to them is through the colonnades. The image of Aesculapius is of stone, except the drapery: that of Athena is of ivory and gold. In front of the sanctuary of Athena is the tomb of Preugenes. They sacrifice to Preugenes yearly as to a hero, and also to Patreus at the time when they celebrate the festival of the Lady of the Lake. Not far from the theatre is a temple of Nemesis, and another of Aphrodite: the statues of both are of white marble and of colossal size.

XXI

1. In this part of the city there is also a sanctuary of Dionysus surnamed Calydonian, for the image of Dionysus also was brought from Calydon. While Calydon was still inhabited, among the Calydonians who were priests to the god there was one Coresus, than whom no man ever suffered so cruelly from love. He loved a girl Callirhoe, but the damsel's hatred of him was just as deep as was his love of her. When all his prayers and promises availed not to 2 shake her resolution, he betook himself as a suppliant to the image of Dionysus. The god hearkened to the prayer of his priest, and straightway the Calydonians went out of their minds as if with wine, and died raving. So they applied to the oracle at Dodona; for the people who inhabited that part of the continent, to wit, the Aetolians and their neighbours the Acarnanians and Epirots, thought that no oracles were so true as the oracles given by the doves and the oak-tree. At the time I speak 3 of the oracle of Dodona declared that the calamity was due to the wrath of Dionysus, and that there would be no deliverance from it until Coresus had sacrificed to Dionysus either Callirhoe herself, or some one who should dare to die for her. Finding no way of escape, the damsel sought refuge with those who had brought her up; but she got no protection from them, so there was nothing left for it but that she should be slain. When the preparations for the sacrifice 4 had been made as the oracle of Dodona had directed, the damsel was brought like a victim to the altar, and Coresus stood ready to offer the sacrifice; but, yielding to the impulse of love rather than of anger, he slew himself instead of her, thus giving proof of the most unfeigned affection that ever was heard of. But when Callirhoe saw 5 Coresus lying dead she repented, and, touched with pity for him and shame at her own treatment of him, she cut her throat at the spring which is in Calydon not far from the harbour, and which has been called Callirhoe after her ever since.

2. Near the theatre at Patrae is a precinct sacred to a 6 native woman. Here are images of Dionysus, one for each of the ancient towns after which they are named, their names being Mesateus, Antheus, and Aroeus. At the festival of Dionysus

these images are brought to the sanctuary of Aesymnetes, which stands on the right hand side of the street as you go from the
7 market-place towards the seaside quarter of the city. Going still lower down from the sanctuary of Aesymnetes, you come to another sanctuary with an image of stone. It is called the sanctuary of Safety, and is said to have been founded by Eurypylus after he had recovered from his madness.

3. Beside the harbour is a temple of Poseidon with a standing image of stone. Besides the names which poets have bestowed on Poseidon to trick out their verses, and the special local names which are given to him in various places, the following surnames are universally applied to him—Pelagaeus ('marine'), Asphalius
8 ('securer'), and Hippius ('of horses'). Various reasons might be given why Poseidon is called Hippius; for my part, I conjecture that he got the name as the inventor of horsemanship. Certainly Homer, in the description of the chariot-race, puts into the mouth of Menelaus a challenge to swear by this god:—

> Lay thy hand on the horses, and by the Earth-holding, Earth-shaking god
> Swear that thou didst not guilefully obstruct my car.

9 And Pamphos, who composed for the Athenians their most ancient hymns, says that Poseidon is

> Giver of horses and of ships with spread sails.

Thus he got the name of Hippius from horsemanship, and for no other reason.

10 4. At Patrae, not far from the sanctuary of Poseidon, are sanctuaries of Aphrodite. One of the two images was dragged up by some fishermen in their net a generation ago. Close to the harbour are two bronze images, one of Ares, and another of Apollo. The image of Aphrodite, who has a precinct beside the harbour also, is of wood, except the face, hands, and feet, which are of stone.
11 There is also a grove beside the sea: it has pleasant walks, and is altogether an agreeable place to while away the hours in summer time. In this grove there are also temples of the gods, one of Apollo, another of Aphrodite. Their images are of stone. Adjoining the grove is a sanctuary of Demeter: she and her daughter are represented standing; but the image of Earth is seated. 5. In front of
12 the sanctuary of Demeter is a spring. Between the spring and the temple is a stone wall, but on the outside there is a way down to the spring. Here there is an infallible mode of divination, not, however, for all matters, but only in cases of sickness. They tie a mirror to a fine cord, and let it down so far that it shall not plunge into the spring, but merely graze the surface of the water with its rim. Then after praying to the goddess and burning incense, they look into the

mirror, and it shows them the sick person either living or dead. So truthful is this water. 6. Very near Cyaneae, in Lycia, there is an 13
oracle of Apollo Thyrxeus, where in like manner the water will show to any one who looks into the spring whatever he wishes to see. Near the grove at Patrae there are also two sanctuaries of Serapis: in one of them is the tomb of Aegyptus, son of Belus. The Patreans say that he fled to Aroe partly because the tragic fate of his sons had made him shudder at the very name of Argos, and still more because he was in fear of Danaus. There is also a sanctuary of 14
Aesculapius at Patrae. It is above the acropolis, near the gate that leads to Mesatis.

7. The women of Patrae are twice as many as the men, and more charming women are nowhere to be seen. Most of them earn their livelihood by the fine flax that grows in Elis; for they weave it into nets for the hair and dresses.

XXII

1. Pharae, an Achaean city, belongs to Patrae, to which it was annexed by Augustus. The road from Patrae to Pharae is one hundred and fifty furlongs: the city lies about seventy furlongs inland from the sea. Near Pharae flows a river Pierus. I suppose it is the same river which flows past the ruins of Olenus, and is called Pirus by the people of the coast. Beside the river is a grove of plane-trees, most of which are hollow with age, and so big that people picnic in their hollow trunks, ay, and sleep there too if they have a mind. 2. The market-place at Pharae is spacious and in the old 2
style. In the middle of it is a stone image of Hermes with a beard: it stands on the ground, and is of the square shape, but of no great size. An inscription on it states that it was dedicated by Simylus, a Messenian. It is called the Market God, and beside it an oracle is established. In front of the image is a hearth made of stone, with bronze lamps clamped to it with lead. He who would 3
inquire of the god comes at evening and burns incense on the hearth, fills the lamps with oil, lights them, lays a coin of the country called a copper on the altar to the right of the image, and whispers his question, whatever it may be, into the ear of the god. Then he stops his ears and leaves the market-place; and when he is gone a little way outside, he takes his hands from his ears, and whatever words he hears he regards as an oracle. The Egyptians have a 4
similar mode of divination at the sanctuary of Apis. At Pharae there is also a sacred water: the spring is named the stream of Hermes, and they do not catch the fish in it because they esteem them sacred to the god. 3. Close to the image stand about thirty square stones: these the people of Pharae revere, giving to each stone the name of a god. In the olden time all the Greeks worshipped un-

5 wrought stones instead of images. About fifteen furlongs from the city there is a grove of the Dioscuri. The trees are mostly laurels: there is no temple in it, nor any images: the natives say that the images were taken to Rome. In the grove is an altar of unhewn stones. I could not ascertain whether the founder of Pharae was Phares, son of Phylodamia, daughter of Danaus, or some one else of the same name.

6 4. Tritia, another Achaean city, lies inland, but belongs to Patrae, to which it too was assigned by the emperor. It is a hundred and twenty furlongs from Pharae. Before you enter the city there is a tomb of white marble, which is worth seeing, especially for its paintings, which are by Nicias. An ivory chair is seen with a comely young woman seated on it: at her side stands a maid-
7 servant with a parasol. A young and beardless man stands erect, wearing a tunic with a purple robe over it: beside him is a servant with darts, who is leading some hunting dogs. I could not learn their names; but any one could guess that a husband and wife are
8 here buried together. 5. Some say that the founder of Tritia was Celbidas, who came from Cumae in the land of the Opici. Others say that Ares had connection with a virgin priestess of Athena, named Tritia, a daughter of Triton, and that from their union sprang Melanippus, who when he was grown up founded the city
9 and named it after his mother. 6. In Tritia there is a sanctuary of the Gods called Greatest. Their images are made of clay. Every year the people celebrate a festival in their honour, just like the festival that the Greeks hold in honour of Dionysus. There is also a temple of Athena: the present image is of stone; but the ancient image, the people of Tritia say, was carried to Rome. The people here are wont to sacrifice both to Ares and to Tritia.

10 7. These cities are at some distance from the sea, and are thoroughly inland. But sailing from Patrae to Aegium, the first cape you pass is named Rhium, fifty furlongs from Patrae. Fifteen furlongs from the cape is the harbour of Panormus, and from Panormus it is another fifteen to the so-called Fort of Athena. From the Fort of Athena it is a sail of ninety furlongs along the coast to the harbour of Erineus, and from Erineus to Aegium it is sixty furlongs. But the road by land is about forty furlongs shorter than
11 the route I have described. Not far from the city of Patrae is the river Milichus, and the sanctuary of the goddess Triclaria, which no longer contains an image. The sanctuary is on the right. Beyond the Milichus you come to another river named the Charadrus. The flocks and herds that drink of this river in spring usually bring forth males, and therefore the herdsmen remove them to another part of the country, all except the cows, which they leave at the river, because bulls are more suited than cows for sacrifices and for field labour; but in the case of other live stock the female is preferred.

XXIII

1. After the Charadrus there are some inconsiderable ruins of a city Argyra, and a spring Argyra on the right of the high road, and a river Selemnus descending to the sea. 2. The people of the district have a story about this Selemnus, how he was a blooming youth who fed his flocks here, and Argyra was a sea-nymph, who, smitten with love of Selemnus, used to come up from the sea to visit him and slept by his side. But soon his bloom had faded, and the 2
nymph would visit him no more. Thus left forlorn he died of love, and was turned by Aphrodite into a river. Such is the tale the Patreans tell. But even when turned into water he still loved Argyra (as the story goes that Alpheus still loves Arethusa), so Aphrodite granted him yet another boon by making the river forget Argyra. I have also heard say that the water of the Selemnus 3
is a cure for love in man and woman, for they wash in the river and forget their love. If there is any truth in this story, great riches are less precious to mankind than the water of the Selemnus. 3. Farther from Argyra is another river named the Bolinaeus, 4
beside which once stood a city Bolina. They say that Bolina was a maiden beloved of Apollo, but she fled and flung herself into the sea here, and was made immortal by the grace of Apollo. 4. Next a cape juts out into the sea, and a legend is told of the cape, that Cronus here flung into the sea the sickle with which he mutilated his father Sky; therefore they name the cape Drepanum ('sickle'). A little above the high road are the ruins of Rhypes.

Aegium is distant from Rhypes about thirty furlongs. 5. The 5
territory of Aegium is intersected by a river Phoenix, and also by another river Miganitas, both flowing into the sea. Near the city is a colonnade built for Strato, an athlete who at Olympia won the prizes for the pancratium and wrestling on the same day. This colonnade was built for him to exercise in. At Aegium there is an ancient sanctuary of Ilithyia. Her image is draped from head to foot in a robe of fine texture. It is all of wood, except the face, hands, and feet, which are of Pentelic marble. One hand is 6
stretched straight out, in the other she holds a torch. Torches may be supposed to be an attribute of Ilithyia, because the travail-pangs of women are like fire. Or their meaning may be that Ilithyia is she who brings children to light. The image is a work of Damophon the Messenian. 6. Not far from the sanctuary of 7
Ilithyia is a precinct of Aesculapius, with images of Health and Aesculapius. An iambic verse on the pedestal states that the sculptor was Damophon the Messenian. In this sanctuary of Aesculapius a man of Sidon entered into a discussion with me. He maintained that the Phoenicians had juster views of the divine nature

than the Greeks, and he instanced particularly the Phoenician legend that Aesculapius had Apollo for his father, but no mortal woman
8 for his mother. 'For Aesculapius,' said he, 'is the air, and as such is favourable to the health, not only of mankind, but of every living thing; and Apollo is the sun, and most rightly is he called the father of Aesculapius, since by ordering his course with due regard to the seasons he imparts to the air its wholesomeness.' 'Agreed,' cried I, 'but that is just what the Greeks say too. For at Titane, in the land of Sicyon, the same image is named both Health and Aesculapius, clearly because the sun's course over the earth is the source of health to mankind.'

9 7. At Aegium there is a temple of Athena and another of Hera. There are two images of Athena of white marble; but the image of Hera may be seen by nobody but the woman who happens to hold the priesthood. Beside the theatre there is a sanctuary of Dionysus, with an image representing the god beardless. There is also a precinct of Saviour Zeus in the market-place, with two images on the left as you enter. Both images are of bronze: the beardless
10 one seemed to me the older of the two. In a building facing the entrance there are other bronze images of Poseidon and Hercules, and of Zeus and Athena. They call them the gods from Argos. The Argives say the images are so called because they were made in Argos, but the people of Aegium say it is because the images were deposited
11 with them for safe keeping by the Argives. They say, too, that the Argives charged them to sacrifice every day to the images. So a happy thought struck them. They sacrificed a great, great many animals, but ate them all up at public festivals, so that the outlay on them amounted to nothing. And when at last the Argives reclaimed the images, they sent in a bill for the expenses of the sacrifices, and the Argives could not pay it, and so had to leave the images in their possession.

XXIV

1. Beside the market-place at Aegium there is a temple sacred to Apollo and Artemis jointly; and in the market-place is a sanctuary of Artemis, where she is represented shooting an arrow. In the market-place, too, is the grave of the herald Talthybius. At Sparta also there is a barrow to Talthybius, and both cities sacrifice
2 to him as to a hero. Beside the sea at Aegium is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and after it there is one of Poseidon, and one of the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, and a fourth sanctuary of Homagyrian Zeus, with images of Zeus and Aphrodite and Athena. 2. Zeus got the surname of Homagyrian ('assembler'), because on this spot Agamemnon assembled the chief men of Greece to consult how they should make war on the kingdom of Priam. It is one of

Agamemnon's titles to glory that he destroyed Ilium and its vassal towns with his original forces alone, without the help of any later reinforcements. Next to the sanctuary of Homagyrian Zeus is one 3
of Panachaean Demeter. The beach at Aegium on which are the aforesaid sanctuaries possesses a copious spring, the water of which is pleasant both to the eye and to the taste. There is also a sanctuary of Safety at Aegium: none but the priests are allowed to see her image. They also perform the following ceremony: they take from the sanctuary some cakes of the country and fling them into the sea, and they say that they send them to Arethusa at Syracuse. There 4
are other images at Aegium made of bronze: Zeus represented as a child, and Hercules also beardless, a work of Ageladas the Argive. Priests are chosen for them annually, and each of the two images remains in the house of the priest. In more ancient times the most beautiful boy was chosen to be priest to Zeus, but when his beard began to grow this meed of beauty was transferred to another boy. The Achaean diet still meets at Aegium, just as the Amphictyons meet at Thermopylae and at Delphi.

3. Going on you come to the river Selinus, and forty furlongs 5
from Aegium is a place Helice on the coast. 4. Here there used to be a city Helice, and here the Ionians had a most holy sanctuary of Heliconian Poseidon. Their reverence for that god has survived to the present day, in spite of their expulsion by the Achaeans and their migration first to Athens, and afterwards to the coast of Asia. At Miletus, on the way to the spring of Biblis, there is an altar of Heliconian Zeus in front of the city; and in Teos, too, the Heliconian god has an enclosure and an altar which are worth seeing. Homer also refers to Helice and Heliconian 6
Poseidon. 5. But in after time the Achaeans of Helice forced some suppliants from the sanctuary, and put them to death. The wrath of Poseidon did not tarry. The land was instantly visited by an earthquake, which swallowed up not only the buildings, but the very ground on which the city had stood. 6. Ominous signs, vouchsafed by 7
the god, foretell the approach of great and far-reaching earthquakes. The nature of the signs is generally the same. For earthquakes are preceded either by heavy and continuous rains or long droughts. The weather, too, is unseasonable. If it is winter, the weather is sultry: if it is summer, there is a haze, and the sun's disc appears of an unusual colour, slightly inclining either to red or dun. Springs of water mostly dry up. Sudden gusts sometimes 8
sweep across the country, blowing the trees down. At times, too, the sky is shot with sheets of flame. Stars are seen of an aspect never known before, and strike consternation into beholders. Moreover, a mighty murmur is heard of winds blowing underground. And many more signs there are whereby the god gives warning of the approach of violent earthquakes. The character of the 9

shock itself is not always the same. The original observers and persons instructed by them have been able to distinguish the following classes of earthquakes. The mildest form of earthquake —if so dire a calamity can be thought to admit of alleviation—is when the first shock, which levels the buildings with the ground, is counteracted by an opposite shock which raises up what the first had
10 knocked down. In this kind of earthquake you may see columns, which had been all but hurled from their bases, rising to the perpendicular, and walls which had cracked closing up again; and beams, which the shock had caused to slide out, return to their places; and similarly rifts made in conduits and water-channels are cemented better than they could have been by a craftsman. The second kind of earthquake destroys everything that is the least unsteady: whatever it strikes it instantly overthrows, as with the blow
11 of a battering-ram. The deadliest kind of earthquake is illustrated by the following comparison. In an unintermitting fever a man's breathing is quick and laboured, as is shown by symptoms at various points of the body, but especially at the wrists; and they say that in the same way the earthquake dives under buildings and upheaves their foundations, just as molehills are pushed up from the bowels of the earth. It is this kind of shock alone that leaves not a trace of
12 human habitation behind. They say that the earthquake at Helice was of this last kind, the kind that levels with the ground; and that, besides the earthquake, another disaster befell the doomed city in the winter-time. The sea advanced far over the land and submerged the whole of Helice, and in the grove of Poseidon the water was so deep that only the tops of the trees were visible. So what between the suddenness of the earthquake and the simultaneous rush of the sea, the billows sucked down Helice and every soul in the place. 7.
13 A like fate befell a city on Mount Sipylus: it disappeared into a chasm, and from the fissure in the mountain water gushed forth, and the chasm became a lake named Saloe. The ruins of the city could still be seen in the lake until the water of the torrent covered them up. The ruins of Helice are also visible, but not so clearly as before, for they have been eaten away by the brine.

XXV

1. The fate of Helice is one among many warnings that the wrath of the god who protects suppliants is not to be averted. The god at Dodona is also found recommending respect for suppliants. For about the time of Aphidas the following verses were sent to the Athenians by Zeus of Dodona:—

Mark well the Areopagus and the smoking altars
Of the Eumenides, where the Lacedaemonians shall supplicate thee

When they are sore bestead in war. Slay them not with the steel,
Nor wrong the suppliants. For suppliants are sacred and holy.

These words were remembered by the Greeks when the Pelo- 2
ponnesians came against Athens in the reign of Codrus, son of Melanthus. When the Peloponnesians heard of the death of Codrus and the manner of it, their army retreated out of Attica, for the Delphic oracle left them no longer any hope of victory. But in the night some Lacedaemonians had made their way unobserved within the walls, and when at daybreak they perceived that their friends were gone, and that the Athenians were mustering to attack them, they fled for refuge to the Areopagus and to the altars of the goddesses called Venerable. On that occasion the Athenians suffered the 3
suppliants to depart unharmed; but in after time, when Cylon and his faction had seized the Acropolis, the magistrates of Athens themselves despatched the suppliants of Athena. So the slayers and their descendants were deemed to be accursed of the goddess. The Lacedaemonians also slew men who had taken refuge in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Taenarum; and not long afterwards their city was shaken by so prolonged and severe an earthquake, that not a house in Lacedaemon stood the shock. 2. The destruction of 4
Helice took place when Astius was archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the hundred and first Olympiad, in which Damon of Thurii was victorious for the first time. As none of the inhabitants survived, the territory now belongs to Aegium.

3. After Helice you will turn up from the sea to the right and 5
come to a town Cerynea. It is built on a mountain, above the high road, and gets its name either from a native prince or from the river Cerynites which, issuing from Arcadia and Mount Cerynea, flows through this part of Achaia. To this district of Achaia came some settlers from Argolis, driven by stress of fortune. For though 6
the walls of Mycenae, built like those of Tiryns by the Cyclopes, could not be stormed by the Argives, provisions gave out, and the inhabitants were forced to abandon the city. Some of them withdrew to Cleonae, and more than half betook themselves to Macedonia, where they placed themselves under the protection of Alexander, the man whom Mardonius, son of Gobryas, had entrusted with his message to the Athenians. The rest of the people came to Cerynea, which, by their accession, grew in numbers and in fame.
4. In Cerynea there is a sanctuary of the Eumenides, said 7
to have been founded by Orestes. They say that if any blood-stained wretch, or any other defiled or impious person, enters the sanctuary to see what there is to be seen, he is straightway driven out of his wits with terror; and for that reason people are not admitted to the sanctuary indiscriminately. The images are made of wood . . . they are not very large. At the entrance of the

sanctuary are some fine statues of women made of stone: they were said by the natives to be portraits of the women who had been priestesses of the Eumenides.

8 5. Returning from Cerynea to the high road, and proceeding a little way along it, we turn off a second time from the sea to the right in order to reach Bura. The town stands on a mountain. They say it got its name from a woman, Bura, whose father was Ion, son of Xuthus, and whose mother was Helice. When the god blotted out Helice from among men, Bura also was overtaken by a severe earthquake which spared not even the ancient images in the 9 sanctuaries. Such of the people as chanced at the time to be away at the wars or on other business were the only survivors, and they rebuilt Bura. There is here a temple of Demeter, another of Aphrodite and Dionysus, and another of Ilithyia. The images are of Pentelic marble, and are works of Euclides, an Athenian. The image of Demeter is clothed. There is also a sanctuary of Isis.

10 6. Having descended from Bura in the direction of the sea, we come to a river named Buraicus and to a small image of Hercules in a grotto. This image is also surnamed Buraicus, and there is a mode of divination by means of dice and a tablet. The person who inquires of the god prays before the image, and after praying he takes four dice and throws them on the table. There are plenty of dice lying beside the image. Each die has a certain figure marked on it, and the meaning of each figure is explained on the tablet.

11 7. The straight road from Helice to the Hercules is about thirty furlongs. Going on from the Hercules you come to the mouth of a river which comes down from a mountain in Arcadia, and never dries up. The river is called the Crathis, and Crathis, too, is the name of the mountain in which are its springs. From this Crathis the river 12 beside Crotona in Italy got its name. On the bank of the Achaean Crathis once stood the city of Aegae: they say that in course of time it was deserted by its inhabitants, because they were a feeble folk. Aegae is mentioned by Homer in Hera's speech:—

> They bring thee gifts to Helice and Aegae,

where it is plainly assumed that Poseidon was equally revered at 13 Helice and Aegae. Not far from the Crathis is a tomb on the right of the road: you will find on the tombstone a faded painting of a man standing beside a horse. 8. From this grave it is about thirty furlongs to the Gaeus, as it is called, which is a sanctuary of Earth (*Ge*), who here bears the surname of Broadbosomed. The wooden image is very old. The woman who from time to time holds the priesthood, is bound from her entry on office to remain chaste, and previously she must not have known more than one man. The women are proved by drinking bull's blood; and the ordeal brings down instant retribution on her who is not speaking the truth. If

several women claim the priesthood, the one on whom the lot falls is preferred.

XXVI

1. From the Hercules which stands on the road to Bura it is a distance of seventy-two furlongs to the port of Aegira. The port is also called Aegira. There is nothing remarkable in the port-town. The upper city is twelve furlongs off. 2. In Homer the city is named 2
Hyperesia: its present name dates from the Ionian settlement. The origin of the name was this. A hostile army of Sicyonians was about to invade their land, and the people deemed themselves no match for the foe. So they got together all the goats in the country and tied torches to their horns, and when the night was late they set fire to the torches. The Sicyonians, fancying that allies were 3
marching to the help of the Hyperesians, and that the blaze was the light of their fires, returned home, and the Hyperesians called their city by its present name, after the goats (*aiges*); and where the handsomest goat, that led the rest, crouched down, there they made a sanctuary of Huntress Artemis. For they thought that she must have suggested to them the stratagem which they had employed against the Sicyonians. But no doubt the name Aegira did not 4
oust the old name Hyperesia all at once: even in my time some people still called Oreus in Euboea by its old name of Hestiaea. 3. Among the notable things in Aegira is a sanctuary of Zeus, with a seated image of Pentelic marble, a work of Euclides, an Athenian. In this sanctuary there stands also an image of Athena. The face, hands, and feet of the image are of ivory: the rest is of wood adorned with gilding and colours. There is also a temple of Artemis, with an image in the style of art of the present day. The 5
priesthood is held by a virgin till she attains a marriageable age. Here, too, stands an ancient image: the inhabitants say it represents Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon. If they are right, the temple must clearly have been made originally for Iphigenia. There is also a sanctuary of Apollo, which, with the sculptures in 6
the gables, is exceedingly ancient. The wooden image of the god is also ancient: the god is represented naked and of colossal size. None of the natives could tell the sculptor's name; but any one who has seen the image of Hercules at Sicyon would infer that the Apollo at Aegira is a work of the same artist, Laphaes the Phliasian. There are standing images of Aesculapius in a temple, 7
and elsewhere there are images of Serapis and Isis, also of Pentelic marble. They pay the highest reverence to the Heavenly Goddess, but people are not allowed to enter her sanctuary. Into the sanctuary of the goddess whom they surname Syrian people enter on stated days, but before doing so they must observe certain rules of purity, especially as to diet. I observed also 8

in Aegira a building in which was an image of Fortune bearing the horn of Amalthea. Beside her is a winged Love, signifying that even success in love is determined by fortune rather than by beauty. For my part I assent to Pindar's ode, especially to his view that Fortune is one of the Fates, and is stronger than
9 her sisters. In this building at Aegira there are also figures representing an old man in an attitude of lamentation, three women taking off their bracelets, as many young men, and a man clad in a corselet. They say that in a war in which the Achaeans were engaged this man fought more bravely than all the other men of Aegira, and was killed. His remaining brothers brought home the tidings of his death, and that is why his sisters, in mourning for him, are doffing their trinkets, and the figure of his father is called Sympathes by the natives, because the very statue has a melancholy air.

10 4. From Aegira a straight and steep road leads from the sanctuary of Zeus through the mountains to Phelloe, a distance of forty furlongs. Phelloe is an obscure town, which was not always inhabited even when the Ionians still dwelt in the land. The country round about Phelloe is well adapted for the cultivation of the vine; where the soil is stony, it is clothed with oak woods,
11 the haunt of deer and wild boars. No town in Greece is more abundantly supplied with flowing water than Phelloe. There are sanctuaries of Dionysus and Artemis. The image of the latter is of bronze, and represents the goddess taking a shaft from her quiver: the image of Dionysus is painted vermilion. If we go down from Aegira to the port and walk on as before, we see on the right of the road the sanctuary of the Huntress, where they say the goat crouched down.

12 5. The territory of Aegira borders on that of Pellene, which is the farthest town of Achaia in the direction of Sicyon and Argolis. According to the people of Pellene the name of their city was derived from Pallas, one of the Titans; but the Argives opine that the name comes from an Argive man named Pellen, who was a son of
13 Phorbas, who was a son of Triopas. 6. Between Aegira and Pellene there used to be a town called Donussa: it was subject to the Sicyonians, who destroyed it. They say that it was mentioned by Homer in the list of the host that followed Agamemnon: the verse ran thus:—

And the men of Hyperesia and steep Donoessa.

But they allege that when Pisistratus collected the scattered verses of Homer which were preserved, some here, some there, in oral tradition, he or one of his associates changed the name in ignorance.
14 7. *Aristonautae is the port of Pellene.* It is one hundred and twenty furlongs from the port of Aegira, and half that distance

from Pellene. They say that the port got its name of Aristonautae ('best sailors') because the Argonauts anchored in the harbour.

XXVII

1. The city of Pellene stands on a hill which rises at the summit into a sharp point. The top is precipitous and therefore uninhabited: the city is built on the lower slope, and is not continuous, but is divided into two parts by the peak which rises between them. On the road to Pellene there is an image of Hermes by the wayside: he bears the surname of Wily, and is ready to accomplish the prayers of men: the image is square and bearded, and has a cap on his head. At 2 the entrance into the city is a temple of Athena built of native stone. The image is of ivory and gold: they say that it was made by Phidias before he made the images of Athena in the Acropolis of Athens and at Plataea. The people of Pellene also say that there is a shrine of Athena running down deep into the earth under the pedestal of the image, and that the air from this shrine is damp, and therefore good for the ivory. Above the temple 3 of Athena is a grove surrounded by a wall: it is sacred to Artemis, surnamed Saviour: the most solemn oath of the people is by her. No man is allowed to enter the grove save the priests, and they are natives, chosen chiefly on the ground of their high birth. Opposite to the grove of the Saviour is a sanctuary of Dionysus, surnamed Torch: they hold a festival of torches in his honour, when they bring firebrands by night into the sanctuary, and set bowls of wine up and down the whole city. There is also at 4 Pellene a sanctuary of Apollo, God of Strangers (*Theoxenios*): his image is made of bronze. They hold games called Theoxenia in his honour: prizes of money are offered to the victors: the competitors are natives. Near the sanctuary of Apollo is a temple of Artemis: the goddess is represented shooting an arrow. A tank is built in the market-place, and the rain-water is used by the people for washing: their drinking-water is supplied by a few springs below the city. The place where the springs are they name Glyceae. 2. There is an old gymnasium which is chiefly 5 devoted to the exercises of the lads: no one can be enrolled as a citizen who has not been on the register of the lads. Here stands a statue of a native of the town, Promachus, son of Dryon, who won prizes in the pancratium, one at Olympia, three at the Isthmus, and two at Nemea. The people of Pellene caused two statues of him to be made: one they set up at Olympia, and the other in the gymnasium: the latter is of stone, not bronze. It is said 6 that in a war between Pellene and Corinth, Promachus made a great slaughter of the enemy. It is also said that he vanquished Puly-

damas of Scotusa at Olympia, on the occasion when Pulydamas, after his return home from the court of the Persian king, appeared for the second time at the Olympian games. The Thessalians, however, do not admit that Pulydamas was beaten, and amongst other evidence they adduce a verse about Pulydamas:—

Scotoessa, nurse of unconquered Pulydamas.

7 However that may be, the people of Pellene hold Promachus in the highest honour. But as for Chaeron, who won two prizes for wrestling . . . and four at Olympia, they will not so much as name him, I presume because he abolished the free constitution of Pellene; for Alexander, son of Philip, had bestowed on him the most invidious of all favours, in raising him up to be tyrant of his native land.
8 There is also a sanctuary of Ilithyia at Pellene, situated in the lesser division of the city. 3. What they call the Posidium was of old a township, but at present it is uninhabited. It is below the gymnasium, and to this day it continues to be deemed sacred to Poseidon.
9 About sixty furlongs from Pellene is the Mysaeum, a sanctuary of Mysian Demeter. They say that it was founded by Mysius, an Argive. According to the Argives, Mysius was one of those who received Demeter in his house. In the Mysaeum is a grove: trees of all kinds grow in it, and water wells up in plenty from springs.
10 Here they keep a seven days' festival in honour of Demeter. On the third day of the festival the men withdraw from the sanctuary, but the women stay behind and perform by night the rites which custom prescribes. Not only the men, but even dogs of the male sex are turned out of the sanctuary. Next day the men come to the sanctuary, and the women laugh and jeer at them, and they
11 at the women. 4. Not far from the Mysaeum is a sanctuary of Aesculapius: it is called Cyrus, and cures are here effected by the god. Here, too, there is water in abundance, and at the largest of the springs there stands the image of Aesculapius. Rivers descend from the mountains above Pellene. The one in the direction of Aegira is called the Crius: it is said to be named
12 after Crius, a Titan. Crius is also the name of a river which rises in Mount Sipylus, and flows into the Hermus. On the borders of Pellene and Sicyon is a river Sythas: it is the last river in Achaia, and falls into the Sicyonian Sea.

BOOK EIGHTH

ARCADIA

I

1. THE part of Arcadia that borders on Argolis is occupied by the Tegeans and Mantineans. They and the rest of the Arcadians inhabit the interior of Peloponnese. The first people in Peloponnese are the Corinthians, who dwell on the Isthmus: their neighbours on the sea-coast are the Epidaurians. Along Epidaurus, Troezen, and Hermion, and the coast of Argolis, stretches the Argolic Gulf. Next to Argolis is the land which is held by the vassals of Lacedaemon. Bordering on it is Messenia, which comes down to the coast at Mothone, Pylus, and Cyparissiae. On the 2
side of Lechaeum the Corinthian territory is bounded by that of Sicyon, which forms the farthest point of Argolis in this direction. After Sicyon come the Achaeans on the sea-coast; and the other end of Peloponnese, opposite to the Echinadian islands, is inhabited by the Eleans. The land of Elis toward Olympia and the mouth of the Alpheus is bordered by Messenia; and on the side of Achaia it marches with the territory of Dyme. All these districts 3
extend to the coast, but the Arcadians inhabit the interior, being shut off from the sea on every side; hence Homer says that they came to Troy in vessels which they had borrowed from Agamemnon, not in ships of their own.

2. The Arcadians say that Pelasgus was the first man who lived 4
in this land. But it is probable that there were other people with Pelasgus, and that he did not live alone; for otherwise what people could he have ruled over? In stature, valour, and beauty, however, he was pre-eminent, and in judgment he surpassed all his fellows; and that, I suppose, was why he was chosen king by them. The poet Asius says of him :—

> Godlike Pelasgus on the wooded hills
> The black earth bore, that mortal men might live.

When Pelasgus became king he contrived huts, in order that men 5

should not shiver with cold, nor be drenched by rain, nor faint with heat. He also devised shirts made of pig-skins, such as poor folk still wear in Euboea and Phocis. It was he, too, who weaned men from the custom of eating green leaves, grasses, and roots, of which
6 none were edible, and some were even poisonous. On the other hand, he introduced as food the fruit of oak-trees, not of all oaks, but only the acorns of the *phegos* oak. Since his time some of the people have adhered so closely to this diet that even the Pythian priestess, in forbidding the Lacedaemonians to touch the land of the Arcadians, spoke the following verses :—

> There are many acorn-eating men in Arcadia
> Who will prevent you ; though I do not grudge it you.

They say that in the reign of Pelasgus the country was named Pelasgia.

II

1. Pelasgus' son Lycaon outdid his father in the ingenuity of the schemes he projected. For he built a city Lycosura on Mount Lycaeus, he gave to Zeus the surname of Lycaean, and he founded the Lycaean games. I maintain that the Panathenian games at Athens were not founded before the Lycaean games. For the Panathenian games used to be called the Athenian games ; and the name Panathenian is said to have been given them in the time of Theseus, because they were then celebrated by the whole
2 Athenian people gathered into a single city. I here leave the Olympic games out of account, because they are traced back to a period earlier than the origin of man, the legend being, that Cronus and Zeus wrestled at Olympia, and that the first who ran there were the Curetes. In my opinion Lycaon was contemporary with Cecrops, king of Athens, but the two were not equally sage in the matter
3 of religion. For Cecrops was the first who gave to Zeus the surname of Supreme, and he refused to sacrifice anything that had life ; but he burned on the altar the national cakes which the Athenians to this day call *pelanoi*. Whereas Lycaon brought a human babe to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, and sacrificed it, and poured out the blood on the altar ; and they say that immedi-
4 ately after the sacrifice he was turned into a wolf. For my own part I believe the tale : it has been handed down among the Arcadians from antiquity, and probability is in its favour. 2. For the men of that time, by reason of their righteousness and piety, were guests of the gods, and sat with them at table ; the gods openly visited the good with honour, and the bad with their displeasure. Indeed men were raised to the rank of gods in those days, and are worshipped down to the present time. Such were

Aristaeus, and the Cretan damsel Britomartis; and Hercules, the son of Alcmena; and Amphiaraus, son of Oicles; and, moreover, Pollux and Castor. So we may well believe that Lycaon was turned into a 5
wild beast, and Niobe, daughter of Tantalus, into a stone. But in the present age, when wickedness is growing to such a height, and spreading over every land and every city, men are changed into gods no more, save in the hollow rhetoric which flattery addresses to power; and the wrath of the gods at the wicked is reserved for a distant future when they shall have gone hence. 3. In the long course 6
of the ages, many events in the past and not a few in the present have been brought into general discredit by persons who build a superstructure of falsehood on a foundation of truth. For example, they say that from the time of Lycaon downwards a man has always been turned into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean Zeus, but that the transformation is not for life; for if, while he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, in the ninth year afterwards he changes back into a man, but if he has tasted human flesh he remains a beast for ever. In 7
like manner they say that Niobe on Mount Sipylus sheds tears in summer. I have also been told that the griffins are spotted like the pards, and that the Tritons speak with a human voice, though others say they blow through a pierced shell. Lovers of the marvellous are too prone to heighten the marvels they hear tell of by adding touches of their own; and thus they debase truth by alloying it with fiction.

III

1. In the second generation after Pelasgus, both the cities and the population of the country grew in number. For while Nyctimus, the eldest son of Lycaon, had the whole power in his hands, the other sons founded cities where they chose. Thus Pallas founded Pallantium, Orestheus founded Oresthasium, and Phigalus founded Phigalia. Pallantium is mentioned by Stesichorus of Himera in his 2
Geryoneid: Phigalia and Oresthasium afterwards changed their names, the latter being called Oresteum after Orestes, son of Agamemnon, and the former Phialia after Phialus, son of Bucolion. Trapezeus, Daseatas, Macareus, Helisson, Acacus, and Thocnus also founded cities. Thocnus founded Thocnia, and Acacus founded Acacesium. According to the Arcadians, it was from the name of this Acacus that Homer made a surname of Hermes. Helisson gave his name 3
both to the city and to the river of Helisson. Similarly Macaria, Dasea, and Trapezus were called after the sons of Lycaon. Orchomenus became the founder both of Methydrium and of Orchomenus, which latter place Homer calls 'rich in sheep.' By Hypsus and . . . were founded Melaeneae and Hypsus, also Thyraeum and Haemoniae; and the Arcadians believe that Thyrea

in Argolis and the Thyrean gulf got their names from this
4 Thyraeus. Maenalus founded Maenalus, which was of old the most renowned city in Arcadia; and Tegeates and Mantineus founded Tegea and Mantinea. Cromi was named after Cromus, and Charisia was founded by Charisius; Tricoloni was called after Tricolonus, Peraethenses after Peraethus, Asea after Aseatas, and . . . Lycoa and Sumatia after Sumateus. Alipherus and Heraeus
5 also gave their names to cities. 2. But Oenotrus, the youngest son of Lycaon, asked goods and men from his brother Nyctimus, and crossed in ships to Italy, and became king of the country which was called Oenotria after him. This was the first expedition that set out from Greece to found a colony; and, on a careful reckoning, it will appear that neither were there any of the barbarians that migrated to a foreign land before Oenotrus.

6 3. Besides all this family of sons, Lycaon had a daughter Callisto. This Callisto (I merely repeat the common Greek story) was loved by Zeus, who had an intrigue with her. When Hera found it out she turned Callisto into a bear, and Artemis, to please Hera, shot the bear down. Zeus sent Hermes with orders to save the
7 child whom Callisto bore in her womb; and Callisto herself he changed into the stars known as the Great Bear, which Homer mentions in the return voyage of Ulysses from Calypso:—

> Watching the Pleiades and late-setting Bootes,
> And the Bear, which also they call the Wain.

But perhaps these stars are so called merely out of compliment to Callisto, for the Arcadians point out her grave.

IV

1. When Nyctimus died, Arcas, son of Callisto, reigned in his stead. He introduced the cultivation of corn, which he learned from Triptolemus, and taught the people to bake bread, to weave garments, and to spin wool, which last art he acquired from Adristas. After his reign the country was called Arcadia instead of Pelasgia,
2 and the people Arcadians instead of Pelasgians. 2. They say he mated, not with a mortal woman, but with a Dryad nymph. For some nymphs were called Dryads and Epimeliads, and others Naiads, and Homer mostly mentions the Naiads. This particular nymph was called Erato, and they say that she bore Azas, Aphidas, and Elatus to Arcas, who had previously had a bastard son Autolaus.
3 When his sons grew up, Arcas divided the country between them into three portions. The district of Azania was named after Azas; and they say that the people in Phrygia who dwell about the cave called Steunos and the river Pencalas, are a colony from Azania. Tegea and the adjoining country fell to the lot of Aphidas; hence poets

speak of Tegea as 'the lot of Aphidas.' 3. Elatus got Mount Cyllene, 4
which was then nameless; but afterwards he migrated to the country
now known as Phocis. There he helped the Phocians, who were
hard put to it by the Phlegyans in war, and he founded the city of
Elatea. They say that Azas had a son Clitor, that Aphidas had a
son Aleus, and that Elatus had five sons, to wit, Aepytus, Pereus,
Cyllen, Ischys, and Stymphalus. On the death of Azas, son of 5
Arcas, games were held for the first time; at least there was a
horse-race: whether there were other contests or not I do not
know. Clitor, son of Azas, dwelt in Lycosura: he was the most
powerful of the kings, and founded the city of Clitor, naming it
after himself. Aleus possessed his father's portion. Of the sons of 6
Elatus, Cyllen gave his name to Mount Cyllene; and Stymphalus
gave his name to the spring and to the city of Stymphalus, which is
beside the spring. The story of the death of Ischys, son of Elatus,
has been already told by me in the section on Argolis. Pereus, they
say, had no male issue, but he had a daughter Neaera. She married
Autolycus, who dwelt on Mount Parnassus, and was reputed to be a
son of Hermes, though in truth his father was Daedalion.

4. Clitor, son of Azas, had no children, so the kingdom of 7
Arcadia devolved on Aepytus, son of Elatus. He, having gone out
a-hunting, was killed, not by any of the more powerful beasts, but by
a *seps*, which he had not noticed. I have myself seen this species
of snake. It is like a very small adder, is ash-coloured, and spotted
irregularly: its head is flat, neck thin, belly large, tail short. Like
the crested snake, it moves with a sidelong motion, crab-fashion.

5. Aepytus was succeeded by Aleus. For whereas Agamedes 8
and Gortys, sons of Stymphalus, were great-grandsons of Arcas,
Aleus, son of Aphidas, was his grandson. Aleus built the old
sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, which he made the seat of his
kingdom. Gortys, son of Stymphalus, founded the city of Gortys on
a river which also bears the name Gortynius. 6. Aleus had three
sons, Lycurgus, Aphidamas, and Cepheus, and a daughter Auge.
This Auge, according to Hecataeus, had an intrigue with Hercules 9
when the latter came to Tegea. At last it was discovered that
she had had a child by Hercules; so her father put her and
the child into a chest and threw it into the sea. She arrived
at the court of Teuthras, a prince in the valley of the Caicus,
who fell in love with and married her. Her tomb is still to be seen
at Pergamus on the Caicus: it is a mound of earth enclosed by a
stone basement, and surmounted by a bronze figure of a naked
woman.

7. After the death of Aleus the kingdom passed by right of 10
birth to his eldest son Lycurgus, of whom it is recorded that he
treacherously murdered a foeman named Areithous. Of his sons
Ancaeus and Epochus, the latter fell sick and died, but Ancaeus

sailed with Jason to Colchis: afterwards, in despatching the Calydonian boar with Meleager, he was killed by the beast. So Lycurgus lived to a great age, and saw both his sons die before him.

V

1. When Lycurgus died, Echemus, son of Aeropus, son of Cepheus, son of Aleus, became sovereign of Arcadia. In his time the Dorians, in attempting to return to Peloponnese under the leadership of Hyllus, son of Hercules, were defeated in battle by the Achaeans at the Isthmus of Corinth, and Hyllus was slain in single combat by Echemus, whom he had challenged. This appears to me a more probable account than the one I gave formerly. I said, namely, that Orestes was king of Achaia at the time, and that it was in his reign that Hyllus attempted to return to Peloponnese. Adopting this second version, it would appear that Timandra, daughter of Tyndareus, married Echemus, who slew Hyllus.

2 2. Agapenor, son of Ancaeus, son of Lycurgus, reigned after Echemus, and led the Arcadians to Troy. After the taking of Ilium, the storm that overtook the Greeks on their homeward voyage carried Agapenor and the Arcadian fleet to Cyprus, where Agapenor founded Paphos, and built the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Old Paphos: up to that time the goddess had been worshipped by the 3 Cyprians in a place called Golgi. Afterwards Laodice, a descendant of Agapenor, sent a robe to Athena Alea at Tegea: the inscription on the offering indicated at the same time Laodice's own descent:—

> This is the robe of Laodice: she dedicated it to her Athena,
> Sending it to her broad fatherland from holy Cyprus.

4 3. As Agapenor did not come home from Ilium, the kingdom devolved on Hippothus, son of Cercyon, son of Agamedes, son of Stymphalus. They say that his life was marked by no particular event except that he set up his kingdom, not at Tegea, but at Trapezus. He was succeeded by his son Aepytus; and Orestes, son of Agamemnon, in obedience to an oracle given by Apollo at 5 Delphi, migrated from Mycenae to Arcadia. Having dared to enter the sanctuary of Poseidon at Mantinea, entrance to which was then and is still forbidden, Aepytus was struck blind, and died not long afterwards.

6 4. He was succeeded by his son Cypselus, in whose reign the Dorian host came back to Peloponnese. This time they came, not by the Isthmus of Corinth, as they had done three generations before, but in ships to Rhium. Learning of their arrival, Cypselus gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Aristomachus whom he found to be still unprovided with a wife, and by thus attaching Cresphontes to his interests secured himself and the Arcadians from all

risk. 5. Cypselus had a son Holaeas, who, along with the Hera- 7
clids of Lacedaemon and Argos, restored his sister's son, Aepytus, to Messene. Holaeas was the father of Bucolion, who was the father of Phialus, who deprived Phigalus, son of Lycaon, of his honour as founder of Phigalia, by giving to that city the new name of Phialia, after himself; however, the new name did not gain exclusive currency. In the reign of Simus, son of Phialus, the 8
ancient wooden image of Black Demeter at Phigalia was destroyed by fire; which, as it turned out, was an omen that Simus himself was soon to die. Pompus having succeeded Simus on the throne, the Aeginetans made trading voyages to Cyllene, and thence carried their wares up the country on the backs of beasts to Arcadia. For this service Pompus honoured them greatly, and bestowed on his son the name of Aeginetes, to mark his friendship for them. 6. Aeginetes was succeeded on the throne of Arcadia by his son, 9
Polymestor, in whose reign the Lacedaemonians, under Charillus, first invaded the territory of Tegea. The Tegeans, women as well as men, donned their armour, and defeated the Lacedaemonians, taking prisoner Charillus and the whole of his army. I shall have to make more mention of Charillus and his army in my account of Tegea.

Polymestor, being childless, was succeeded by his nephew, 10
Aechmis, son of Briacas; for Briacas was another son of Aeginetes, but younger than Polymestor. 7. After Aechmis had come to the throne the Lacedaemonians became involved in the war with Messenia. From the first the Arcadians had been friendly to the Messenians, and they now openly fought on the side of Aristodemus, king of Messenia, against the Lacedaemonians. 8.
Aechmis' son, Aristocrates, perhaps perpetrated outrages upon 11
the Arcadians; but certainly toward the gods he was guilty of the most impious sacrilege, as I shall now relate. There is a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Hymnia, which stands on the boundaries of Orchomenus, near the territory of Mantinea. From time immemorial all the Arcadians have worshipped Artemis Hymnia. At the time of which I speak the rule still obtained that the priesthood of the goddess must be held by a young virgin. Aristocrates essayed to seduce the girl, and being 12
always rebuffed by her he at last violated her in the sanctuary of Artemis, where she had taken refuge. When the crime was noised abroad, the Arcadians stoned him to death, and from that time the custom was altered; for, instead of a virgin, they now appoint as priestess of Artemis a woman who has had enough of the company of men. 9. Aristocrates had a son Hicetas, and Hicetas 13
had a son who bore the same name as his ancestor, Aristocrates, and came to a like end; for he, too, was stoned to death by the Arcadians, who found that he had accepted bribes from Lacedaemon,

and that the defeat of the Messenians at the Great Trench had been due to his treachery. By this crime the whole race of Cypselus forfeited the kingdom.

VI

1. Such is the genealogy of the kings of Arcadia as I ascertained it by careful inquiry from the Arcadians. Of the memorable events which concerned the Arcadians as a nation the most ancient was the Trojan war, and the next was the help they gave to the Messenians in fighting the Lacedaemonians. They also
2 shared in the battle of Plataea against the Medes. On compulsion rather than from choice they marched with the Lacedaemonians against Athens, and crossed the sea to Asia with Agesilaus; they also followed the Lacedaemonians to Leuctra, in Boeotia. But on more than one occasion they evinced their distrust of the Lacedaemonians; in particular, after the defeat of the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra they immediately passed over to the Theban side. If they did not fight on the Greek side against Philip and his Macedonians at Chaeronea, nor afterwards against Antipater in Thessaly, at least they did not take the field against their countrymen.
3 They say that they were hindered by the Lacedaemonians from hazarding themselves against the Gauls at Thermopylae; for they feared that in the absence of their fighting men the Lacedaemonians might ravage their land. They were the warmest of all the adherents of the Achaean League. The histories of each separate city, as distinguished from the history of the nation, must be reserved for their appropriate places.

4 2. There is a pass into Arcadia from Argolis by Hysiae and over Mount Parthenius, debouching in the territory of Tegea; and there are two other passes debouching in the territory of Mantinea, one through Prinus, as it is called, the other through the Ladder. The latter is the wider pass, and steps were formerly made in it to facilitate the descent. Having crossed over the Ladder we reach a place named Melangea, from which the drinking-water comes
5 down to Mantinea. Farther on, about seven furlongs from Mantinea, you come to a fountain called the fountain of the Meliasts: these Meliasts here celebrate the orgies of Dionysus. Beside the fountain is a hall of Dionysus, and a sanctuary of Black Aphrodite. The goddess is so surnamed simply because men mostly indulge in sexual intercourse by night, instead of, like the
6 beasts, by day. The other road is narrower than the one I have described, and leads over Artemisius. I mentioned before that on this mountain there is a temple of Artemis with an image of her, and that on the mountain are the springs of the Inachus. So far as the Inachus flows beside the road over the mountain it forms the

boundary between Argolis and the territory of Mantinea; but from the point where it leaves the road it flows through Argolis; hence Aeschylus and others call the Inachus an Argive river.

VII

1. After you have crossed into Mantinean territory, over Mount Artemisius, you will find yourself in a plain called the Fallow Plain, and fallow it is, for the rain-water, pouring down into it from the mountains, renders tillage impossible; indeed, it must infallibly have been a lake if it were not that the water disappears into a chasm in the ground. Here it vanishes to rise 2
again at Dine. 2. Dine is at Genethlium, as it is called, in Argolis, and it is a spring of fresh water rising out of the sea. Of old the Argives threw horses, bitted and bridled, into Dine in honour of Poseidon. Fresh water rising in the sea may be seen here in Argolis, and also at the place called Chimerium in Thesprotis. 3. Still 3
more wonderful is the boiling water in the Maeander, which springs partly from a rock surrounded by the stream, and partly from the slime of the river. Off Dicaearchia, which belongs to the Etruscans, there is boiling water in the sea, and an island has been constructed artificially, that the water may be utilised for warm baths.

4. On the left of the Fallow Plain is a mountain, in Mantinean 4
territory, on which are remains of an encampment of Philip, son of Amyntas, and of a village called Nestane. For they say that Philip encamped at this village of Nestane, and they still name the spring there after him Philip's spring. Philip came to Arcadia in order to attach the Arcadians to his interests, and to detach them from the Greek cause. Now, though the achievements of Philip may be 5
thought to be greater than those of any king of Macedonia before or after him, no right-thinking man would call him a good general; for he always trampled on oaths, violated treaties on every opportunity, and broke faith more shamefully than any other human being. However, the wrath of God did not tarry, but overtook 6
him with unparalleled speed. For after a life of not more than six-and-forty years he fulfilled the Delphic oracle, which was given him, they say, when he inquired of the god with regard to the Persians:—

> The bull is crowned, 'tis ready, and the sacrificer is provided.

It soon appeared that this referred, not to the Medes, but to Philip himself. 5. After his death Olympias killed Philip's infant 7
son, together with his mother Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, by dragging them over a bronze vessel filled with fire; and afterwards she killed Aridaeus also. But the deity, as it turned out, was going to mow down the race of Cassander also. Cassander had sons by

Thessalonice, daughter of Philip, and the mothers of Thessalonice and Aridaeus were both Thessalian women. The fate of Alexander
8 is known to all. But if Philip had paid heed to the story of Glaucus, the Spartan, and had remembered in all his actions the verse :—

But the family of a man who keeps his oath fares better hereafter,

I do not believe that one of the gods would so ruthlessly have quenched at a blow the life of Alexander and the glory of Macedonia. But this has been a digression.

VIII

1. After the ruins of Nestane there is a holy sanctuary of Demeter, and the Mantineans celebrate a festival every year in her honour. Just under the village of Nestane lies a portion of the Fallow Plain called the Dancing-ground of Maera. The Fallow Plain measures ten furlongs across. 2. Passing over a slight eminence you will descend into another plain where there is a
2 fountain called Arne ('lamb') beside the high road. The Arcadians tell the following story :—When Rhea had brought forth Poseidon, she put him down in the midst of a flock, there to live with the lambs, and the spring got its name because the lambs browsed round about it; but she said to Cronus that she had been delivered of a horse, and she gave him a foal to swallow instead of the child, just as afterwards she gave him a stone wrapt in swaddling clothes
3 instead of Zeus. When I began this work I used to look on these Greek stories as little better than foolishness; but now that I have got as far as Arcadia my opinion about them is this: I believe that the Greeks who were accounted wise spoke of old in riddles, and not straight out; and, accordingly, I conjecture that this story about Cronus is a bit of Greek philosophy. In matters of religion I will follow tradition.

4 3. The city of Mantinea is just about twelve furlongs from this spring. Now Mantineus, son of Lycaon, is known to have founded the city on a different site, which the Arcadians to this day still name <Ptolis ('city')>. But Antinoe, daughter of Cepheus, son of Aleus, in obedience to an oracle, removed the population to the present site, following the guidance of a snake (the kind of snake is not recorded). Therefore the river that flows by the present city
5 got the name of Ophis ('snake'). If I may judge from Homer's lines, I should say that the snake was a dragon. For while in the catalogue of the ships, where he tells how the Greeks left Philoctetes in Lemnos suffering from the wound, he does not call the water-serpent a snake; on the other hand, he does call the dragon which

the eagle let fall among the Trojans a snake. Thus the probability is that Antinoe's guide was also a dragon.

4. The Mantineans did not take part with the rest of the 6
Arcadians in the battle of Dipaea against the Lacedaemonians, but in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians they sided with the Eleans against the Lacedaemonians, and receiving reinforcements from Athens they fought against the Lacedaemonians; they also shared in the Sicilian expedition out of friendship for Athens. 5. Afterwards a Lacedaemonian army under King Agesi- 7
polis, son of Pausanias, invaded the territory of Mantinea. Having gained a victory and shut up the Mantineans within their walls, Agesipolis soon took the city, not by force of arms, but by diverting the river Ophis, and turning it upon the walls, which were built of unburnt bricks. Now bricks afford greater security than stone walls 8
against the shock of siege engines, because stones break and are forced out of their places; but while bricks suffer less from siege engines, on the other hand they are dissolved by water as readily as wax is melted by the sun. The idea of employing this stratagem 9
against the walls of Mantinea did not originate with Agesipolis: it had been struck out by Cimon, son of Miltiades, when he was besieging Eion on the Strymon, which was held by a Persian garrison under Boges the Mede. Thus Agesipolis only copied an established and celebrated precedent. On taking Mantinea he allowed a small part of it to remain inhabited, but the greater part he razed to the ground and dispersed the population into villages. 6. After the 10
battle of Leuctra the people were brought back from the villages to the metropolis by the Thebans. But after their restoration they did not behave quite honestly: it was discovered that they were treating with the Lacedaemonians and negotiating a separate peace without reference to the Arcadian confederacy, so for fear of the Thebans they openly espoused the Lacedaemonian alliance, and at the battle of Mantinea, where the Lacedaemonians engaged the Thebans under Epaminondas, the Mantineans were ranged on the Lacedaemonian side. Afterwards, however, they quarrelled with the 11
Lacedaemonians, deserted them, and joined the Achaean League. In the defence of their territory they, with the help of an Achaean army under the command of Aratus, defeated the Spartan king Agis, son of Eudamidas. They also fought on the side of the Achaeans against Cleomenes, and helped them to humble the Lacedaemonian power. Antigonus, regent of Macedonia for the youthful Philip, the father of Perseus, was a warm friend of the Achaeans; so the Mantineans bestowed various marks of honour upon him, and in particular they changed the name of their city to Antigonea. Afterwards when 12
Augustus was about to engage in the sea-fight at the cape of Actian Apollo, the Mantineans fought on the Roman side, while the rest of the Arcadians were ranged on the side of Antony for no

other reason, it seems to me, than that the Lacedaemonians sided with Augustus. Ten generations later the Emperor Hadrian took from the Mantineans the name they had borrowed from Macedonia, and restored to the city its old name of Mantinea.

IX

'1. At Mantinea there is a double temple, divided just about the middle by a partition wall. In one division of the temple is an image of Aesculapius, a work of Alcamenes: the other division is sacred to Latona and her children. The images in the latter were wrought by Praxiteles two generations after Alcamenes. On the pedestal of these images are represented the Muses and Marsyas; 2 the latter is playing on the flute. Here there is a likeness of Polybius, son of Lycortas, wrought in relief on a slab. I will make mention of Polybius again in the sequel. There are other sanctuaries at Mantinea, including one of Saviour Zeus, and another of Zeus surnamed Bountiful, because he gives freely good gifts to men. There is also a sanctuary of the Dioscuri, and elsewhere one of Demeter and the Maid. Here they keep a fire burning, taking 3 heed that it does not go out. And I saw a temple of Hera beside the theatre: the images are by Praxiteles, and represent the goddess seated on a throne with Athena and Hebe, daughter of Hera, standing beside her. 2. Beside the altar of Hera is the grave of Arcas, son of Callisto. They fetched his bones from Maenalus in consequence of an oracle which they received from Delphi:—

4 Bleak is Maenalia, where Arcas lies
Who gave his name to all Arcadians.
He lies where three and four, yea, five roads meet.
Thither I bid thee go and kindly raise
And bring him downward to the lovely town,
And there make images and a precinct and sacrifices to Arcas.

And the place where the grave of Arcas is they call the altars of the 5 Sun. Not far from the theatre are famous tombs: one is of a round form, and is called the Common Hearth: they said that Antinoe, daughter of Cepheus, lies there. On the other tomb is a slab with the figure of a horseman carved in relief: it is 6 Grylus, son of Xenophon. 3. Behind the theatre are ruins of a temple of Aphrodite surnamed Alliance: her image also remains, and the inscription on the base sets forth that the image was dedicated by Nicippe, daughter of Paseas. This sanctuary was built by the Mantineans to commemorate the sea-fight at Actium, in which they fought on the side of the Romans. They also worship Athena Alea, and they have a sanctuary and image of her. 7 4. Antinous is esteemed by them a god, and his temple is the

newest at Mantinea. The Emperor Hadrian was exceedingly attached to him. I never saw him in life, but I have seen statues and paintings of him. An Egyptian city on the Nile is named after Antinous, and he receives homage in other places. The reason why he is honoured in Mantinea is this. Antinous was a native of Bithynium, on the river Sangarius, and the Bithynians are descended from Arcadians of Mantinea. Therefore the 8
Emperor established his worship in Mantinea also, and mysteries are celebrated in his honour every year, and games every fourth year. In the gymnasium at Mantinea there is a chamber containing images of Antinous: it is worth seeing for the stones with which it is adorned as well as for its paintings, most of which represent Antinous, generally in the likeness of Dionysus. Here, too, is a copy of the picture of the Athenians at the battle of Mantinea, the original of which is in the Ceramicus. 5. In the market-place of 9
Mantinea is a bronze statue of a woman, whom the Mantineans call Diomenia, daughter of Arcas, and there is a shrine of the hero Podares: they say that he fell in the battle against Epaminondas and the Thebans. But three generations before my time they changed the inscription on the grave so as to make it apply to a descendant and namesake of Podares, who lived late enough to enjoy Roman citizenship. But in my time it was the elder Podares 10
whom the Mantineans honoured: they declare that the bravest man in the battle, of all the Mantineans and their allies, was Grylus, son of Xenophon, and next to Grylus was Cephisodorus of Marathon, who commanded the Athenian cavalry on that day; but the third place in respect of valour they assign to Podares.

X

1. Roads lead from Mantinea to the rest of Arcadia: I will describe the things that are most worth seeing on each of them. On the left of the high road as you go to Tegea there is a place for horse-races beside the walls of Mantinea, and not far from it is a stadium, where they hold the games in honour of Antinous. 2. Above the stadium rises Mount Alesius, so called, they say, on account of the wanderings (*alē*) of Rhea: on the mountain there is a grove of Demeter. At the skirts of the mountain is the sanctuary of Horse Poseidon, 2
not more than <six> furlongs from Mantinea. This sanctuary I, like all who have made mention of it, can only describe from hearsay. The present sanctuary was built by the Emperor Hadrian. He set overseers over the workmen that no man might look into the ancient sanctuary, and that none of its ruins might be removed, and he commanded them to build a wall round the new temple. This sanctuary of Poseidon is said to have been originally built by Agamedes and Trophonius out of oak logs which they fashioned

3 and fitted together. To keep people out they put up no barrier in front of the entrance, but merely stretched a woollen thread across it, perhaps because they thought that the pious folk of those days would stand in awe even of a thread; but may be there was some virtue in the thread. Even Aepytus, son of Hippothus, is known neither to have leapt over the thread nor crept under it, but to have cut it through, and so made his way into the sanctuary; but for his impiety a wave passed over his eyes, quenching their sight, and he
4 immediately expired. 3. There is an ancient legend that a wave of the sea appears in this sanctuary. The Athenians tell a similar story of the wave on the Acropolis, and the Carians who dwell in Mylasa tell a like tale of the sanctuary of the god whom in their own tongue they call Osogoa. Now the sea at Phalerum is just twenty furlongs distant from Athens; and similarly at Mylasa the port is eighty furlongs from the city. But Mantinea is farther than either of them from the sea; therefore in ascending so far the sea shows forth most manifestly the will of the god.

5 4. Over against the sanctuary of Poseidon is a trophy built of stone to commemorate a victory over Agis and the Lacedaemonians. The manner of the fight is said to have been this. On the right were the Mantineans themselves, young and old, commanded by Podares, a grandson of the Podares who fought against the Thebans. With them, too, was an Elean soothsayer, Thrasybulus, son of Aeneas, one of the Iamids: he prophesied victory to the Mantineans, and
6 himself took part in the battle. On the left were arrayed all the rest of the Arcadian forces, each city under its own captains, the Megalopolitans being commanded by Lydiades and Leocydes. The centre was entrusted to Aratus, with his Sicyonians and Achaeans. The Lacedaemonians, under Agis, extended their line in order to make it equal to that of the enemy: Agis and his staff were in the
7 centre. Now by a preconcerted arrangement with the Arcadians, Aratus and his troops fell slowly back, as if hard pushed by the Lacedaemonians; but in falling back they quietly adopted a crescent formation. Flushed with hopes of victory, Agis and the Lacedaemonians, in close order, pressed upon Aratus and his men more fiercely than ever, and they were soon followed by their wings, who thought it a mighty fine thing to put Aratus and his army to flight.
8 But before they were aware the Arcadians were in their rear, and thus being surrounded the Lacedaemonians lost most of their army, and amongst the fallen was King Agis, son of Eudamidas. The Mantineans averred that Poseidon himself was seen fighting on their side, and therefore they set up a trophy and dedicated it to him.
9 The poets who took for their theme the woes of the heroes at Ilium, have described how gods are present at fights and carnage; and the Athenians tell in song how gods fought on their side at Marathon and Salamis; and most plainly of all did the host of the Gauls

perish at Delphi by the hand of the god and the visible interposition of demons. Thus it follows that Poseidon had a hand in the victory of the Mantineans. Leocydes, who with Lydiades commanded 10
the Megalopolitans at the battle, is said to have had a descendant named Arcesilaus in the eighth generation. The Arcadians say that this Arcesilaus, dwelling at Lycosura, beheld the sacred deer of the Mistress (as they call her); the deer was old and frail, and on its neck there was a collar, and on the collar were these words:—

I was caught as a fawn when Agapenor was at Ilium.

This story shows that a deer is a longer lived animal by far than even an elephant.

XI

1. After the sanctuary of Poseidon you will pass into a place called Pelagus ('sea'), which is full of oaks, and the road from Mantinea to Tegea leads through the oak wood. The boundary between the Tegean and Mantinean territory is at the circular altar on the high road. 2. But if you will turn aside to the left from the sanctuary of Poseidon, after just about five furlongs you come to the graves of the daughters of Pelias. The Mantineans say that the daughters of Pelias came to dwell among them to escape the scandal of their father's death. For when Medea came 2
to Iolcus, she immediately began to plot against Pelias, acting in concert with Jason, though she pretended to be at enmity with him. She promised the daughters of Pelias that if they liked she would make their old father young again. And having killed an aged ram somehow or other, she boiled its flesh in a kettle with drugs, by virtue of which she brought a living lamb out of the kettle. So she 3
got Pelias into her hands to cut him up and boil him, but when his daughters received him back there was not enough of him left to bury. This compelled his daughters to migrate to Arcadia, and here, when they died, mounds were heaped up to mark their tombs. No poet that I ever read mentions their names, but Micon the painter wrote the names Asteropea and Antinoe on their pictures. 3. There is 4
a place named Phoezon about twenty furlongs distant from these graves. Phoezon is a tomb enclosed by a basement of stone and rising but little above the ground. At this point the road grows very narrow, and they say that the tomb is that of Areithous, surnamed Corynetes ('club-man') on account of his weapon.

If you go about thirty furlongs along the road that leads from 5
Mantinea to Pallantium you will come to a point where the high road skirts the oak wood of Pelagus. It was here that the cavalry fight took place between the Athenian and Mantinean horse on the one side, and the Boeotian on the other. 4. The

Mantineans say that Epaminondas was killed by Machaerion, a Mantinean; but the Lacedaemonians allege that it was a Spartan who slew him, though they agree with the Mantineans that his name
6 was Machaerion. The Athenian story, in which the Thebans themselves concur, is that Epaminondas was wounded by Grylus, and so the scene is represented in their picture of the battle of Mantinea. Moreover, it is known that the Mantineans gave Grylus a public burial, and set up a monument with his likeness on it at the spot were he fell, because he was the bravest man in the whole allied army. On the other hand, though the name of Machaerion is on the lips both of Mantineans and of Lacedaemonians, no person of that name has ever received any substantial marks of honour for
7 valour either at Sparta or Mantinea. When Epaminondas received his wound they carried him out of the line of battle. He was still in life. He suffered much, but with his hand pressed on his wound he kept looking hard at the fight, and the place from which he watched it was afterwards named Scope ('the look'). But when the combat ended indecisively, he took his hand from the wound and breathed his last, and they buried him on the battlefield. 5.
8 On his grave stands a pillar bearing a shield on which is wrought in relief a dragon. The dragon is meant to signify that Epaminondas was of the race called the Sparti. On the tomb are two slabs: one of them is old, and has a Boeotian inscription; the other was set up by
9 the Emperor Hadrian, who composed the inscription on it. Of the famous captains of Greece, Epaminondas may well rank as the first, or at least as second to none. For whereas the Lacedaemonian and Athenian generals were seconded by the ancient glories of their countries as well as by soldiers of a temper to match, Epaminondas found his countrymen disheartened and submissive to foreign dictation; yet he soon raised them to the highest place.

10 6. Epaminondas had been warned before by an oracle from Delphi to beware of Pelagus ('sea'). He therefore feared to go aboard a galley or to sail in a merchantman; but it turned out that Providence meant by Pelagus the oak wood of that name, and not the real sea. Similarly Hannibal was afterwards deceived by the identity of names of different places, just as the Athenians had been
11 deceived at an earlier time. For Hannibal was told by the oracle of Ammon that in death he would be covered with Libyan earth. So he hoped to destroy the Empire of Rome, to return home to Libya, and to die of old age at last. But when Flamininus, the Roman, bestirred himself to take him alive, Hannibal threw himself on the protection of Prusias, but being repelled by him he leaped on his horse, and in doing so he wounded his finger with his naked sword. He had not gone many furlongs till the wound produced a fever, and on the third day he died; now the place where he
12 died is called Libyssa by the Nicomedians. Again, the Athenians

received an oracle from Dodona bidding them to colonise Sicily; now this Sicily is a small hill not far from Athens. But they, not understanding the meaning, were lured into foreign campaigns, especially into the Syracusan war. More such instances might be found.

XII

1. From the grave of Epaminondas it is just about a furlong to a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Charmon. The oaks in the oak forests of Arcadia are of different kinds; some they call 'broad-leaved,' and others *phegoi*. The bark of a third sort is so spongy and light that they make floats of it for anchors and nets at sea. Some Ionians, for example Hermesianax, the elegiac poet, name the bark of this oak *phellos* (cork).

From Mantinea a road leads to Methydrium, which is no longer 2
a city, but merely a village belonging to Megalopolis. 2. Thirty furlongs along the road you come to a plain called Alcimedon, and above the plain rises Mount Ostracina, where there is a grotto in which dwelt Alcimedon, one of the heroes as they are called. His 3
daughter Phialo, so say the Phigalians, was seduced by Hercules. But when Alcimedon discovered that she had borne a child, he turned her out on the mountain to perish, with the boy whom she had borne; his name, say the Arcadians, was Aechmagoras. The forsaken babe wept aloud, and a jay heard him wailing and mimicked his cries. Now, it chanced that Hercules, coming that way, heard 4
the jay, and thinking that the weeping was the weeping of a child and not of a bird, he made straight for the voice, and recognising Phialo, he loosed her from her bonds, and brought back the child safe. From that time the neighbouring spring has been named Cissa ('jay') after the bird 3. Forty furlongs distant from the spring is a place called Petrosaca, which forms the boundary between Megalopolis and Mantinea.

Besides the roads I have enumerated there are two that lead to 5
Orchomenus. On one of them there is what is called the stadium of Ladas, where Ladas practised running: beside it is a sanctuary of Artemis, and on the right of the road is a lofty mound of earth, which they say is the grave of Penelope. But herein they differ from the poem called the *Thesprotis*. For in that poem it is said 6
that Ulysses, after his return from Troy, had a son Ptoliporthes by Penelope. But the Mantinean story about Penelope is that Ulysses found her guilty of having brought danglers into the house; so he turned her out of doors; and she went first to Lacedaemon, but afterwards she migrated from Sparta to Mantinea, where she died. 4. Adjoining this grave is a small plain, and in the plain is a moun- 7
tain on which still stand the ruins of old Mantinea: the place is now called Ptolis ('city'). Going on a short way to the north you

come to the spring of Alalcomenia. Thirty furlongs from Ptolis are the ruins of a village called Maera <and a grave of Maera>, if indeed Maera was buried here, and not in Tegean territory. But probably the Tegeans, and not the Mantineans, are right in asserting that Maera, daughter of Atlas, was buried in their land. Perhaps, however, another Maera, a descendant of the Maera who was daughter of Atlas, may have come to the land of Mantinea.

8 5. I have still to describe the road to Orchomenus, on which is Mount Anchisia and the tomb of Anchises at the foot of the mountain. For when Aeneas was sailing to Sicily he landed in Laconia, and founded the cities of Aphrodisias and Etis; and his father Anchises, for some reason or other, came to this place, and there died and Aeneas buried him there; and this mountain is called
9 Anchisia after Anchises. The credibility of this story is increased by the fact that the Aeolians, who in our day inhabit Ilium, do not point out the tomb of Anchises anywhere in their land. Beside the grave of Anchises are ruins of a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and the boundary between Mantinea and Orchomenus lies at Anchisiae.

XIII

1. In the territory of Orchomenus, to the left of the road that leads from Anchisiae, there stands on the slope of the mountain the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnia. The Mantineans also share in it . . . . a priestess and a priest. They are bound to observe rules of purity, not only in sexual, but in all matters, during the whole course of their lives; and neither their washings nor their ways of life in general are like those of common folk, nor do they enter the house of a private man. I know that the *histiatores* ('entertainers') of Ephesian Artemis observe similar rules for a year, but not more, and they are called Essenes by the citizens. An annual festival is also held in honour of Artemis Hymnia.

2 2. The former city of Orchomenus stood on the very top of a mountain, and remains of the market-place and of walls are still to be seen; but the present inhabited city is lower down than the circuit of the ancient walls. Here there is a spring worth seeing, from which they draw water, and there are sanctuaries of Poseidon and Aphrodite: the images are of stone. Close to the city is a wooden image of Artemis: it stands in a great cedar, and hence they name her the
3 Cedar Goddess. Down from the city are cairns standing at intervals: they were heaped over men who fell in war. But with what Arcadian or Peloponnesian people the war was waged there is no inscription on the graves to tell, nor do the Orchomenians themselves remember.

4 3. Opposite the city is Mount Trachy. The rain-water, flowing through a deep gully between the city and Mount Trachy, falls into

another plain in the territory of Orchomenus. This plain is spacious, but most of it is a mere. As you go from Orchomenus the road divides after about three furlongs: the straight road leads to the city of Caphya, running by the edge of the gully, and afterwards skirting the water of the mere on the left. The other road crosses the stream that flows through the gully, and then leads by the foot of Mount Trachy. 4. On this road there is first the tomb of 5
Aristocrates who once violated the virgin priestess of the goddess Hymnia. After the grave of Aristocrates there are springs called Teneae, and distant about seven furlongs from the springs is a place Amilus, which, they say, was once a city. 5. At this place again the road branches into two: one leads to Stymphalus, the other to Pheneus. On the road to Pheneus you will come to a mountain, 6
where the boundaries of Orchomenus, Pheneus, and Caphya meet. Above the spot where the boundaries meet rises a lofty crag: they name it the Caphyatic rock. After you have passed the boundaries of the said cantons there is a ravine down below, and the road to Pheneus runs through it. Just about the middle of the ravine a spring of water wells up, and at the end of the ravine is a place Caryae.

XIV

1. The plain of Pheneus lies under Caryae: they say that once on a time the water rose and flooded the old city of Pheneus; and to this day there remain on the mountains certain marks to which, they say, the water rose. Five furlongs from Caryae is Mount Oryxis, and another mountain, Sciathis. Under each of these mountains is a chasm which receives the water from the plain. 2. The people of Pheneus say that these chasms are artificial, having 2
been made by Hercules when he dwelt at Pheneus with Laonome, mother of Amphitryo; for they say that Amphitryo was the son of Alcaeus by Laonome, a woman of Pheneus, daughter of Guneus, and not by Lysidice, daughter of Pelops. If Hercules did really go to live at Pheneus, we may suppose that after his expulsion by Eurystheus from Tiryns he went to Pheneus before going to Thebes. 3. Through the middle of the Pheneatian plain Hercules dug a bed 3
for the river Olbius, which some of the Arcadians call Aroanius instead of Olbius. The length of the channel is fifty furlongs, and the depth, where the banks have not fallen in, is as much as thirty feet. However, the river no longer flows this way, for it returned to its old bed, deserting the canal dug by Hercules.

4. About fifty furlongs from the chasms in the aforesaid moun- 4
tains is the city of Pheneus. The inhabitants say that it was founded by one Pheneus, an aboriginal. The acropolis is precipitous on all sides, mostly by nature, but in a few places, for the sake of security,

it has been strengthened artificially. Here in the acropolis is a temple of Athena surnamed Tritonia, but only ruins of it remain. 5 And there stands a bronze statue of Poseidon, surnamed the Horse God, which they said was dedicated by Ulysses. The story is that Ulysses lost his mares, and went up and down Greece in search of them, till at last he founded here a sanctuary of Artemis, and named her the Horse-finder, on the spot in the territory of Pheneus where he found the mares; furthermore, 6 he dedicated the image of Horse Poseidon. They say that after finding his mares Ulysses was minded to keep horses in the land of Pheneus, just as he bred oxen on the mainland over against Ithaca; and the people of Pheneus pointed out to me an inscription on the pedestal of the image, which purported to be an order by Ulysses to 7 the herdsmen who herded the mares. 5. Now, though the rest of the Pheneatian story may be probably accepted, I cannot believe that Ulysses dedicated the bronze image. For in those days they did not yet know how to make bronze images in a single piece as they might weave a garment. Their mode of making bronze images has been already explained by me in the description of the 8 image of Supreme Zeus in the section on Sparta. The first men who fused bronze and cast images were two Samians, Rhoecus, son of Philaeus, and Theodorus, son of Telecles. Another work of Theodorus was the emerald signet which Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, wore so much and prized exceedingly.

9 6. Descending from the acropolis of Pheneus you come to a stadium, and to the tomb of Iphicles, brother of Hercules and father of Iolaus. The tomb stands on a hill. The Greeks say that Iolaus shared most of the labours of Hercules; and in the first battle which Hercules fought against Augeas and the Eleans, Iphicles, father of Iolaus, was wounded by the sons of Actor, who were named after their mother Moline. His friends carried him fainting to Pheneus. There a man of Pheneus, called Buphagus, and his wife Promne tended 10 him well, and when he died of his hurt they buried him. To Iphicles they still offer sacrifices as to a hero. 7. But the god whom the people of Pheneus most revere is Hermes, and they hold games called Hermaea: they have also a temple of Hermes and a stone image of him, which was made by an Athenian, Euchir, son of Eubulides. Behind the temple is the grave of Myrtilus. This Myrtilus is said by the Greeks to have been a son of Hermes and charioteer to Oenomaus. When any one came a-wooing the daughter of Oenomaus, Myrtilus used skilfully to drive the chariot of Oenomaus, who, whenever he drew near the wooer in the race, used to shoot him 11 down. Myrtilus himself was in love with Hippodamia, but not daring to attempt the contest he submitted and acted as charioteer to Oenomaus. But they say that at last he turned traitor to Oenomaus, seduced by a promise made to him on oath by Pelops

that he would allow Myrtilus to enjoy Hippodamia's company for one night. But when he reminded Pelops of his oath, Pelops pitched him overboard; and the Pheneatians say that his corpse, being washed ashore by the waves, was by them taken up and buried, and every year they sacrifice by night to him as to a hero. 8. But it is 12 clear that Pelops did not make a long coasting voyage, but only sailed from the mouths of the Alpheus to the port of Elis. Therefore the Myrtoan Sea, which begins at Euboea and extends past the desert isle of Helene to the Aegean Sea, plainly cannot be named after Myrtilus, son of Hermes. I am inclined to agree with the Euboean antiquaries, who hold that the Myrtoan Sea got its name from a woman called Myrto.

XV

1. The Pheneatians have also a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Eleusinian, and they celebrated mysteries in her honour, alleging that rites identical with those performed at Eleusis were instituted in their land; for Naus, they say, a grandson of Eumolpus, came to their country in obedience to an oracle from Delphi. Beside the sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddess is what is called the Petroma, two great stones fitted to each other. Every second year, when they 2 are celebrating what they call the Greater Mysteries, they open these stones, and taking out of them certain writings which bear on the mysteries, they read them in the hearing of the initiated, and put them back in their place that same night. I know, too, that on the weightiest matters most of the Pheneatians swear by the Petroma. There is a round top on it, which contains a mask of Demeter 3 Cidaria: this mask the priest puts on his face at the Greater Mysteries, and smites the Underground Folk with rods. I suppose there is some legend to account for the custom. The Pheneatians have a legend that Demeter came thither on her wanderings even before Naus; and that to those of the Pheneatians who welcomed her hospitably she gave all the different kinds of pulse except beans. They have a sacred story about the bean to show why they think it 4 an unclean kind of pulse. The men who received the goddess, according to the Pheneatian legend, were Trisaules and Damithales: they built a temple of Demeter Thesmia ('goddess of laws') under Mount Cyllene, and instituted in her honour the mysteries which they still celebrate. This temple of Thesmia is just about fifteen furlongs from the city.

2. Going along the road that leads from Pheneus to Pellene and 5 Aegira in Achaia you come, after about fifteen furlongs, to a temple of Pythian Apollo: nothing is left of it but ruins and a great altar of white marble. Here the Pheneatians still sacrifice to Apollo and Artemis, and they say that the sanctuary was founded by Hercules

after he had conquered Elis. 3. Here, too, are tombs of heroes who marched with Hercules against the Eleans, but after the battle
6 returned home no more. Telamon is buried hard by the river Aroanius, a little farther off than the sanctuary of Apollo; and Chalcodon is buried not far from the fountain called Oenoe. But that the Chalcodon and Telamon who fell in this combat were Chalcodon, the father of that Elephenor who led the Euboeans to Ilium, and Telamon, the father of Ajax and Teucer, is not to be believed. How, pray, could Chalcodon have helped Hercules in the battle when we have trustworthy evidence that he had previously
7 been knocked on the head by Amphitryo at Thebes? And why should Teucer have founded Salamis in Cyprus, if on his return from Troy nobody had driven him from his native land? And who but Telamon should have driven him out? Clearly, then, it was not the Chalcodon of Euboea nor the Telamon of Aegina who marched with Hercules against the Eleans. Famous names have been borne by obscure persons in all ages, as they are at this day.

8 4. The Pheneatian territory marches with that of Achaia at more points than one. In the direction of Pellene the boundary is at the Porinas, as it is called: in the direction of Aegira it is at the place called 'To Artemis.' In the territory of Pheneus you shall go on past the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo no great way, and you
9 shall find yourself on the road that leads to Mount Crathis. In this mountain are the springs of the river Crathis which flows into the sea beside Aegae, now a desert place, but in the olden time a city of Achaia. From this Crathis an Italian river in the land of the Bruttians takes its name. On Mount Crathis is a sanctuary of Pyronian Artemis: of old the Argives used to fetch fire from the sanctuary of this goddess for the Lernaean rites.

XVI

1. To the east of Pheneus there is a mountain-top called Geronteum, and by it there is a road. This Mount Geronteum forms the boundary between the districts of Pheneus and Stymphalus. Keeping to the left of Mount Geronteum, and journeying through Pheneatian territory, you see, still in Pheneatian territory, the mountains called Tricrena ('three fountains'), where there are three fountains in which the mountain nymphs are said to have washed the new-born Hermes; hence the springs are deemed sacred to
2 Hermes. 2. Not far from Mount Tricrena is another mountain called Sepia. Here Aepytus, son of Elatus, is said to have been killed by the snake; and here they made his grave, for they could carry the corpse no farther. The Arcadians say that these snakes are still to be found on the mountain, but not in great numbers, indeed they are very rare. For as snow lies on the

mountain most of the year, the snakes that are overtaken by it outside their holes perish; and even if they succeed in taking shelter in their holes before the snow comes on, still it kills some of them, since the frost penetrates even into the holes. I beheld the 3 grave of Aepytus with great interest, because Homer mentions the tomb in his verses about the Arcadians. It is a mound of earth of no great size surrounded by a basement of stone. That it should have stirred Homer's wonder was natural, as he had never seen a more remarkable tomb. Similarly he compares the dance wrought by Hephaestus on the shield of Achilles to a dance wrought by Daedalus, never having seen finer works of art. 3. Of many wonderful 4 graves that I know I will mention two, one at Halicarnassus, and one in the land of the Hebrews. The one at Halicarnassus was made for Mausolus, king of that city. So vast are its proportions, and so marvellous is its style, that the Romans, who greatly admire it, give the name of mausoleums to splendid tombs in their own country. In the land of the Hebrews, and in the city of Jerusalem, which the 5 Roman Emperor razed to the ground, there is a grave of a native woman named Helen. In this grave there is a door, which, like the whole of the grave, is of stone, and is so contrived that it does not open until the revolving year has brought round a certain day and a certain hour; then it opens by its own mechanism, and after a short time shuts of itself. At any other time you could not open it if you tried, though by using force you might break it down.

XVII

1. After the grave of Aepytus there is Mount Cyllene, the highest mountain in Arcadia, and on its summit is a ruined temple of Cyllenian Hermes. It is obvious that the mountain got its name and the god his surname from Cyllen, son of Elatus. 2. The 2 kinds of wood out of which men of old made images for themselves were, so far as I have been able to learn, the following: ebony, cypress, the cedars, the oaks, yew, and lotus. However, the image of Cyllenian Hermes is made of none of these woods, but of juniper. I guessed it to be about eight feet high. 3. Cyllene can 3 boast of the following wonder: the blackbirds there are white all over. The birds which the Boeotians call blackbirds are probably a different species of bird, not songsters. On Mount Sipylus, about the lake called the lake of Tantalus, I have seen eagles called swan-eagles, which in whiteness closely resembled swans; and white wild boars and white Thracian bears have been owned even by private persons before now. White hares are native to Libya; 4 and I saw white deer at Rome, and very much surprised was I to see them; but it did not occur to me to inquire where they were brought from, whether from continents or islands. But

enough of these observations, which I have made in order that no one may disbelieve what I have said about the hue of the blackbirds on Mount Cyllene.

5 4. Connected with Cyllene is another mountain, Chelydorea, where Hermes is said to have found a tortoise, taken off its shell, and made a lyre of it. Here are the boundaries of Pheneus and Pellene; and the greater part of Mount Chelydorea belongs to the Achaeans.

6 5. As you go westward from Pheneus the road to the left leads to the city of Clitor, and the road to the right leads to Nonacris and the water of the Styx. Of old Nonacris was a town of Arcadia, and got its name from the wife of Lycaon, but at the present day it is in ruins, and even of its ruins there is not much to be seen. Not far from the ruins is a high cliff: I know no other cliff that rises to such a height. Water trickles down it, and the Greeks call it the water of Styx.

XVIII

1. Hesiod, in the *Theogony*—for there are some who believe that poem to be Hesiod's—represents the Styx as daughter of Ocean and wife of Pallas. They say that Linus in his poem expresses a similar view, but a reading of this poem convinced me
2 that it was spurious. Epimenides, the Cretan poet, also says that Styx is a daughter of Ocean; but on the other hand he represents her as the wife, not of Pallas, but of Piras (whoever he was), to whom she bore Echidna. But it is especially Homer who introduces the name of Styx into his poetry. Thus in the oath of Hera he says:—

> Witness me now, earth and the broad heaven above
> And the down-trickling water of Styx.

This passage is composed as if the poet had himself seen the water of the Styx dripping. Again, in the list of the troops under Guneus,
3 he makes the water of the river Titaresius flow from the Styx. Again he makes it a water in hell, for Athena says that Zeus forgets how by her means he saved Hercules from the tasks imposed by Eurystheus:—

> Had I but known this in my shrewd mind
> When he sent him down to the home of Hades the warder,
> To bring from Erebus the hound of loathed Hades,
> Never would he have escaped the lofty streams of the water of Styx.

4 2. The water that drips from the cliff by Nonacris falls first upon a high rock, and passing through the rock it descends into the river Crathis. This water is deadly to man and every living

creature. It is said that it once proved the bane of some goats which were the first to drink of it. Afterwards in course of time the other marvellous properties of the water became known. Glass, 5
crystal, *morrhia*, and everything else made of stone, and earthen pots, are all broken by the water of the Styx; and things made of horn and of bone, together with iron, bronze, lead, tin, silver, and electrum, are corroded by it. Even gold is affected by it in the same way as the other metals. Yet we have the word of the Lesbian poetess, as well as the evidence of the metal itself, that gold does not rust. Hence we see that to the things that are most 6
despised God has given power to overcome the things that surpass them in glory. Thus vinegar possesses the property of destroying pearls; and the diamond, the hardest of stones, is melted away by the blood of a billy-goat. It is remarkable, too, that a horse's hoof alone is proof against the water of the Styx, for it will hold the water without being destroyed by it. Whether Alexander, son of Philip, really died of this poison I do not know for certain, but I know that people say so.

3. Above Nonacris are the Aroanian mountains, and in them is 7
a cave. They say that the daughters of Proetus fled up to this cave in their frenzy, but Melampus by secret sacrifices and purificatory rites brought them down to a place called Lusi. The greater part of the Aroanian mountains belongs to Pheneus, but Lusi is on the borders of Clitor. They say that Lusi was once a city, and 8
Agesilas, a man of Lusi, was proclaimed victor in the horse-race at the eleventh celebration of the Pythian festival by the Amphictyons; but in our days there are not even remains of the place left. Melampus drew down the daughters of Proetus to Lusi, and healed them of their madness in a sanctuary of Artemis, and from that time this particular Artemis has been called Hemerasia ('soother') by the Clitorians.

XIX

1. There is another people of the Arcadian stock called Cynaethaens, who dedicated at Olympia the image of Zeus holding a thunderbolt in either hand. These Cynaethaens dwell forty furlongs from . . . . and in their market-place are altars of the gods and a statue of the Emperor Hadrian. But what is most 2
worthy of note is that there is a sanctuary of Dionysus here, and that they hold a festival in winter, at which men, their bodies greased with oil, pick out a bull from a herd (whichever bull the god puts it into their head to take), lift it up, and carry it to the sanctuary. Such is their mode of sacrifice. 2. There is here a spring of cold water, just two furlongs from the town, and over the spring grows a plane-tree. Whoever has been bitten or otherwise 3
endangered by a mad dog is healed by drinking this water; and

therefore they name the spring Alyssus ('mad-less'). Thus it would appear that in Arcadia, the water at Pheneus, which they name Styx, was created to be a bane to men, while the spring at Cynaethae is a benefit designed to counterbalance the evil of the Styx.

4 3. Of the roads from Pheneus leading westward, I have still to describe the one to the left. It leads to Clitor, running beside the channel which Hercules made for the river Aroanius. The road descends beside this channel to a place called Lycuria, which is the boundary between Pheneus and Clitor.

XX

1. Going on about fifty furlongs from Lycuria you will come to the springs of the Ladon. I have heard that the water which forms the mere in the territory of Pheneus, descending into the chasms in the mountains, rises here and forms the springs of the Ladon. But whether this is so or not I cannot say for certain. The water of the Ladon is the most beautiful river-water in Greece, and it is besides
2 renowned for the legend of Daphne. 2. I pass over the version of the story of Daphne told by the Syrians who dwell beside the Orontes, and proceed to give the story as told by the Arcadians and Eleans. Oenomaus, the lord of Pisa, had a son Leucippus. This Leucippus fell in love with Daphne, and despairing of gaining her hand by an open wooing, because she shunned the whole male sex, he hit upon
3 the following ruse. He was keeping his hair long for the river Alpheus; so braiding it like a maiden and donning womanly apparel he came to Daphne, and told her he was a daughter of Oenomaus and would fain hunt with her. Thus by passing for a girl, and excelling the other maidens in rank and skill in the chase, as well as by his devoted attentions, he drew Daphne into a warm friend-
4 ship. Those who sing of Apollo's love for her add that Apollo was jealous of Leucippus' success in love; and straightway Daphne and the other maidens desired to swim in the Ladon, and having stripped the reluctant Leucippus, and seen that he was no maiden, they despatched him with their javelins and daggers. So runs the tale.

XXI

1. Sixty furlongs from the springs of the Ladon is the city of Clitor. The road from the springs of the Ladon is a narrow defile beside the river Aroanius. At the city you will cross the river Clitor, which falls into the Aroanius not more than seven furlongs
2 from the city. Amongst the fish in the Aroanius are the so-called spotted fish. They say these spotted fish sing like a thrush. I saw them after they had been caught, but I did not hear them utter a

sound, though I tarried by the river till sunset, when they were said to sing most.

2. The city of Clitor got its name from the son of Azan: it 3
stands on level ground surrounded by low hills. The most famous sanctuaries at Clitor are those of Demeter, Aesculapius, and Ilithyia. . . . did not enumerate them. Olen, a Lycian, who lived in an earlier age, composed various hymns for the Delians, including one on Ilithyia, wherein he calls her 'the spinner deft,' clearly identifying her with Fate, and says that she is older than Cronus. The Clitor- 4
ians have also a sanctuary of the Dioscuri under the name of the Great Gods: it is about four furlongs from the city, and the images of the deities are of bronze. 3. On the top of a mountain thirty furlongs from the city stands a temple of Athena Coria, with an image of the goddess.

XXII

1. I return to Stymphalus and to Geronteum, the boundary between the cantons of Pheneus and Stymphalus. The Stymphalians are no longer ranked among the Arcadians, but belong to the Argive confederacy, which they joined voluntarily. But that they are of the Arcadian stock is proved by the verses of Homer, and Stymphalus their founder was a grandson of Arcas, son of Callisto. It is said, however, that the original settlement was not on the site of the present city, but in another part of the district. 2. They say 2
that Temenus, son of Pelasgus, dwelt in old Stymphalus, that Hera was brought up by him, that he founded three sanctuaries in honour of the goddess, and bestowed three surnames on her: while she was yet a girl he called her Child; when she married Zeus he called her Full-grown; and when she had quarrelled with Zeus for some reason and returned to Stymphalus, he named her Widow. I know that these things are said about the goddess by the Stymphalians.

3. The present city has none of the objects I have mentioned: 3
on the other hand it has the following. In the Stymphalian territory there is a spring from which the Emperor Hadrian brought water to Corinth. In winter the spring forms a small mere, from which again the river Stymphalus issues; but in summer there is no mere, and the river rises directly from the spring. This river goes down into a chasm in the ground, and reappearing in Argolis takes a new name, being called the Erasinus instead of the Stymphalus. 4. The story goes that man-eating birds 4
once bred beside the water of Stymphalus: these birds Hercules is said to have shot down. However, Pisander of Camirus says that he did not kill them, but chased them away by the noise of rattles. Amongst the wild creatures of the Arabian desert, there are birds

called Stymphalian, which are every whit as fierce and dangerous to
5 men as lions and leopards. They fly at the men who come to hunt them, wound them with their beaks, and kill them. They pierce armour of bronze and iron; but if the hunters wear thick garments of plaited bark, the beaks of the Stymphalian birds are held fast by the garment of bark, just as the wings of small birds are held by bird-lime. These birds are of the size of a crane, and they resemble ibises, but their beaks are stronger and not hooked like the beak of
6 an ibis. Now, whether the Arabian birds of the present day differ in species from their namesakes which were once found in Arcadia, I do not know; but if there have always been Stymphalian birds, just as there have always been hawks and eagles, then I think that these birds are natives of Arabia: a flock of them might at some time have flown to Stymphalus in Arcadia. Probably the Arabs called them originally by some name other than Stymphalian; but the renown of Hercules, and the superiority of Greeks over barbarians, prevailed so far as to cause the birds in the Arabian desert to be known even to the present day by the name of Stymphalian.

7 5. In Stymphalus there is also an old sanctuary of Stymphalian Artemis: the image is of wood, mostly gilded. At the roof of the temple are represented the Stymphalian birds. It was difficult to distinguish clearly whether they were made of wood or gypsum, but so far as I could judge they seemed to be of wood rather than of gypsum. Here, too, are figures of virgins with the legs of birds,
8 made of white marble: they stand behind the temple. 6. It is said that the following miracle took place in our own day. They used to celebrate the festival of Stymphalian Artemis at Stymphalus carelessly, omitting most of the established customs connected with it. Well, some timber drifting into the mouth of the chasm, down which the river goes, dammed up the water, and the plain, they say,
9 was turned into a lake for a space of four hundred furlongs. It is said that a deer pursued by a huntsman plunged into the marsh, and that the huntsman in the heat of the chase swam after it, and so both deer and man were engulphed in the chasm. The water of the river, they say, followed after them, and thus by their means the Stymphalian plain was drained in a day of all the stagnant water. From that time they have celebrated the festival of Artemis with more zeal.

XXIII

1. After Stymphalus there is Alea, which is also a member of the Argive confederacy. The natives declare that Aleus, son of Aphidas, was their founder. Here there are sanctuaries of Ephesian Artemis, and Athena Alea, and a temple of Dionysus with an image. In honour of Dionysus they hold a festival called the Scieria every

second year: at this festival of Dionysus, in obedience to an oracle from Delphi, women are scourged, just as the Spartan lads are scourged at the image of Orthia.

2. In my description of Orchomenus I showed that the straight 2
road runs at first beside the gully, and afterwards to the left of the mere. In the plain of Caphyae an earthen dyke is constructed by which the water of the Orchomenian district is dammed off so as not to harm the cultivated land of Caphyae. On the inner side of the dyke flows another water, big enough to be a river. It goes down into a chasm in the earth, and rises again beside Nasi, as it is called. The place where it rises is named Rheunus: having risen here, the water forms henceforward the perennial river Tragus. 3. The 3
name of the city is clearly derived from Cepheus, son of Aleus, but in the Arcadian tongue the form Caphyae has prevailed. The Caphyans say that originally they belonged to Attica, but that, being expelled from Athens by Aegeus, they fled to Arcadia, and throwing themselves on the protection of Cepheus, took up their abode here. The town lies at the end of the plain, at the foot of not very high mountains: it contains sanctuaries of Poseidon and of Artemis, surnamed Cnacalesian. There is also a Mount Cnacalus in the 4
district, where they celebrate annual mysteries in honour of Artemis. A little above the city is a spring, and over the spring grows a great and beautiful plane-tree, which they call the plane-tree of Menelaus, because they say that when Menelaus was mustering his army to go against Troy, he came here and planted the plane-tree at the spring; and at the present day they call the spring as well as the plane-tree by the name of Menelaus. 4. If I had to make out 5
a list, in accordance with Greek traditions, of the old, trees which still stand alive and hale, I should say that the oldest is the willow that grows in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos; next to it are the oak at Dodona, the olive on the Acropolis, and the olive at Delos; and the Syrians would give the third place, in point of age, to the laurel which grows in their land. Of all other trees this plane-tree is the most ancient.

5. About a furlong from Caphyae is a place Condylea, where 6
there are a grove and temple of Artemis: she was called Condyleatis of old; but they say that the name of the goddess was changed for the following reason. Some children (they do not remember how many) playing about the sanctuary lit upon a rope, tied it round the neck of the image, and said that Artemis was being strangled. When 7
the Caphyans discovered what the children had done they stoned them to death; but no sooner had they done so, than their women were attacked by a disorder such that they were brought to bed prematurely, and the offspring were still-born, until the Pythian priestess bade them bury the children, and sacrifice to them yearly, because that they had been wrongfully slain. To this day the

Caphyans comply with all the injunctions of the oracle: in particular they have ever since called the goddess at Condyleae the Strangled One, for this also, they say, was enjoined them by the oracle. 6. 8 Having ascended about seven furlongs from Caphyae you will then descend to Nasi ('islands'), as it is called; and fifty furlongs farther on you will come to the Ladon. You will cross the river, and passing through Argeathae, Lycuntes, and Scotane, you will come to the oak forest of Soron, through which runs the road to 9 Psophis. Like the other oak woods of Arcadia this forest contains wild boars, bears, and huge tortoises: out of these tortoises you might make lyres which would match those made from the Indian tortoise. At the skirts of the forest is the ruined hamlet of Paus, and a little farther is Sirae, the boundary between the cantons of Clitor and Psophis.

XXIV

1. Some say that the founder of Psophis was Psophis, son of Arrhon, son of Erymanthus, son of Aristas, son of Parthaon, son of Periphetes, son of Nyctimus; but others say that Psophis was a 2 daughter of Xanthus, son of Erymanthus, son of Arcas. This is the account given in the traditions of the Arcadians about their kings, but the real truth is that Psophis was a daughter of Eryx, who ruled in Sicania. Her . . . into the house deigned not, but left her, being with child, in charge of his friend Lycortas, who dwelt in the city of Phegia, which before the reign of Phegeus had been called Erymanthus. Being brought up here, Echephron and Promachus, the sons of Hercules by the Sicanian woman, changed 3 the name of Phegia to Psophis, after their mother. 2. The acropolis of Zacynthus is also called Psophis, because a man of Psophis, Zacynthus, son of Dardanus, was the first who sailed across to the island and colonised it.

Psophis is thirty furlongs from Sirae: beside it flows the river Aroanius, and the Erymanthus flows at a little distance from the 4 city. The springs of the Erymanthus are in Mount Lampea, which is said to be sacred to Pan, and may be regarded as part of Mount Erymanthus. Homer says that in Taygetus and Erymanthus . . . a huntsman then . . . of Lampea, Erymanthus . . . and flowing through Arcadia, with Mount Pholoe on its right bank, and the 5 district of Thelpusa on its left, it falls into the Alpheus. It is said that Hercules, by command of Eurystheus, hunted beside the Erymanthus a boar which had not its match for size and strength. The inhabitants of Cumae, in the land of the Opici, profess that the boar's tusks which are preserved in the sanctuary of Apollo at Cumae are the tusks of the Erymanthian boar, but the assertion 6 is without a shred of probability. 3. In the city of Psophis there is a sanctuary of Aphrodite surnamed Erycinian: only ruins of it

now remain. It is said to have been founded by the sons of Psophis; and the statement is probable, for there is also in the district of Eryx, in Sicily, a sanctuary of the Erycinian goddess, which from time immemorial has been esteemed most holy, and is not less wealthy than the sanctuary at Paphos. The shrines of the heroes Promachus and Echephron, sons of Psophis, were in my day 7
no longer of any significance.

4. Alcmaeon, son of Amphiaraus, is also buried in Psophis. His tomb is a building neither large nor ornate; but cypresses grow round about it to such a height that the very mountain beside Psophis is overshadowed by them. These cypresses they deem sacred to Alcmaeon, and will not fell them: they are called Maidens by the natives. When Alcmaeon had slain his mother, he fled from Argos and came to Psophis, which was then still named Phegia 8
after Phegeus. Here he wedded Alphesiboea, daughter of Phegeus, and amongst the presents which he naturally made her was the famous necklace. But as his disorder did not abate while he dwelt in Arcadia, he betook him to the oracle at Delphi, and the Pythian priestess told him that the only land whither the avenging spirit of Eriphyle would not dog him was the newest land, which the sea had uncovered since the pollution of his mother's blood had been incurred. So he discovered the alluvial land formed by the Achelous, and he took up his abode there and wedded Callirhoe, daughter of 9
Achelous, according to the Acarnanians; and two sons, Acarnan and Amphoterus, were born to him. They say that from Acarnan the people of this part of the mainland got their present name, having formerly been called Curetes. Many men and more women are shipwrecked on the shoal of foolish desires. Thus Callirhoe desired to get the necklace of Eriphyle; therefore she sent Alcmaeon 10
against his will to Phegia, and he was treacherously murdered by Temenus and Axion, the sons of Phegeus. These sons of Phegeus are said to have dedicated the necklace to Apollo at Delphi. They say that it was during their reign in Phegia, as the city was then still called, that the Greeks turned their arms against Troy. The Psophidians say that they did not share in that expedition because their kings were at enmity with the Argive leaders, most of whom were kinsmen of Alcmaeon, and had marched with him against Thebes.

5. That the Echinadian islands have not yet been joined to the mainland by the Achelous is due to the Aetolians; for they have been 11
driven out, and the whole country has been turned into a wilderness. Hence Aetolia remaining untilled, the Achelous does not wash down so much mud on the Echinadian islands as it would otherwise do. In proof of this view I can point to the Maeander: flowing through the lands of Phrygia and Caria, which are ploughed every year, it has in a short time turned the sea between Priene and Miletus into dry land.

12 6. The Psophidians have also a temple of Erymanthus, with an image of him, beside the river Erymanthus. The images of all rivers except the Egyptian Nile are made of white marble; but because the Nile descends through the land of the Ethiopians on its way to the sea, the custom is to make his images of black stone.

13 7. I heard in Psophis a story of a man of Psophis called Aglaus, a contemporary of Croesus the Lydian. The story was that Aglaus had been happy all the days of his life; but I did not believe it. No doubt one man may have fewer ills to bear than the men of his time, just as one ship may be less buffeted by the tempest than

14 another; but a man who has always been out of the reach of misfortune, or a ship that has always sailed with a fair breeze, is not to be found. Homer himself has represented a jar of blessings standing beside Zeus, and another jar of woes. This lesson he learned from the god at Delphi, who had called the poet himself both ill-starred and blessed, thus intimating that he was born to be both alike.

XXV

1. On the way from Psophis to Thelpusa there is first a place called Tropaea on the left of the Ladon; next to Tropaea is the oak forest of Aphrodisium; and, thirdly, there is a monument with the following inscription in old letters:—'Boundary between the territories of Psophis and Thelpusa.' In the district of Thelpusa there is a river called Arsen: this you will cross, and about five-and-twenty furlongs from it you will come to the ruins of a village Caus, and to a sanctuary of Causian Aesculapius, standing in the road.

2 2. Just forty furlongs from this sanctuary is the city: it is said to have received its name from a nymph Thelpusa, a daughter of Ladon. As I have already shown, the water of the Ladon has its source in the territory of Clitor. It flows first past a place Leucasium and Mesoboa, and through Nasi to Oryx and Halus, and from Halus it descends to Thaliades and a sanctuary of Eleu-

3 sinian Demeter. This sanctuary is at the Thelpusian boundaries, and contains images, each not less than seven feet high, of Demeter, her daughter, and Dionysus, all of them of stone. After the sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddess the Ladon flows past the city of Thelpusa, which lies on a great hill on the left bank of the river. Most of the city is at present uninhabited, so that the market-place, which now stands at the end of the town, is said originally to have stood in the very middle of it. 3. In Thelpusa there is a temple of Aesculapius, and a sanctuary of the Twelve Gods: most of this sanctuary is now level with the ground.

4 After Thelpusa the Ladon descends to the sanctuary of Demeter in Onceum. The Thelpusians call the goddess Fury, and with

them agrees Antimachus, the poet who celebrated the expedition of the Argives against Thebes. His verse runs thus :—

They say that there is a seat of Demeter Fury in that place.

Oncius, according to common fame, was a son of Apollo, and he reigned at Onceum in the land of Thelpusa. 4. The goddess received 5
the surname of Fury on this wise. When Demeter was seeking her daughter, they say that in her wanderings she was followed by Poseidon, who desired to gain her favours. So she turned herself into a mare, and grazed with the mares of Oncius; but Poseidon, detecting the deception, likewise took the form of a horse, and so enjoyed Demeter. They say that at first Demeter was wroth, but 6
that in time she relented, and was fain to bathe in the Ladon. Hence the goddess received two surnames: that of Fury (*Erinus*) on account of her wrath, because the Arcadians call a fit of anger *erinuein*; and that of Lusia, because she bathed (*lousasthai*) in the Ladon. The images in the temple are of wood, but the faces, hands, and feet, are of Parian marble. The image of the Fury holds 7
the so-called *cista* (sacred basket), and in her right hand a torch: the height of the image we guessed to be nine feet. The Lusia appeared to be six feet high. Some think that the image represents Themis, and not Demeter Lusia; but this is an idle fancy, and so I would have them know. 5. They say that Demeter had by Poseidon a daughter, whose name they are not wont to divulge to uninitiated persons, and that she also gave birth to the horse Arion; and it was for this reason, they say, that they gave Poseidon the surname of Hippius ('of horses'), and they were first of the Arcadians who did so. In proof of their story they quote verses from the *Iliad* and the 8
Thebaid. In the *Iliad* there is a reference to Arion :—

Not even if he drove at thy back divine Arion,
Swift steed of Adrastus, that sprung from the gods.

And in the *Thebaid* it is said that Adrastus fled from Thebes

Wearing sorry garments, and with him dark-haired Arion.

They accordingly maintain that the verses hint that Poseidon was father to Arion. But Antimachus says he was a child of Earth :— 9

Adrastus, son of Talaus, of the stock of Cretheus,
Was the first of the Danai that drove two high-praised steeds,
Fleet Caerus and Thelpusian Arion,
Whom near the Oncean grove of Apollo
Earth herself brought forth, a wonder for mortals to see.

But even if the horse were sprung from the earth his lineage might 10
still be divine, and his hair might still be blue. It is also said that when Hercules was warring on the Eleans he begged the loan of the

horse from Oncus, and conquered Elis, riding on the back of Arion to the fights, and that afterwards he gave the horse to Adrastus. Therefore Antimachus says of Arion :—

The third who mastered him was Lord Adrastus.

11 6. The Ladon, after leaving the sanctuary of the Fury on the left, passes on the left the temple of Oncaeatian Apollo, and on the right a sanctuary of the Boy Aesculapius, where is the tomb of Trygon. They say that Trygon was a woman who nursed Aesculapius; for they relate that Aesculapius, as a child, was left to perish at Thelpusa, but was found and reared by Autolaus, a bastard son of Arcas, and therefore the Boy Aesculapius . . . I consider the account which I 12 gave in the section on Epidaurus as more probable. 7. There is a river Tuthoa, which falls into the Ladon at the boundary between Thelpusa and Heraea: this boundary is called by the Arcadians Pedium ('plain'). At the point where the Ladon itself falls into the Alpheus there is an island named the Isle of Crows. Some people think that Enispe, Stratia, and Rhipe, which are mentioned by 13 Homer, were once on a time inhabited islands in the Ladon. It is an idle belief, and so I would have them know; for the Ladon never could have islands as big as a ferry-boat. There is indeed no fairer river either in Greece or in foreign land, but it is not broad enough to have islands on its bosom, like the Danube and the Eridanus.

XXVI

1. Heraea was founded by Heraeeus, son of Lycaon. The city lies on the right bank of the Alpheus, mostly on a gentle slope, but part of it reaches to the river-brink. Avenues are laid out beside the river, separated from each other by myrtles and other cultivated trees, and the baths are here. 2. There are also two temples to Dionysus: in one he is called Citizen, in the other Increaser. 2 There is also a building where they celebrate the orgies of Dionysus. Further, there is in Heraea a temple of Pan, since he is a national god of the Arcadians. Of the temple of Hera the columns and some ruins still remain. Of all Arcadian athletes the most famous was Damaretus of Heraea, who was the first to win the armed race at 3 Olympia. Descending from Heraea towards the land of Elis, you will cross the Ladon at a distance of about fifteen furlongs from Heraea, and about twenty furlongs farther on you will come to the Erymanthus. 3. The boundary between Heraea and the land of Elis is the Erymanthus, according to the Arcadians, but the Eleans say that 4 their territory is bounded by the grave of Coroebus. When the Olympic games, after a long interval, were revived by Iphitus, and the festival was celebrated anew, the only prizes offered were for running, and Coroebus was the winner. An inscription on his tomb

states that Coroebus was the first man who won a prize at Olympia, and that his grave is at the verge of the land of Elis.

4. There is a little town, Aliphera: many of the inhabitants left 5
it at the time when the Arcadians united to found Megalopolis. On the way to this town from Heraea you will cross the Alpheus, and after passing over a plain just about ten furlongs broad you will come to a mountain, and up this mountain you will ascend about thirty furlongs to the town. The city of Aliphera got its name from 6
Alipherus, son of Lycaon: it contains sanctuaries of Aesculapius and Athena. They worship Athena above all the gods, saying that she was born and bred among them. They also founded an altar of Zeus Lecheates ('brought to bed'), because it was here that he gave birth to Athena. And there is a fountain which they call Tritonis, adopting the legend of the river Triton. The image of Athena is 7
made of bronze: it is a work of Hypatodorus, and is worth seeing both for its size and workmanship. They also celebrate a public festival to one or other of the gods: I believe it is to Athena. At this festival they sacrifice first of all to the Fly-catcher, praying to that hero over the victims, and calling upon the Fly-catcher; and when they have done so, the flies do not annoy them any more.

5. On the road from Heraea to Megalopolis is Melaeneae: it 8
was founded by Melaeneus, son of Lycaon, but is now deserted, though it is well supplied with running water. Forty furlongs higher up than Melaeneae is Buphagium, where the river Buphagus, a tributary of the Alpheus, has its source. About the springs of the Buphagus is the boundary between Megalopolis and Heraea.

XXVII

1. Megalopolis is the newest city not only in Arcadia, but in Greece, if we except the case of cities whose inhabitants, under the Roman Empire, have chanced to be transferred to new sites. The Arcadians gathered into Megalopolis for the sake of security; for they knew that the Argives of old had stood in almost daily danger of being conquered by the Lacedaemonians, but that after they had swelled the population of Argos by destroying Tiryns, Hysiae, Orneae, Mycenae, Midea, and the other petty towns of Argolis, they had had less to fear from the Lacedaemonians, and had at the same time gained a firmer hold over the outlying subject population. Such 2
were the views with which the Arcadians united in a single city. 2. Of that city Epaminondas, the Theban, may justly be called the founder; for he it was who collected the Arcadians to found the united city, and sent a thousand picked Thebans under Pammenes to stand by the Arcadians in case the Lacedaemonians should attempt to hinder the founding of the city. The Arcadians also chose as founders Timon and Proxenus, both from Tegea; Lycomedes

and Hopoleas from Mantinea; Cleolaus and Acriphius from Clitor; Eucampidas and Hieronymus from Maenalus; and two Parrhasians, Possicrates and Theoxenus.

3 3. The following is a list of the cities which the Arcadians in their zeal and out of the hatred they bore the Lacedaemonians were persuaded to abandon, though in doing so they abandoned at the same time the homes of their fathers:—Alea, Pallantium, Eutaea, Sumateum, Iasaea, Peraethenses, Helisson, Oresthasium, Dipaea, Lycaea; all these were in Maenalus. Of the towns of the Eutresians, there were the following:—Tricoloni, Zoetium, Charisia, Ptolederma,
4 Cnausum, Paroria; of the towns of the Aegytians . . . . [and] Scirtonium, Malaea, Cromi, Blenina, and Leuctrum; of the towns of the Parrhasians, there were Lycosura, Thocnia, Trapezus, Prosenses, Acacesium, Acontium, Macaria, Dasea; of the towns of the Arcadian Cynurians, there were Gortys, Thisoa on Mount Lycaeus, Lycaea, and Aliphera; of the towns belonging to Orchomenus, there were Thisoa, Methydrium, Teuthis; and besides these there was also the so-called Tripolis ('three cities'),
5 comprising Callia, Dipoena, and Nonacris. Now, whereas the rest of the Arcadians set aside none of the provisions of the common resolution, but gathered briskly to Megalopolis, the people of Lycaea, Tricoloni, Lycosura, and Trapezus, changed their minds (they were the only Arcadians who did so), and refusing to abandon their old towns, some of them were brought by force
6 reluctantly to Megalopolis. 4. But the Trapezuntians departed clean out of Peloponnese, that is to say, the remnant of them whom the Arcadians in their fury did not put to the sword. Such as escaped with their lives sailed to the Euxine, where the people of Trapezus on the Euxine welcomed them into their midst as namesakes and brethren from the mother city. The Lycosurians, though disobedient, were spared by the Arcadians for the sake of Demeter and the Mistress, to whose sanctuary they had betaken themselves.
7 5. Of the other cities I have enumerated, some at the present day are totally desolate; others are villages belonging to Megalopolis, namely, Gortys, Dipoenae, Thisoa near Orchomenus, Methydrium, Teuthis, Calliae, Helisson. Pallantium alone was to experience [even then] a milder fortune. Aliphera has retained the rank of a city down to the present day.

8 6. Megalopolis was founded in the year in which the defeat of the Lacedaemonians took place at Leuctra, a few months after the battle, in the archonship of Phrasiclides at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and second Olympiad, in which Damon, a Thurian, won
9 the foot-race. 7. Enrolled among the allies of Thebes, the Megalopolitans had nothing to fear from the Lacedaemonians. But when the Thebans became involved in the war known as the Sacred War, and were hard put to it by the Phocians, whose territory adjoins

Boeotia, and who were well supplied with money, seeing they had laid hands on the Delphic sanctuary, then, to be sure, the Lacedaemonians would have turned all the Arcadians, and especially the Megalopolitans, out of house and home, if wishing could have done it. However, as the Arcadians defended themselves with courage, and 10
their neighbours staunchly supported them, neither side effected anything worth speaking of. But the hatred that the Arcadians bore to the Lacedaemonians contributed not a little to the growth of the power of Philip, son of Amyntas, and to the spread of the Macedonian Empire; and the Arcadians did not stand side by side with the Greeks at Chaeronea nor again on the battlefield in Thessaly. 8. Not long 11
afterwards Aristodemus rose to be tyrant of Megalopolis: he was a native of Phigalia, and son of Artylas, but had been adopted by Tritaeus, a man of influence in Megalopolis. This Aristodemus, tyrant as he was, earned the surname of 'the Good.' During his tyranny the Lacedaemonians, under the command of Acrotatus, eldest son of King Cleomenes, invaded the territory of Megalopolis. I have already given the genealogy of Acrotatus, as well as of the whole race of the Spartan kings. A sharp engagement took place, and many fell on both sides, but the Megalopolitans had the best of it, and amongst the Spartan dead was Acrotatus, who thus never lived to sit on the throne of his fathers.

9. About two generations after the death of Aristodemus Lydiades 12
made himself tyrant: his family was respectable, and his character was at once ambitious and, as he afterwards proved, patriotic; for he was still young when he seized the government, and when he came to years of discretion he voluntarily abdicated, although by that time his power was securely anchored. Megalopolis at that time belonged to the Achaean League, and so high did the character of Lydiades stand, not only with the Megalopolitans, but with all the Achaeans, that his fame was equal to that of Aratus. The Lacedae- 13
monians now put every man in the field, and under the command of the king of the other house, Agis, son of Eudamidas, marched against Megalopolis with a larger and better appointed force than that which Acrotatus had got together. The Megalopolitans took the field against them, but were worsted, whereupon the Lacedaemonians brought up a powerful engine against the walls, with which they shook the tower that stood there, and were in hopes of battering it down the next day. The North Wind, however, 14
was to be the saviour of Megalopolis, even as it had once done service to the whole of Greece, by dashing most of the ships of the Medes against the Sepiad rocks. For it blew a steady and furious hurricane, which broke down the engine of Agis and scattered it like chaff. The Agis, who was prevented by the North Wind from taking Megalopolis, is the same who lost Pellene, in Achaia, to the Sicyonians under Aratus, and after-

15 wards came by his end at Mantinea. 10. Not long afterwards Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, seized Megalopolis in time of truce. Of the Megalopolitans some fell that night in defence of their country, and amongst them Lydiades met a hero's death in the fray; but about two-thirds of the men of military age, together with the women and children, made their escape to Messenia, under the
16 conduct of Philopoemen, son of Craugis. Cleomenes put all whom he caught to the sword, razed the city to the ground, and burned it. How the Megalopolitans recovered their country, and what they did afterwards, will be told in my notice of Philopoemen. The Lacedaemonian people are not to blame for the sack of Megalopolis, for Cleomenes had converted the constitution from a monarchy into a despotism.

17 11. As I have already said, the boundary between Megalopolis and Heraea is at the springs of the Buphagus. They say that the river got its name from a hero Buphagus, son of Iapetus and Thornax. The name of Thornax occurs again in Laconia. They say, further, that Artemis shot Buphagus on Mount Pholoe for daring to make a wicked attempt upon her.

XXVIII

1. On the way from the sources of the river you will come first to a place Maratha, and after it to Gortys, now a village, but formerly a city. Here there is a temple of Aesculapius, built of Pentelic marble: the god is represented as a beardless youth, and there is an image of Health: the images are by Scopas. The natives say that the cuirass and spear were dedicated to Aesculapius by Alexander, son of Philip; and in my time the cuirass and the point of the spear were still to be seen.

2 2. Through Gortys flows a river, which the people about its sources name the Lusius, because Zeus at his birth was washed there, so they say; but the people farther from the sources call it the Gortynius, after the village. Its water is colder than that of any other river. As to the Danube and the Rhine, also the Hypanis, Borysthenes, and the other rivers whose streams freeze in winter, these, in my opinion, would properly be called wintry, for they flow through countries where snow lies most of the year, and where the
3 very air is frosty. But of rivers whose course is through lands enjoying a temperate climate, whose waters in summer are refreshing to drink or to bathe in, and in winter are not disagreeable, it is of such rivers that I should say that their water is cold. The waters of the Cydnus that flows through Tarsus, and of the Melas that runs by Side in Pamphilia, are also cold; and the coldness of the Ales at Colophon has been celebrated by elegiac poets. But the Gortynius is colder still, especially in summer. Its springs

are in Thisoa, which borders on Methydrium, and the place where it joins the Alpheus is called Rhaeteae.

3. Adjoining the district of Thisoa is a village Teuthis, which 4
of old was a town. In the Trojan war the people of Teuthis furnished a leader of their own: his name, according to some, was Teuthis, but according to others it was Ornytus. When the Greeks did not get fair winds to waft them from Aulis, but, on the contrary, were kept shut up in harbour for a while by a heavy gale, Teuthis fell out with Agamemnon, and would have led back the Arcadians whom he commanded. Upon this, it is said, Athena, in the likeness 5
of Melas, son of Ops, endeavoured to divert Teuthis from returning home. But he, swelling with rage, stabbed the goddess with his spear in the thigh, and led back his army from Aulis. When he returned to his own land he thought that the goddess appeared to him with a wound in her thigh. After that a wasting disease befell Teuthis, and it was the only district in Arcadia where the earth yielded no return. Some time afterwards the people received from Dodona 6
various directions for pacifying the goddess, and in particular they caused an image of Athena to be made with a wound in her thigh. I saw this image myself, with a purple bandage wrapt round its thigh. There are also sanctuaries of Aphrodite and Artemis at Teuthis.

4. On the road from Gortys to Megalopolis is the tomb of 7
those who fell in the battle with Cleomenes. The Megalopolitans name the tomb Paraebasium ('transgression'), because Cleomenes attacked them in violation of the truce. Adjoining Paraebasium is a plain about sixty furlongs long. On the right of the road are ruins of a city Brenthe. Here the river Brentheates rises, and five furlongs farther on it falls into the Alpheus.

XXIX

1. Having crossed the Alpheus we come to what is called the Trapezuntian district, and to the ruins of a city Trapezus. Going down again to the left towards the Alpheus from Trapezus you come to a place named Bathos ('depth'), not far from the river, where they celebrate mysteries every second year in honour of the Great Goddesses. There is here also a spring, called Olympias, which, every other year, does not flow, and near the spring fire rises up. 2. The Arcadians say that the legendary battle of the gods and the giants took place here, and not at Pallene, in Thrace, and they sacrifice here to lightnings, hurricanes, and thunders. In the *Iliad* Homer 2
makes no mention of giants, but in the *Odyssey* he says that Ulysses' ships were attacked by Laestrygones in the likeness, not of men, but of giants, and he represents the king of the Phaeacians as saying that the Phaeacians were near akin to the gods, like the

Cyclopes and the race of the giants. Thus he indicates that the giants are mortals, and not a divine race, and he brings this out still more clearly in the following passage:—

> Who once reigned over the haughty giants;
> But he destroyed the reckless folk and perished himself.

Now, in the poems of Homer, 'folk' means the mass of people.
3 3. That the giants have serpents instead of feet is a silly story, as is shown by the following fact among many others. The Syrian river Orontes does not flow throughout its whole course to the sea on level ground, but tumbles over a precipitous ledge of rock. Wishing, then, that ships should sail up the river from the sea to the city of Antioch, the Roman Emperor had a navigable canal dug with much labour and at great expense, and into this canal he
4 diverted the river. When the old bed was dried up an earthenware coffin more than eleven ells long was found in it: the size of the corpse was proportioned to the coffin, and the whole body was that of a man. This corpse, when the Syrians applied to the oracle at Clarus, was declared by the god to be Orontes, of the Indian race. Now, if it be true that the first men were produced by the sun warming the earth, which of old was still damp and full of moisture, what land is likely to have produced men earlier or bigger than India, which to this day rears beasts of extraordinary size and strange appearance?

5 4. About ten furlongs from Bathos is Basilis, of which the founder was Cypselus, who gave his daughter in marriage to Cresphontes, son of Aristomachus. In my time Basilis was in ruins, and amongst the ruins was left a sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter. Going forward from Basilis you will cross the Alpheus again, and come to Thocnia, which was named after Thocnus, son of Lycaon, but in our time it is quite deserted. Thocnus was said to have built the city on the hill. The river Aminius flows past the hill and falls into the Helisson, and a little way on the Helisson falls into the Alpheus.

XXX

1. This river Helisson rises at a village of the same name (the village also being called Helisson), flows through the districts of Dipaea and Lycaea, and next through the city of Megalopolis. . . . furlongs from Megalopolis it falls into the Alpheus. Near the city is a temple of Poseidon the Overseer: the head of the image remains.

2 2. The city of Megalopolis is divided by the river Helisson just as Cnidus and Mitylene are separated into two parts respectively by arms of the sea. In the northern portion of Megalopolis, which is the portion on your right hand as you look down the river, is

the market-place, and in the market-place there is an enclosure of stones and a sanctuary of Lycaean Zeus. There is no entrance into the sanctuary, but its contents (for they can be seen) consist of altars of the god, two tables, as many eagles as tables, and a stone image of Pan, surnamed Oenois. They say that Pan 3
acquired this surname from the nymph Oenoe, who, like other nymphs, is said to have been his nurse. In front of this precinct is a bronze image of Apollo which is worth seeing. It is twelve feet high, and was brought from Phigalia as a contribution to the adornment of Megalopolis. The place where the image was originally 4
set up by the Phigalians is named Bassae. The surname of Succourer followed the god from the Phigalian territory: why he got it will be shown in my account of Phigalia. On the right of the Apollo is a small image of the Mother of the Gods, but of the temple nothing is left but the pillars. There is no statue in 5
front of the temple of the Mother, but the pedestals are visible upon which statues once stood. An elegiac inscription on one of the pedestals declares that the statue was a portrait of that Diophanes, son of Diaeus, who first brought the whole of Peloponnese into the Achaean League. 3. The colonnade in the market-place named the 6
Philippian Colonnade was not erected by Philip, son of Amyntas, but the Megalopolitans gave the building that name out of compliment to him. Beside it is a ruined temple of Acacesian Hermes: nothing was left of it but a stone tortoise. Adjoining the Philippian Colonnade is another smaller colonnade, where are the government offices of Megalopolis, six in number: in one of them is an image of Ephesian Artemis, and in another is a bronze Pan, surnamed Scolitas, an ell high, which was brought from the hill Scolitas. This hill is 7
within the walls, and there is a spring on it whence a brook flows down to the Helisson. Behind the government offices is a temple of Fortune, with an image made of stone, not less than five feet high. In the market-place there is also a colonnade which they call Myropolis ('perfume-selling'): it was built from the spoils taken when the Lacedaemonian army under Acrotatus, son of Cleomenes, was defeated in the battle with Aristodemus, then tyrant of Megalopolis. 4. In the market-place of Megalopolis, behind the 8
enclosure consecrated to Lycaean Zeus, is a likeness of Polybius, son of Lycortas, wrought in relief on a monument: an elegiac inscription sets forth that he wandered over every land and sea, that he was an ally of the Romans, and that he appeased their anger against the Greeks. This Polybius wrote a history of Rome, describing among other things how the Romans went to war with the Carthaginians, what was the cause of the war, and how at last after the Romans had run great risks, Scipio, . . . whom they name Carthaginian, put an end to the war, and razed Carthage to the ground. Whatever the Romans did by the 9

advice of Polybius turned out well; but it is said that whenever they did not listen to his instruction they went wrong. All the Greek states that belonged to the Achaean League obtained from the Romans leave that Polybius should frame constitutions and draw up laws for them. To the left of the likeness of Polybius is the Council House.

10 5. The colonnade in the market-place, called the Aristandrian Colonnade, is said to have been built by a townsman Aristander. Close to this colonnade on the east is a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Saviour: it is adorned with pillars round about. Zeus is seated on a throne: beside him stand on the right hand Megalopolis, and on the left hand an image of Saviour Artemis. These images are of Pentelic marble, and are the work of the Athenians Cephisodotus and Xenophon.

XXXI

1. At the other or western end of the colonnade there is an enclosure sacred to the Great Goddesses. The Great Goddesses are Demeter and the Maid, as I have already shown in my account of Messenia. The Maid is called Saviour by the Arcadians. Before the entrance are figures carved in relief: on the one side Artemis, on
2 the other Aesculapius and Health. With regard to the images of the Great Goddesses, that of Demeter is of stone throughout, but the drapery of the Saviour is of wood. The height of each is about fifteen feet. The images. . . . and before them he made small images of girls in tunics reaching to their ankles: each of the two girls bears on her head a basket full of flowers: they are said to be the daughters of Damophon. But those who put a religious interpretation on them think that they are Athena and Artemis gathering
3 flowers with Proserpine. There is also an image of Hercules about an ell high beside the image of Demeter: Onomacritus in his poem says that this Hercules is one of the Idaean Dactyls, as they are called. In front of this image stands a table, on which are wrought in relief two Seasons, Pan with a pipe, and Apollo playing the lyre; there is also an inscription stating that they are among the first of
4 the gods. 2. On the table are also represented nymphs: Neda carrying the infant Zeus; Anthracia, another of the Arcadian nymphs, with a torch; Hagno with a water-pot in one hand and a goblet in the other; and Archiroe and Myrtoessa carrying water-pots from which water is supposed to be pouring. Within the enclosure is a temple of Friendly Zeus: the image is by Polyclitus the Argive, and resembles Dionysus, for his feet are shod with buskins, and he holds a cup in one hand and a thyrsus in the other. But an eagle is perched on the thyrsus, and this is not in harmony with the myths of
5 Dionysus. Behind this temple is a small grove of trees surrounded

by a wall: people are not allowed to go into it. In front of it are images of Demeter and the Maid, about three feet high. 3. Within the enclosure of the Great Goddesses there is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite: in front of the entrance are ancient wooden images of Hera, Apollo, and the Muses, which they say were brought from Trapezus. The images in the temple were made by Damo- 6
phon: they consist of a Hermes of wood, and a wooden image of Aphrodite, but the hands, face, and feet of the latter are of stone. To the goddess they gave the surname of Contriver, and very rightly, methinks; for many and many devices and all kinds of forms of speech have been invented by men for the sake of Aphrodite and her works. 4. There is also a building with statues in it of Callignotus, 7
Mentas, Sosigenes, and Polus. These men are said to have introduced the mysteries of the Great Goddesses into Megalopolis, and the ceremonies are an imitation of those at Eleusis. Within the enclosure of the goddesses there are also the following images, all of square shape: Hermes, surnamed Leader, Apollo, Athena, Poseidon, also the Sun with the surnames of Saviour and Hercules. They have also built a great <hall>, and here they celebrate the mysteries in honour of the goddesses.

5. On the right of the temple of the Great Goddesses is 8
a sanctuary also of the Maid: the image is of stone, about eight feet high: its pedestal is completely covered with ribbons. Into this sanctuary women are always allowed to enter, but men enter it not more than once a year. 6. Abutting on the market-place on the west is a gymnasium. Behind the colonnade, which 9
is called after Philip the Macedonian, rise two low hills, on one of which there are ruins of a sanctuary of Athena Polias, and on the other is a temple of Full-grown Hera, also in ruins. Under the latter hill is a spring called Bathyllus, which also goes to swell the river Helisson. Such were the objects of interest in this quarter.

XXXII

1. Among the memorable objects in the quarter on the farther or southern side of the river is a theatre which is the largest in Greece; and in the theatre there is a perennial spring of water. Not far from the theatre are left some foundations of the Council House, which was built for the Arcadian Ten Thousand: it was called Thersilium after its founder. Near it is a house, now the property of a private man, which was originally built for Alexander, son of Philip. Beside this house is an image of Ammon, made like the square images of Hermes, with ram's horns on his head. Of the 2
sanctuary which was constructed for the Muses, Apollo, and Hermes in common, nothing worth mentioning was to be seen except a few foundations; but there remained one of the statues of the

Muses and an image of Apollo, the latter made in the style of the square images of Hermes. The sanctuary of Aphrodite was also in ruins, only the fore-temple was still left, together with three images, of which one was surnamed Heavenly, and another
3 Vulgar: the third had no special name. 2. Not far off is an altar of Ares: it is said that originally there was a sanctuary built for the god. Above the sanctuary of Aphrodite a stadium has been constructed. One end of it reaches to the theatre, and there is here a fountain, which they deem sacred to Dionysus. At the other end of the stadium a temple of Dionysus was said to have been struck by lightning two generations before my time: not many ruins of it survived to my time. A common temple of Hercules and Hermes beside the stadium existed no
4 longer, the altar only was left. 3. In this quarter of the city is a hill to the east, on which is a temple of Huntress Artemis: it, too, was dedicated by Aristodemus. On the right of the temple of the Huntress is a precinct: here there is a sanctuary of Aesculapius, with images of himself and Health. A little lower down are images of gods, also made in the square form, and surnamed Workers: they are Athena Worker and Apollo God of Streets. Touching Hermes, Hercules, and Ilithyia, the poems of Homer have given currency to the report that the first is a servant of Zeus, and leads down to hell the souls of the departed; that Hercules performed many hard tasks; while Ilithyia is represented in the *Iliad* as caring for the travail-pangs of women.
5 Under this hill there is also another sanctuary of the Boy Aesculapius: his image is erect, and measures about an ell: the image of Apollo seated on a throne measures not less than six feet. 4. Here, too, are preserved bones of superhuman size: they were said to be the bones of one of the giants whom Hopladamus mustered to defend Rhea, as I will relate hereafter. Near this sanctuary is a spring: the water that flows down from it is received by the Helisson.

XXXIII

1. Megalopolis, the foundation of which was carried out by the Arcadians with the utmost enthusiasm, and viewed with the highest hopes by the Greeks, now lies mostly in ruins, shorn of all its beauty and ancient prosperity. I do not marvel at this, knowing that ceaseless change is the will of God, and that all things alike, strength as well as weakness, growth as well as decay, are subject to the mutations of
2 fortune, whose resistless force sweeps them along at her will. Mycenae, which led the Greeks in the Trojan war; Nineveh, where was the palace of the Assyrian kings; Boeotian Thebes, once deemed worthy to be the head of Greece: what is left of them? Mycenae and Nineveh lie utterly desolate, and the name of Thebes is shrunk

to the limits of the acropolis and a handful of inhabitants. The places that of old surpassed the world in wealth, Egyptian Thebes and Minyan Orchomenus, are now less opulent than a private man of moderate means; while Delos, once the common mart of Greece, has now not a single inhabitant except the guards sent from Athens to watch over the sanctuary. At Babylon the sanc- 3
tuary of Bel remains, but of that Babylon which was once the greatest city that the sun beheld, nothing is left but the walls. And it is the same with Tiryns in Argolis. All these have been brought to nought by the hand of God. But the city of Alexander in Egypt, and the city of Seleucus by the Orontes, founded but yesterday, have attained their present vast size and opulence because fortune smiles on them. 2. Yet does she display her power on a still 4
grander and more marvellous scale than in the disasters and the glories of cities. A short way across the sea from Lemnos lay the island of Chryse, where they say that Philoctetes met with his mishap from the water-snake. The billows rolled over all that island, and it went down and vanished in the depths. Another island called the Sacred Isle (*Hiera*) . . . So transient and frail are the affairs of man.

XXXIV

1. Just seven furlongs along the road that leads from Megalopolis to Messene there is a sanctuary of certain goddesses on the left of the high road. The goddesses themselves, as well as the district round about the sanctuary, bear the name of Maniae ('madnesses'): this is, I believe, an appellation of the Eumenides, and they say that here Orestes went mad in consequence of shedding his mother's blood. 2. Not far from the sanctuary 2
is a small mound of earth surmounted by a finger made of stone. Indeed, the mound is named Finger's Tomb. They say that here Orestes, when he went out of his mind, bit off a finger of one of his hands. Now, adjoining this place is another called Acé ('remedies'), because in it Orestes was healed of his infirmity. Here, too, there is a sanctuary of the Eumenides. They say that when these goddesses were about to drive Orestes 3
out of his wits they appeared to him black; but that when he had bitten off his finger, they seemed to him white, and his wits returned to him at the sight, and so he offered a sin-offering to the black goddesses to avert their wrath, but to the white goddesses he offered a thank-offering. It is the custom to sacrifice to the latter conjointly with the Graces. Near Acé is another place . . . called sacred, because there Orestes cut off his hair when he came to his senses. Peloponnesian antiquaries say that Orestes' adventure with 4
the Furies of Clytaemnestra in Arcadia happened before the trial at

the Areopagus, and that the accuser who appeared against him was not Tyndareus, who was no longer in life, but Perilaus, who demanded vengeance for the mother's blood, he being Clytaemnestra's cousin; for Perilaus was a son of Icarius, and Icarius afterwards had also daughters born to him.

5 3. From Maniae to the Alpheus is about fifteen furlongs. At this point the river Gatheatas falls into the Alpheus, and the Gatheatas is previously joined by the Carnion. The Carnion has its springs in the Aegytian district below the sanctuary of Apollo Cereatas; while the Gatheatas has its springs at Gatheae in the 6 Cromitian district. The Cromitian district is about forty furlongs up from the Alpheus; and in it the ruins of the city of Cromi can still be faintly traced. From Cromi it is about twenty furlongs to Nymphas, which is well watered and full of trees. From Nymphas it is twenty furlongs to the Hermaeum, where is the boundary between Megalopolis and Messenia. Here, too, there is a Hermes upon a slab.

XXXV

1. The road I have mentioned leads to Messene. Another road leads from Megalopolis to Carnasium in Messenia. On this latter road you will come first to the Alpheus at the point where it is joined by the Malus and the Scyrus, which have previously mingled their streams. From this point, keeping the Malus on your right, you will proceed about thirty furlongs, and then cross the river and ascend by a somewhat steep road to a place called Phaedrias. 2.
2 About fifteen furlongs from Phaedrias is the Hermaeum, called 'at the Mistress': this again is the boundary between Messenia and Megalopolis; and there are small images of the Mistress and Demeter, also of Hermes and Hercules. I believe, too, that the wooden image which was made for Hercules by Daedalus, stood here on the borders betwixt Messenia and Arcadia.

3 3. The road from Megalopolis to Lacedaemon strikes the Alpheus after thirty furlongs: thence you journey beside the river Thius, another tributary of the Alpheus, and then leaving the Thius on the left you will come, about forty furlongs from the Alpheus, to Phalaesiae. Phalaesiae is distant twenty furlongs from the Hermaeum at
4 Belemina. 4. The Arcadians say that Belemina originally belonged to them, and that the Lacedaemonians annexed it. The statement appears to me improbable on various grounds, chiefly because I do not think that the Thebans would have allowed the Arcadians to be thus defrauded if they could in fairness have made restitution.

5 5. From Megalopolis roads also lead to the places in the interior of Arcadia. The distance to Methydrium is one hundred and seventy furlongs. Thirteen furlongs from Megalopolis is a place called Sciadis, with ruins of a sanctuary of Artemis

Sciaditis, said to have been erected by Aristodemus, the tyrant. About ten furlongs farther on there are a few memorials of the city of Charisiae, and it is other ten furlongs from Charisiae to Tricoloni. 6. Tricoloni, too, was once a city, and here on a hill 6
there remains to this day a sanctuary of Poseidon with a square image, and round about the sanctuary is a grove of trees. These cities were founded by the sons of Lycaon. Zoetia, about fifteen furlongs from Tricoloni (not on the straight road, but to the left from Tricoloni), is said to have been founded by Zoeteus, son of Tricolonus. Paroreus, the younger of the sons of Tricolonus, also founded a city, to wit, Paroria, distant from Zoetia ten furlongs. Both cities were uninhabited in my time, but in Zoetia there 7
remains a temple of Demeter and Artemis. There are other ruins of cities; of Thyraeum, fifteen furlongs from Paroria; of Hypsus, situated above the plain on a mountain of the same name. All the country between Thyraeum and Hypsus is mountainous and full of wild beasts. I have already pointed out that Thyraeus and Hypsus were sons of Lycaon.

7. Keeping to the right from Tricoloni you first ascend by a 8
steep road to a spring called Cruni. Descending from Cruni about thirty furlongs you come to the grave of Callisto, a lofty mound of earth, on which grow trees, many of them of the cultivated sorts, and many of the kinds that bear no fruit. On the summit of the mound is a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Calliste ('fairest'). I believe that Pamphos, the first poet who gave Artemis the epithet of Calliste, must have learnt it from the Arcadians. Five-and-twenty furlongs 9
from here, but one hundred in all from Tricoloni, is a place Anemosa on the Helisson, on the straight road to Methydrium; for Methydrium is the only place left to describe on the road from Tricoloni. At Anemosa is also Mount Phalanthus, on which are ruins of a city Phalanthus. They say that Phalanthus was a son of Agelaus, who was a son of Stymphalus. 8. On the farther side of the mountain 10
is a plain called the plain of Polus, and after it is Schoenus, called after a Boeotian man Schoeneus. If this Schoeneus migrated to Arcadia, the race-courses of Atalanta, near Schoenus, may have got their name from his daughter. Next there is . . . as it seems to me, called, and they say that the district here is Arcadia for all.

XXXVI

1. After that there is nothing left to be mentioned except Methydrium itself. The road to it from Tricoloni measures a hundred and thirty-seven furlongs. It was named Methydrium ('betwixt the waters'), because there is a high knoll between the river Maloetas and the Mylaon, and on this knoll Orchomenus founded the city. Before it belonged to Megalopolis, men of Methydrium had won

2 Olympic victories. 2. In Methydrium is a temple of Horse Poseidon, which stands on the bank of the Mylaon. Mount Thaumasius ('wonderful'), on the other hand, lies above the river Maloetas, and the Methydrians maintain that Rhea, when she was pregnant with Zeus, came to this mountain and assured herself of the protection of the giant Hopladamus and his fellows, in case Cronus should assail
3 her. And while they grant that she gave birth to Zeus on some part of Mount Lycaeus, they assert that it was here the deceit was practised on Cronus, and here the alleged substitution of the stone for the child took place. At the top of the mountain is a grotto of Rhea, into which no human being may enter, save only women who are sacred to the goddess.

4 It is about thirty furlongs from Methydrium to a spring, Nymphasia, and it is as many more from Nymphasia to the place where the boundaries of Megalopolis, Orchomenus, and Caphyae meet.

5 3. Passing through the gate of Megalopolis, which is named 'the Gate to the Marsh,' and journeying towards Maenalus by the bank of the Helisson, we see on the left of the road a temple of the Good God. If the gods are givers of good things to men, and Zeus is the supreme god, we may logically infer that this epithet is applied to Zeus. A little farther on is a mound of earth, the grave of Aristodemus, to whom, tyrant though he was, they did not refuse the surname of Good. There is also a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Contriver, because the goddess is the inventor of all sorts of plans
6 and artifices. 4. On the right of the road is a precinct sacred to the North Wind, and the Megalopolitans offer sacrifices every year, and honour the North Wind as much as any god, because he saved them from Agis and the Lacedaemonians. Next is the tomb of Oicles, father of Amphiaraus, if indeed he died in Arcadia, and not on the expedition with Hercules against Laomedon. After it there is a temple and grove of Demeter, called Demeter in the Marsh: the place is five furlongs from the city, and women alone are allowed to
7 enter it. Thirty furlongs farther is a place named Paliscius. Going on from Paliscius and leaving on the left the Elaphus, which is not a perennial stream, you come, after about twenty furlongs, to some ruins of Peraethenses, including a sanctuary of Pan. 5. If you cross the torrent and go straight on, you come to a plain fifteen furlongs from the river, and passing over this plain you reach the mountain which bears the same name as the plain, Mount Maenalus. At the skirts of the mountain are traces of a city Lycoa, and there is a sanctuary of Lycoan Artemis, with a bronze image of
8 the goddess. On the southern side of the mountain once stood Sumetia. On this mountain are the so-called Meetings of Three Ways from which the Mantineans fetched the bones of Arcas, son of Callisto, in obedience to the Delphic oracle. Ruins of the city of

Maenalus still survive, to wit traces of a temple of Athena, a stadium for the contests of athletes, and another for horse-racing. Mount Maenalus is believed to be very sacred to Pan, and the people round about say they even hear Pan piping.

6. From the town of Megalopolis it is forty furlongs to the 9
sanctuary of the Mistress. Half-way between the two we come to the stream of the Alpheus. Crossing it, and proceeding two furlongs, we come to the ruins of Macareae. From these ruins to the ruins of Daseae is a distance of seven furlongs, and it is another seven from Daseae to what is called the Acacesian Hill. At the 10
foot of this hill there used to be a city Acacesium, and to this day there is an image of Acacesian Hermes, made of stone, on the hill. The Arcadians have a legend about the hill, that Hermes as a child was brought up here, and that Acacus, son of Lycaon, was the man who reared him. The Thebans have a different legend, and the Tanagraeans, again, have another legend, which is at variance with the Theban one.

XXXVII

1. Four furlongs distant from Acacesium is the sanctuary of the Mistress. Here there is first a temple of Leader Artemis, with a bronze image holding torches: we guessed the height of the image to be about six feet. Thence there is an entrance into the sacred close of the Mistress. On the way to the temple there is a colonnade on the right with reliefs in white marble on the wall. The first relief represents the Fates and Zeus, surnamed Guide of Fate; the second represents Hercules wresting the tripod from Apollo. The facts which I ascertained about the latter incident I will narrate in that part of my description of Phocis which relates to Delphi, if I ever get so far. In the colonnade which stands in 2
the sanctuary of the Mistress there is a tablet between the aforesaid reliefs, and on this tablet are painted pictures of the mysteries. On the <third> relief are represented nymphs and Pans. On the fourth is Polybius, son of Lycortas, with an inscription saying that Greece would not have fallen if she had entirely followed the advice of Polybius, and that in her misfortune he alone had succoured her. In front of the temple is an altar to Demeter, and another to the Mistress, and after it one to the Great Mother.
2. The images of the goddesses, namely, the Mistress and Demeter, 3
as well as the throne on which they sit and the footstool under their feet, are all made of a single block of stone. None of the drapery or work about the throne is made of a different stone, attached with iron clamps or cement: all is of one block. This block was not fetched from outside: they say that, following directions given in a dream, they found it by digging within the enclosure. The size of

each of the two images is about that of the image of the Mother at Athens. They are also works of Damophon. Demeter carries a torch in her right hand, the other hand is laid on the Mistress.
4 The Mistress has a sceptre, and the basket, as it is called, on her knees: she holds the basket with her right hand. On either side of the throne are images. Beside Demeter stands Artemis clad in a deer-skin and with a quiver on her shoulders: she is holding a torch in one hand and two serpents in the other: beside her a bitch, of
5 the hunting sort, is lying down. 3. Beside the image of the Mistress stands Anytus in the likeness of an armed man. The attendants of the sanctuary say that the Mistress was reared by Anytus, and that he was one of the so-called Titans. Homer was the first who introduced the Titans into poetry, representing them as gods in what is called Tartarus: the verses occur in the oath of Hera. Onomacritus borrowed the name of the Titans from Homer, and in the orgies which he composed for Dionysus he represented the Titans as the authors of Dionysus' sufferings.
6 That is what the Arcadians say about Anytus. It was Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, who taught the Greeks the Egyptian legend that Artemis is a daughter of Demeter and not of Latona. The Curetes are represented under the images, and the Corybantes (a different race from the Curetes) are sculptured in relief on the pedestal: I know the stories told about both of them, but I pass
7 them over. 4. The Arcadians bring into the sanctuary the fruits of all cultivated trees except the pomegranate. On the right as you leave the temple there is a mirror fitted into the wall. Any one who looks into this mirror will see himself either very dimly or not at all, but the images of the gods and the throne are clearly
8 visible. 5. Beside the temple of the Mistress a little higher up on the right is what is called the Hall. Here the Arcadians perform mysteries, and sacrifice victims to the Mistress in great abundance. Each man sacrifices what he has got. They do not cut the throats of the victims as in the other sacrifices, but each man lops off a limb
9 of the victim, it matters not which. 6. This Mistress is worshipped by the Arcadians above all the gods, and they say she is a daughter of Poseidon and Demeter. Mistress is her popular surname, just as the daughter of Demeter by Zeus is surnamed the Maid. The real name of the Maid is Proserpine, as it occurs in the poetry of Homer and of Pamphos before him; but the true name of
10 the Mistress I fear to communicate to the uninitiated. 7. Above the Hall is a grove sacred to the Mistress and surrounded by a stone wall. Amongst the trees inside the wall are an olive-tree and an evergreen oak growing from the same root: this is not a product of the gardener's art. Above the grove are altars of Horse Poseidon, as father of the Mistress, and of other gods: on the last of the altars is an inscription stating that it is common to all the gods.

8. Thence you will ascend by a staircase to a sanctuary 11
of Pan. The sanctuary contains a colonnade and a small image. This Pan, equally with the most powerful of the gods, possesses the power of accomplishing men's prayers and requiting the wicked as they deserve. In his sanctuary burns a fire that is never quenched. 9. It is said that of old this god also gave oracles, and that his prophetess was the nymph Erato, who married Arcas, son of Callisto. They still remember some of Erato's verses, 12
which I have myself read. Here there is an altar of Ares, also a temple with two images of Aphrodite, the one of white marble, the other and older of wood. Likewise there are wooden images of Apollo and Athena; and there is also a sanctuary of Athena.

XXXVIII

1. A little higher up is the circuit of the walls of Lycosura, which contains a few inhabitants. Of all cities on earth, whether on the mainland or on islands, Lycosura is the oldest, and it was the first city that ever the sun beheld. The rest of mankind learned to build cities on its model.

2. To the left of the sanctuary of the Mistress is Mount 2
Lycaeus, which they also call Olympus, while others of the Arcadians name it the Sacred Peak. They say that Zeus was reared on this mountain. There is a place on Lycaeus called Cretea: it is to the left of the grove of Parrhasian Apollo, and the Arcadians maintain that the Crete where, according to the Cretan legend, Zeus was reared, is this place, and not the island of Crete. 3. The 3
names of the nymphs by whom they say Zeus was reared are, according to them, Thisoa, Neda, and Hagno. A city in Parrhasia was named after Thisoa: in my time Thisoa is a village belonging to the district of Megalopolis. Neda gave her name to the river Neda; and Hagno gave her name to a spring on Mount Lycaeus, which like the river Danube flows with an equal body of water winter and summer. If there is a long drought, and the seeds in the earth and 4
the trees are withering, the priest of Lycaean Zeus looks to the water and prays; and having prayed and offered the sacrifices enjoined by custom, he lets down an oak branch to the surface of the spring, but not deep into it; and the water being stirred, there rises a mist-like vapour, and in a little the vapour becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia. 4. On Lycaeus there is a sanctuary of Pan, and round 5
about it a grove of trees; also there is a hippodrome, and in front of it a stadium. Here of old they celebrated the Lycaean games. Here, too, are bases of statues, but the statues are no longer there: an elegiac inscription on one of the bases states that the statue was that of Astyanax, and that he was of the stock of Arcas.

6 5. Of the wonders of Mount Lycaeus the greatest is this. There is a precinct of Lycaean Zeus on the mountain and people are not allowed to enter it; but if any one disregards the rule and enters, he cannot possibly live more than a year. It is also said that inside the precinct all creatures, whether man or beast, cast no shadows; and, therefore, if his quarry takes refuge in the precinct, the huntsman will not follow it, but waits outside, and looking at the beast he sees that it casts no shadow. Now, at Syene, on the frontier of Ethiopia, so long as the sun is in the sign of Cancer, shadows are cast neither by trees nor animals; but in the precinct on Mount Lycaeus the same absence of shadow may be observed at all times and seasons.

7 On the topmost peak of the mountain there is an altar of Lycaean Zeus in the shape of a mound of earth, and most of Peloponnese is visible from it. In front of the altar, on the east, stand two pillars, on which there used formerly to be gilded eagles. On this altar they offer secret sacrifices to Lycaean Zeus, but I did not care to pry into the details of the sacrifice. Be it as it is and has been from the beginning.

8 6. On the eastern side of the mountain is a sanctuary of Parrhasian Apollo; they also give him the surname of Pythian. They celebrate an annual festival in honour of the god, at which they sacrifice a boar in the market-place to Apollo the Succourer, and after the sacrifice they immediately convey the victim to the sanctuary of Parrhasian Apollo in procession to the music of a flute, and having cut out the thigh bones they burn them and consume the flesh of the victim on the spot. This is their regular practice.

9 7. To the north of Lycaeus is the land of Thisoa, the inhabitants of which hold the nymph Thisoa in chief honour. The district of Thisoa is intersected by the rivers Mylaon, Nus, Achelous, Celadus, and Naliphus, all of which fall into the Alpheus. Besides the Arcadian Achelous there are two other more famous rivers of the 10 same name. The one which flows through Acarnania and Aetolia, and falls into the sea at the Echinadian islands, is said by Homer in the *Iliad* to be the prince of rivers: another Achelous which flows from Mount Sipylus is mentioned by him, along with Mount Sipylus itself, in connection with the story of Niobe. The river at Mount Lycaeus is the third river that bears the name of Achelous.

11 8. On the right of Lycosura are the Nomian mountains, as they are called. There is a sanctuary of Nomian Pan on them, and they name the place Melpea, saying that here Pan invented the music of the pipe. It is most obvious to suppose that the Nomian Mountains were so called with reference to Pan's pastures (*nomai*), but the Arcadians themselves say they are named after a nymph.

XXXIX

1. Past Lycosura, on its western side, flows the river Platanis-
ton: any one going to Phigalia must necessarily cross it. After it you
ascend for about thirty furlongs or a little more. 2. I have already 2
told the story of Phigalus, son of Lycaon, the original founder of the
city, and how in course of time the city changed its name and was
called after Phialus, son of Bucolion, and how it recovered its old
name again. Another tradition, unworthy of credit, is that Phigalus
was an aboriginal, and not a son of Lycaon; and it has been
affirmed by some that Phigalia was one of the nymphs called Dryads.
When the Lacedaemonians attacked the Arcadians and invaded 3
Phigalia with an army, they defeated the natives in battle and laid
siege to the town. When the walls were in danger of being taken
the Phigalians made their escape, or capitulated and were allowed
by the Lacedaemonians to march out. The capture of Phigalia
and the flight of the people from the town took place when
Miltiades was archon at Athens, in the second year of the thirtieth
Olympiad, in which Chionis, a Laconian, was victorious for the third
time. The Phigalians who escaped resolved to go to Delphi and ask the 4
god how they might be restored to their own country. The Pythian
priestess answered that she saw no restoration for them if they tried
to return to Phigalia by themselves, but that if they took with them a
hundred picked men from Oresthasium, these latter would fall in the
battle, and the Phigalians would by their means effect their own restora-
tion. When the Oresthasians heard of the oracle that had been given
to the Phigalians, every man vied with his neighbour who should be
of the picked hundred and take part in the expedition to Phigalia.
They advanced against the Lacedaemonian garrison and fulfilled the 5
oracle to the letter, for they met a glorious death in battle, and by
expelling the Spartans allowed the Phigalians to recover their native
country.

3. Phigalia stands on high and mostly precipitous ground, and
the walls are built on the cliffs; but when you have reached the
top, the hill is flat and level. Here there is a sanctuary of Saviour
Artemis with a standing image of stone. From this sanctuary it
is the custom for the processions to start. 4. The image of 6
Hermes in the gymnasium represents him clad in a robe; however,
it is not a full-length figure, but ends in the square form. There is
also a temple of Dionysus, who is surnamed Acratophorus ('bearer
of neat wine') by the inhabitants. The lower part of the image is
hidden in laurel-leaves and ivy. All of it that is visible is painted
. . . cinnabar to shine: it is said to be found by the Iberians along
with the gold.

XL

1. In the market-place at Phigalia there is a statue of Arrhachion the pancratiast. The statue is archaic, especially in its attitude, for the feet are not much separated, and the arms hang down by the side to the hips. It is made of stone, and they say that it bore an inscription, which, however, has been effaced by time. 2. Arrhachion gained two Olympic victories in the Olympiads before the fifty-fourth, and in the fifty-fourth Olympiad he won yet another victory
2 by the just verdict of the umpires and his own manhood. For when he was contending for the crown of wild olive with the last of the competitors, his adversary, whoever he was, got the first grip, and twining his legs round him held him fast, while he squeezed his throat with his hands. Arrhachion put one of his adversary's toes out of joint, and expired under the grip that his adversary had on his throat, but the latter in the act of throttling him was obliged at the same moment by the pain in his toe to give in. The Eleans crowned and proclaimed victorious the dead body of Arrhachion.
3 3. I know that the Argives treated Creugas, a boxer of Epidamnus, in the same way: they gave him, though dead, the crown at the Nemean games, because his antagonist, Damoxenus of Syracuse, broke the agreement they had made with each other. For evening was about to fall while they were still boxing; and so they agreed, in the hearing of the people, that each should in turn stand up to a blow from the other. In those days boxers did not yet wear the sharp thong on each wrist, but boxed with the soft straps, which they fastened under the hollow of the hand in order that the fingers might be left bare: these soft straps were thin thongs of raw cow-hide, plaited together in an ancient fashion.
4 On the occasion I refer to Creugas discharged his blow at the head of Damoxenus. The latter then bade Creugas hold up his arm, and when Creugas did so he struck him under the ribs with his fingers stretched straight out, and what with the sharpness of his nails and the force of the blow, he drove his hand right into the other's body,
5 and gripping his guts tore them out with a wrench. Creugas expired on the spot, and the Argives expelled Damoxenus, on the ground that he had broken the terms of the agreement by giving his adversary several blows instead of one. They gave the prize to the dead Creugas, and set up a statue to him in Argos, which down to my time still stood in the sanctuary of Wolfish Apollo.

XLI

1. In the market-place at Phigalia is the common grave of the picked Oresthasians, and the Phigalians sacrifice to them as heroes

every year. 2. A river called the Lymax flows just beside Phigalia 2
and falls into the Neda. They say that the river got its name by
reason of the purification of Rhea. For when she had brought forth
Zeus, the nymphs purified her after her travail, and flung the filth
into the river; now the ancients called such filth *lumata*. Thus, for
example, Homer says that when the Greeks were rid of the pestilence
they cleansed themselves, and cast the filth (*lumata*) into the sea.
3. The springs of the Neda are in Mount Cerausius, which is a part 3
of Mount Lycaeus. Where the Neda comes nearest to the city of
Phigalia, the Phigalian boys shear their hair in honour of the river.
Near the sea the Neda is navigated by small craft. Of all the rivers that
we know of the Maeander flows with the most crooked stream, very
often doubling back on its course and then bending round again;
but for windings and turnings the Neda might rank second. 4.
About twelve furlongs above Phigalia there are warm baths, and not 4
far from them the Lymax falls into the Neda. At the meeting
of the streams is the sanctuary of Eurynome, hallowed from
of old, and not easily accessible on account of the rugged
nature of the place: a thick wood of cypresses grows round
it. The Phigalian people are persuaded that Eurynome is a 5
surname of Artemis; but those of them who are depositaries of
ancient traditions say that Eurynome was that daughter of Ocean, of
whom Homer makes mention in the *Iliad*, where he describes how
in company with Thetis she received Hephaestus. They open the
sanctuary of Eurynome on the same day every year; but it is against
their rule to open it at any other time. On that occasion they offer 6
both public and private sacrifices. I did not happen to arrive at
the season of the festival, nor did I see the image of Eurynome;
but I was told by the Phigalians that the image, which is of wood,
is bound fast by golden chains, and that it represents a woman to
the hips, but below that a fish. Now if she is a daughter of Ocean,
and dwells with Thetis in the depths of the sea, the fish might be a
sort of emblem of her; but if she were Artemis, she could not with
any show of probability be represented by such a figure.

5. Phigalia is surrounded by mountains, on the left by Mount 7
Cotilius, while on the right it is sheltered by Mount Elaius
('Mount of Olives'). Mount Cotilius is distant about forty
furlongs from the city: on it is a place called Bassae, and the
temple of Apollo the Succourer, built of stone, roof and all. Of 8
all the temples in Peloponnese, next to the one at Tegea,
this may be placed first for the beauty of the stone and the
symmetry of its proportions. Apollo got the name of Succourer for
the succour he gave in time of plague, just as at Athens he
received the surname of Averter of Evil for delivering Athens also
from the plague. It was at the time of the war between the 9
Peloponnesians and Athenians that he delivered the Phigalians also,

and at no other time: this is proved by his two surnames, which mean much the same thing, as well as by the fact that Ictinus, the architect of the temple at Phigalia, was a contemporary of Pericles, and built for the Athenians the Parthenon, as it is called. I have already shown that the image of Apollo stands in the market-place of Megalopolis.

10 6. There is a spring of water on Mount Cotilius. A certain writer states that this spring is the source of the river Lymax, but he made this statement without having seen the spring himself, or spoken with any man who had. I have done both. I saw the river flowing, and I saw the water of the spring on Mount Cotilius, not running far, but soon disappearing entirely. But it did not occur to me to inquire diligently in what part of Arcadia the Lymax has its source. Above the sanctuary of Apollo the Succourer is a place called Cotilum, and there is an Aphrodite in Cotilum: she has a temple and an image, but the roof of the temple is gone.

XLII

1. The other mountain, Mount Elaius, is about thirty furlongs from Phigalia: there is a cave there sacred to Demeter surnamed the Black. 2. All that the people of Thelpusa say touching the loves of Poseidon and Demeter is believed by the Phigalians; but the Phigalians say that Demeter gave birth, not to a horse,
2 but to her whom the Arcadians name the Mistress, and they say that afterwards Demeter, wroth with Poseidon, and mourning the rape of Proserpine, put on black raiment, and entering this grotto tarried there in seclusion a long while. But when all the fruits of the earth were wasting away, and the race of man was perishing still more of hunger, none of the other gods, it would seem, knew
3 where Demeter was hid; but Pan, roving over Arcadia, and hunting now on one mountain, now on another, came at last to Mount Elaius, and spied Demeter, and saw the plight she was in, and the garb she wore. So Zeus learnt of this from Pan, and sent the Fates to Demeter, and she hearkened to the Fates, and swallowed her wrath, and abated even from her grief.

3. For that reason the Phigalians say that they accounted the
4 grotto sacred to Demeter, and set up in it an image of wood. The image, they say, was made thus: it was seated on a rock, and was in the likeness of a woman, all but the head; the head and the hair were those of a horse, and attached to the head were figures of serpents and other wild beasts; she was clad in a tunic that reached even to her feet; on one of her hands was a dolphin, and on the other a dove. Why they made the image thus is plain to any man of ordinary sagacity who is versed in legendary lore. They say they surnamed her Black, because the garb the goddess wore was

black. They do not remember who made this wooden image, nor how it caught fire. 4. When the old image disappeared the Phigalians did not give the goddess another in its stead, and as to the festivals and sacrifices, why they neglected most of them, until a dearth came upon the land; then they besought the god, and the Pythian priestess answered them as follows:— 5

Arcadians, Azanians, acorn-eaters, who inhabit 6
Phigalia, the cave where the Horse-mother Deo lay hid,
You come to learn a riddance of grievous famine,
You who alone have been nomads twice, and twice tasted the berries wild.
'Twas Deo stopped your pasturing, and 'twas Deo caused you again
To go without the cakes of herdsmen who drag the ripe ears home,
Because she was robbed of privileges that men of old bestowed on her and of her ancient honours.
And soon shall she make you to eat each other, and to feast on your children,
If you appease not her wrath with libations offered of the whole people,
And if you adorn not the nook of the tunnel with honours divine.

When the oracle was reported to them, the Phigalians held Demeter 7 in higher honour than before, and in particular they induced Onatas, the Aeginetan, son of Micon, to make them an image of Demeter for so much. There is a bronze Apollo at Pergamus by this Onatas, which is one of the greatest marvels both for size and workmanship. So he made a bronze image for the Phigalians, guided by a painting or a copy which he discovered of the ancient wooden image; but he relied mainly, it is said, on directions received in dreams. This was about a generation after the expedition of the Medes against Greece. Of this I have evidence. 8 For at the time when Xerxes crossed into Europe, Gelo, son of Dinomanes, was tyrant of Syracuse and of all the rest of Sicily; but when Gelo died, the sovereignty devolved on his brother Hiero; and as Hiero died before he dedicated to Olympian Zeus the offerings which he had vowed for his victories in the chariot-race, they were offered by his son Dinomanes in his stead. These offerings 9 are also works of Onatas; and there are inscriptions at Olympia. The one over the votive offering is this:—

For his victories in thy august contests, Olympian Zeus,
One victory with the four-horse car, and two with the race-horse,
Hiero bestowed these gifts on thee: they were dedicated by his son,
Dinomenes, in memory of his Syracusan sire.

The other inscription runs:— 10

Onatas, son of Micon, wrought me:
He dwelt in a house in the isle of Aegina.

Onatas may have been a contemporary of the Athenian Hegias, and of Ageladas the Argive.

11 5. Chiefly for the sake of this Demeter I went to Phigalia, but I sacrificed no victim to the goddess, such being the custom of the natives; instead, they bring the fruit of the vine and of other cultivated trees, also honeycombs, and wool which is yet unspun and full of grease; these they lay on the altar, which is built in front of the grotto, and having laid them on it they pour oil on them. Such is the rule of sacrifice observed both by private 12 persons, and once a year by the Phigalian community. They have a priestess who performs the rites, and she is assisted by the youngest of the sacrificers, as they are called, who are citizens, three in number. 6. There is a grove of oaks round about the grotto, and cold water wells up from a spring. The image made by Onatas was no longer in existence in my time, and most of the Phigalians were 13 not aware that it had ever existed; but the oldest man we met said that three generations before his time some stones from the roof had fallen on the image, smashing and annihilating it; and sure enough in the roof we could still clearly see the places from which the stones had broken off.

XLIII

1. The plan of my work next requires of me to describe Pallantium, if there is anything notable there, and to explain why the Emperor Antoninus the First changed Pallantium from a village into 2 a city, and granted it freedom and immunity from taxes. 2. They say, then, that one Evander by name was the best of the Arcadians both in council and in war, and that he was a son of Hermes by a nymph, the daughter of the Ladon, and that having set out to found a colony at the head of a band of Arcadians from Pallantium, he built a city by the river Tiber. And that quarter of the present city of Rome which was inhabited by Evander and his Arcadian followers got the name of Pallantium in memory of the city in Arcadia; but in after time the name was changed by the omission of the letters L and N. It was for these reasons that privileges were conferred on 3 Pallantium by the Emperor. 3. Antoninus, the benefactor of Pallantium, never voluntarily involved the Romans in war; but when the Moors took up arms against Rome he drove them out of all their land, and forced them to flee into the utmost parts of Libya, as far as Mount Atlas and the peoples who dwell on that mountain. These Moors form the greatest part of the independent Libyans: they are nomads, and harder to combat than the Scythians, inasmuch as they roam, not on wagons, but on horseback, they and their 4 women. Also he deprived the Brigantians in Britain of most of their territory, because they, too, had entered on a war of aggression

by invading the province of Genunia, which is subject to Rome. The Lycian and Carian cities, also Cos and Rhodes, were overthrown by a violent shock of earthquake; but the Emperor Antoninus restored them by a lavish expenditure of money, and by his eagerness to have them rebuilt. As to his free gifts of money both to Greeks and to such of the barbarians as needed it, and his buildings in Greece, Ionia, Carthage, and Syria, they have been very exactly recorded by other writers. The Emperor bequeathed another 5
memorial of himself, and it was this:—In virtue of a certain law, all provincials who were Roman citizens, but whose children were Greeks, had only the alternative of distributing their property among strangers, or of giving it to swell the Emperor's wealth; but Antoninus allowed them to transmit their property to their children, for he would rather enjoy a character for humanity than uphold a law which brought money into the treasury. This Emperor was called Pius by the Romans, because he was known to be most devout. In 6
my judgment, the title borne by the elder Cyrus might well be applied to him—the Father of Mankind. 4. He bequeathed the throne to a son of the same name, Antoninus the Second, who inflicted punishment on the Germans, the most numerous and warlike barbarians in Europe, and on the Sarmatian nation, both of whom had wantonly broken the peace.

XLIV

1. To complete my account of Arcadia, I have to describe the road from Megalopolis to Pallantium and Tegea, the same road which leads to the so-called Dyke. On this road there is the suburb of Ladocea, named after Ladocus, son of Echemus. 2. After it there was of old a city called Haemoniae: its founder was Haemon, son of Lycaon: the place has retained the name of Haemoniae to this day. After Haemoniae there are on the right of the road some 2
notable remains of the city of Oresthasium, including columns of a sanctuary of Artemis, who is here surnamed Priestess. Keeping the straight road from Haemoniae you come to a place called Aphrodisium, and after it to another place Athenaeum. On the left of the latter is a temple of Athena with a stone image in it. Just 3
twenty furlongs from Athenaeum are ruins of Asea: on the hill, which was then the acropolis, there are still vestiges of the wall. 3. About five furlongs from Asea are the sources of the Alpheus and Eurotas: the source of the Alpheus is a little way from the road, the source of the Eurotas is just beside the road. At the source of the Alpheus there is a roofless temple of the Mother of the Gods, and two lions made of stone. The water of the Eurotas mingles with the 4
Alpheus, and the two streams flow together for about twenty furlongs; then they descend into a chasm and come up again, the Eurotas in

the land of Lacedaemon, and the Alpheus at Pegae in the district of Megalopolis. 4. From Asea there is a way up Mount Boreus. On the top of the mountain are traces of a sanctuary: it is said that Ulysses made the sanctuary in honour of Saviour Athena and Poseidon after his return from Ilium.

5 What is called the Dyke forms the boundary between the territory of Megalopolis on the one side and the territories of Tegea and Pallantium on the other. The plain of Pallantium is reached by turning off to the left from the Dyke. 5. In Pallantium there is a temple with two images of stone; one represents Pallas, and the other Evander. And there is a sanctuary of the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, and not far off is a statue of Polybius. The hill above the city was formerly used as an acropolis: on the top of the hill there remains to this day a sanctuary of certain gods.

6 Their surname is Pure, and here it is customary to take the most solemn oaths. The people either do not know or will not divulge the names of these gods. We may conjecture that they were called Pure because Pallas did not sacrifice to them in the same way that his father sacrificed to Lycaean Zeus.

7 6. On the right of the Dyke is the Manthuric plain. The plain is on the borders of the Tegean territory, and extends for just about fifty furlongs as far as Tegea. There is a small mountain on the right of the road called Mount Cresius: on it stands the sanctuary of Aphneus. According to the Tegeans, Ares loved Aerope,

8 daughter of Cepheus, who was the son of Aleus: she expired in childbed, but the babe clung to his dead mother, and sucked abundance of milk from her breasts. Now this happened by the will of Ares, therefore they name the god Aphneus ('abundant'); but the name given to the child, they say, was Aeropus. 7. On the road to Tegea there is a fountain called the Leuconian fountain. They say that Leucone was a daughter of Aphidas, and her tomb is not far from the city of Tegea.

XLV

1. The Tegeans say that in the time of Tegeates, son of Lycaon, the district alone received its name from him, and that the people dwelt in townships, namely Gareatae, Phylacenses, Caryatae, Corythenses, Potachidae, Oeatae, Manthyrenses, and Echeuethenses; and in the reign of Aphidas, a ninth township, that of Aphidantes,

2 was added. The founder of the present city was Aleus. 2. Besides the enterprises which the Tegeans shared with the Arcadians generally, including the Trojan war, the Persian wars, and the battle with the Lacedaemonians at Dipaea, they have the following separate titles to glory. Ancaeus, the son of Lycurgus, wounded though he was, awaited the attack of the Calydonian boar, and

Atalanta shot at and was the first to hit the beast; therefore she received the head and skin of the boar as a meed of valour. When 3
the Heraclids returned to Peloponnese, Echemus, son of Aeropus, a Tegean, engaged in single combat with Hyllus and conquered him in the fight. Again, the Tegeans were the first of the Arcadians who, attacked by the Lacedaemonians, defeated them and took most of them prisoners.

3. The ancient sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea was made by 4
Aleus; but in after time the Tegeans constructed a large and stately temple for the goddess. The old sanctuary was destroyed by a sudden fire when Diophantes was archon at Athens, in the second year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, in which Eupolemus, an Elean, won the foot-race. 4. The present temple far surpasses all 5
other temples in Peloponnese both in size and style. The first row of columns is Doric, and the next Corinthian: within the temple, too, stand columns of the Ionic order. I learned that the architect was Scopas the Parian, who made images in many places of ancient Greece, and some in Ionia and Caria. On the front 6
gable is the hunt of the Calydonian boar. The boar is set just in the middle. On one side are Atalanta, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Pollux, and Iolaus, the comrade of Hercules in most of his labours; and there are also Prothus and Cometes, sons of Thestius and brothers of Althaea. On the other side of the 7
boar is Epochus supporting Ancaeus, who is wounded, and has dropped his axe: beside him are Castor, Amphiaraus, and Oicles, also Hippothus, son of Cercyon, son of Agamedes, son of Stymphalus; and last of all is Pirithous. On the back gable is represented the fight of Telephus with Achilles in the plain of the Caicus.

XLVI

1. The ancient image of Athena Alea, and with it the tusks of the Calydonian boar, were carried off by the Roman Emperor Augustus, after he had defeated Antony and his allies, among whom were all the Arcadians except the Mantineans. 2. It is known that Augustus 2
was not the first to carry off votive offerings and images of the gods from his vanquished foes, but that he only followed a long-established precedent. For when Ilium was taken and the Greeks were dividing the spoils, the wooden image of Zeus of the Courtyard was given to Sthenelus, son of Capaneus. And many years afterwards, when the Dorians were migrating into Sicily, Antiphemus, the founder of Gela, sacked Omphace, a town of the Sicanians, and carried off to Gela an image which had been made by Daedalus. And we know that Xerxes, son of Darius, king of 3
Persia, besides what he carried off from the city of Athens, took from Brauron an image of Brauronian Artemis; and moreover,

accusing the Milesians of wilfully playing the coward in the sea-fights with the Athenians in Greek waters, he took the bronze Apollo of Branchidae. The latter image was afterwards restored to the Ephesians by Seleucus. But down to my time the Argives still preserve the images they took from Tiryns: one of them, a wooden image, stands beside the image of Hera, the other is preserved in
4 the sanctuary of Elean Apollo. When the people of Cyzicus compelled the people of Proconnesus by force of arms to settle in Cyzicus, they took from Proconnesus an image of Mother Dindymene: the image is of gold, and the face is made of the teeth of hippopotamuses instead of ivory. Thus the Emperor Augustus merely practised an ancient custom, which is observed by Greeks and barbarians alike. The image of Athena Alea at Rome is as
5 you go to the Forum of Augustus. There it stands, an image made wholly of ivory, the work of Endoeus. As to the boar's tusks, the keepers of the curiosities say that one of them is broken; but the remaining one is preserved in the imperial gardens, in a sanctuary of Dionysus, and is just half a fathom long.

XLVII

1. The present image at Tegea was brought from the township of Manthyrenses: amongst the Manthyrensians it went by the surname of Hippia ('of horses'), because, according to them, in the battle of the gods and the giants the goddess drove the chariot and horses against Enceladus. However, Alea has come to be her recognised name amongst the Peloponnesians and the rest of the Greeks. On one side of the image of Athena stands Aesculapius, on the other Health, made of Pentelic marble, works of Scopas the Parian.
2 2. Amongst the most remarkable votive offerings in the temple is the hide of the Calydonian boar: it is rotting away with age, and is now quite bare of bristles. Also, there are hung up the fetters which the Lacedaemonian prisoners wore when they dug the plain of Tegea, but some of the fetters have been eaten away by rust. There is also a sacred couch of Athena and a picture of Auge; also the
3 shield of Marpessa surnamed Choera, a woman of Tegea. I shall make mention of Marpessa hereafter. A boy acts as priest of Athena: how long his priesthood lasts I know not; but he can hold it only before the age of puberty, and not after it. They say that the altar was made for the goddess by Melampus, son of Amythaon. On the altar are represented Rhea and a nymph Oenoe holding the infant Zeus. On either side are four figures: on the one side Glauce, Neda, Thisoa, and Anthracia; on the other side Ida, Hagno, Alcinoa, and Phrixa. There are also images of the Muses and Memory.
4 3. Not far from the temple is a stadium formed by a bank of

earth, and they hold games there, one set of which they name Aleaea after Athena, and the other Halotia, because they took most of the Lacedaemonians alive in the battle. To the north of the temple is a fountain, and at this fountain they say that Auge was violated by Hercules, but in this they differ from Hecataeus. About three furlongs from the fountain is a temple of Hermes Aepytus.

4. There is another sanctuary of Athena at Tegea, that of 5
Athena Poliatis ('Guardian of the City'): once each year a priest enters it. They name it the Sanctuary of the Bulwark, saying that to Cepheus, son of Aleus, a boon was granted by Athena, that Tegea should never be taken; and they say that the goddess cut off some of the hair of Medusa and gave him it as a means of guarding the city. Of Artemis, the Leader, they tell the following tale. Aristo- 6
melidas made himself tyrant of Orchomenus in Arcadia, and having fallen in love with a girl of Tegea, and got her into his power somehow or other, he committed the safe-keeping of the damsel to Chronius. But before she was brought to the tyrant the girl slew herself for fear and shame; and Artemis in a vision stirred up Chronius against Aristomelidas. So having murdered the tyrant and fled to Tegea, he made a sanctuary for Artemis.

XLVIII

1. The market-place is shaped exactly like a brick: in it there is a temple of Aphrodite, called Aphrodite in Brick, with a stone image. There are two slabs, on one of which are wrought in relief Antiphanes, Crisus, Tyronidas, and Pyrrhias, who made laws for the Tegeans, and are honoured by them to this day. On the other slab is represented Iasius, holding a horse and bearing in his right hand a palm branch. They say that Iasius won the horse-race at Olympia at the time when the Theban Hercules celebrated the Olympic games. 2. Why a crown of wild-olive is given to the 2
victor at Olympia, I have already explained in the section on Elis; and in the sequel I will show why at Delphi he receives a crown of laurel. At the Isthmus the pine, and at Nemea the celery were adopted as symbols of the sufferings of Palaemon and Archemorus. But in most of the games the crown is of palm, and everywhere a palm is placed in the victor's right hand. The origin of the custom 3
was this: they relate that Theseus, returning from Crete, celebrated games in Delos in honour of Apollo, and crowned the victors with the palm. They say that this was the beginning of the custom. The palm-tree at Delos is mentioned by Homer in the supplication which Ulysses addresses to the daughter of Alcinous.

3. There is also an image of Ares in the market-place of 4
Tegea. It is wrought in relief on a slab, and they name the god Entertainer of Women . . . Laconian war, and when Charillus,

the king of the Lacedaemonians, led the first invasion, the women took arms and lay in ambush at the foot of the hill which they still call Phylactris ('Watch-hill'). When the armies had engaged, and the men on both sides were doing many doughty and memorable deeds, the women, they say, showed themselves and caused the
5 rout of the Lacedaemonians. They say that Marpessa, surnamed Choera, surpassed all the other women in valour, and that amongst the Spartan prisoners was Charillus himself. He was released without ransom, and swore to the Tegeans that never more would Lacedaemonians march against Tegea, but he broke his oath. The women, they say, offered the sacrifice of victory to Ares without the men, and did not give the men a share of the flesh of
6 the victim. That is why Ares got his surname. 4. There is also an altar of Full-grown Zeus and a square image: the Arcadians appear to me to be exceedingly fond of the square shape. Here, too, are tombs of Tegeates, son of Lycaon, and of Maera, wife of Tegeates. They say that Maera was a daughter of Atlas. Homer mentions her in the tales that Ulysses tells Alcinous about his journey to hell, and about all the people whose souls he beheld there. 5.
7 There is a temple and image of Ilithyia in the market-place, and the Tegeans call her 'Auge on her Knees,' because, say they, when Aleus delivered his daughter to Nauplius, with orders to take her and drown her in the sea, as she was being haled along she fell on her knees, and so gave birth to the boy at the place where the sanctuary of Ilithyia stands. Different from this story is another, that Auge hid the birth from her father, and exposed the child Telephus on Mount Parthenius, and that the forsaken boy was suckled by a doe. Nevertheless this latter story is also current
8 among the Tegeans. 6. Beside the sanctuary of Ilithyia is an altar to Earth, and adjoining the altar is a slab of white marble. On this slab is represented Polybius, son of Lycortas, and on another slab is wrought Elatus, one of the sons of Arcas.

XLIX

1. Not far from the market-place is a theatre, and beside it are pedestals of bronze statues, but the statues are no longer there. On one of the pedestals is an elegiac inscription stating that the statue is that of Philopoemen. The memory of Philopoemen is fondly cherished by the Greeks for the wisdom he displayed, and for
2 his many deeds of valour. His father, Craugis, belonged to one of the most distinguished Arcadian families in Megalopolis, but he died while Philopoemen was still an infant, and the guardianship of the child was undertaken by Cleander of Mantinea, who, having the misfortune to be exiled from his native city, had resided ever since in Megalopolis, where his family were united by ties of friendship with

the house of Craugis. They say that amongst the teachers of Philopoemen were Megalophanes and Ecdelus, who are said to have been disciples of Arcesilaus the Pitanaean. 2. In size and strength 3
Philopoemen was a match for any man in Peloponnese, but he was hard-favoured. He scorned to train for prize competitions, but tilled his own land and did not neglect the chase. They say he read books of renowned writers and tales of war, and whatever served to illustrate the art of strategy. He would fain have modelled his whole life on the pattern set by the character and deeds of Epaminondas, but could not equal him in all things; for while the temper of Epaminondas was very gentle, that of the Arcadian was passionate.

3. When Cleomenes seized Megalopolis, Philopoemen, un- 4
daunted by the suddenness of the blow, brought safe off to Messene about two-thirds of the fighting men and all the women and children; for at that time the Messenians were their good friends and allies. To some of the escaped fugitives Cleomenes made overtures, professing repentance for his crime, and expressing his willingness to treat with the Megalopolitans if they returned to their homes; but Philopoemen persuaded his countrymen to open the way home with their swords, and to have nothing to do with truces and treaties.

4. At the battle of Sellasia, where the Lacedaemonians, under 5
Cleomenes, were confronted by troops from every city in Achaia and Arcadia, as well as by a Macedonian contingent under Antigonus, Philopoemen rode with the cavalry, but seeing that the decision of the day would rest with the infantry, he dismounted and joined them. In exposing himself with conspicuous gallantry he was run through both thighs by one of the enemy; and though thus grievously 6
hampered, he yet bent in his knees and made shift to go forward, till by the motion of his legs he snapped the spear in two. When he returned to the camp after the defeat of the Lacedaemonians and their king, the surgeons extracted the pieces of the spear from his thighs, from one thigh the spike, from the other the blade. Now when Antigonus heard of and saw his gallantry, he sought to take Philopoemen with him to Macedonia. But Philopoemen cared 7
little for Antigonus. He sailed to Crete, where a civil war was raging, and here he was made a captain of free lances. On his return to Megalopolis he was immediately chosen by the Achaeans to command their cavalry, and he made them the finest cavalrymen in Greece. In the skirmish at the river Larisus between the Achaeans and their allies on the one side, and the Eleans and Aetolians, their kinsmen and allies, on the other side, Philopoemen first killed with his own hand Demophantus, the commander of the enemy's horse, and then put the whole Aetolian and Elean cavalry to flight.

L

1. It was now to Philopoemen that the Achaeans looked, and in him that they placed all their hope and pride. He was thus enabled to change the equipment of their infantry. Hitherto they had carried short javelins and oblong shields, like the Celtic targes or the Persian bucklers; but Philopoemen induced them to don breastplates and put on greaves, and, further, to use Argolic shields and
2 long spears. 2. When the Achaeans were involved once more in war with the Lacedaemonians under their upstart tyrant Machanidas, Philopoemen was in command of the Achaean troops. A battle took place at Mantinea, in which the Lacedaemonian skirmishers worsted the Achaean light troops, and the tyrant pressed the pursuit of the fugitives. But Philopoemen, at the head of the column of infantry, routed the Lacedaemonian foot, and falling in with Machanidas, who was returning from the pursuit, killed him. To the Lacedaemonians the loss of the battle was more than com-
3 pensated by the recovery of their freedom. 3. Not long afterwards, when the Argives were celebrating the Nemean games, it chanced that Philopoemen was present at the competition of the minstrels. Pylades, a native of Megalopolis, and the most famous minstrel of his time, who had gained a Pythian victory, was singing an air of Timotheus the Milesian, called 'The Persians.' Scarcely had he struck up the song—

> The glorious crown of freedom who giveth to Greece—

when all the people turned and looked at Philopoemen, and with clapping of hands signified that the song referred to him. I have heard that much the same thing happened to Themistocles at Olympia: the people in the theatre stood up to do him honour.
4 4. But Philip, son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia, who poisoned Aratus of Sicyon, despatched men to Megalopolis with orders to assassinate Philopoemen. The attempt miscarried, but its author incurred the detestation of the whole of Greece. The Thebans had defeated the Megarians in battle, and were in the act of mounting the walls of Megara, when the Megarians deluded them into the belief that Philopoemen was come into the city. At this the Thebans were seized with a fit of caution so extreme that they left
5 the campaign unfinished and departed homeward. 5. In Lacedaemon another tyrant arose. This was Nabis. The first of the Peloponnesians whom he fell upon were the Messenians. Attacking them by night when they looked for no enemy he took the city, all but the acropolis; but when Philopoemen came next day at the head of an army, Nabis capitulated and marched out of Messene.

When the term of his generalship had expired, and other generals 6
of the Achaeans were elected, Philopoemen crossed again to Crete
and helped the Gortynians, who were hard pressed in war. But the
Arcadians were angry with him for absenting himself from the
country, so he returned from Crete to find that the Romans had
declared war against Nabis. They had fitted out a fleet against 7
Nabis, and the ardent temper of Philopoemen urged him to plunge
into the fray. But being no sailor he unwittingly embarked in a
leaky galley, which reminded the Romans and their allies of the
verses in the Catalogue where Homer speaks of the Arcadians as
ignorant of the sea. Not many days after the sea-fight Philopoemen, 8
at the head of his regiment, took advantage of a moonless night to
burn down the Lacedaemonian camp at Gythium. Hereupon Nabis
intercepted Philopoemen and his Arcadians in difficult ground.
The Arcadians were good soldiers, but they were few in number.
However, Philopoemen, by changing the order in which he was con- 9
ducting the retreat, turned the strongest positions to his own advan-
tage; and having defeated Nabis and slaughtered many of the
Lacedaemonians by night, he rose to a still higher pitch of glory
in the estimation of the Greeks. Afterwards Nabis, who had been 10
granted a truce by the Romans, was assassinated before its expiry
by a Calydonian who came on a pretext of alliance, but who, in
fact, was an enemy despatched by the Aetolians to do the deed.

LI

1. About this time Philopoemen threw himself into Sparta, and
compelled the Lacedaemonians to join the Achaean League. Not
long afterwards Titus, the Roman commander in Greece, and Dio-
phanes, son of Diaeus, a Megalopolitan, who had been elected head
of the Achaean League, marched against Lacedaemon, because they
charged the Lacedaemonians with plotting against Rome. But
Philopoemen, though at the time he was only a private man, shut
the gates against them. For this service and for the exploits he 2
had performed against both the tyrants, the Lacedaemonians offered
to give him the house of Nabis, worth more than a hundred talents.
But he disdained the proffered wealth, and bade the Lacedae-
monians rather use their presents to win the good graces of the
men who had the ear of the multitude in the Achaean diet. It is
said that this innuendo was levelled at Timolaus. Philopoemen was
again appointed general of the Achaeans. At that time the Lacedae- 3
monians had been embroiled in civil strife; so Philopoemen banished
three hundred of the ringleaders from Peloponnese, sold about
three thousand Helots, dismantled the walls of Sparta, and forbade
the lads to exercise according to the laws of Lycurgus, ordering
them to train like the Achaean lads. However, the national Spartan

4 education was to be afterwards restored by the Romans. After the Romans under Manius <had defeated> at Thermopylae the Syrian army under Antiochus, descendant of that Seleucus who bore the name of Nicator, Aristaenus of Megalopolis advised the Achaeans to acquiesce in all the wishes of the Romans, and withstand them in nothing. Whereupon Philopoemen looked angrily at him, and said that he was hastening the doom of Greece. When Manius wished to restore the Lacedaemonian exiles, Philopoemen opposed his design; but when Manius had departed, then, and not till then, did Philopoemen suffer the exiles to return to Sparta.

5 2. But the penalty of a haughty spirit was to overtake Philopoemen at last. When he was chosen general of the Achaeans for the eighth time, he twitted a man of some mark with having been taken alive by the enemy. Now, at that time the Achaeans had some grievance against the Messenians; so Philopoemen sent Lycortas with a force to lay waste the Messenian territory. But just two days afterwards, though he was suffering from a high fever, and was more than seventy years of age, he yearned to share the enterprise of Lycortas; so he put himself at the head of some sixty horsemen
6 and targeteers. 3. But now Lycortas and his army were in full retreat for home, without having exchanged any very hard knocks with the enemy. Philopoemen received a wound in the head in the action and fell from his horse, and they carried him alive to Messene. An assembly of the people was immediately convened, in which very
7 different opinions were expressed. Dinocrates and all the wealthy Messenians advised to put Philopoemen to death; but the popular party were most anxious to save him, pitying him, and calling him the father of the whole Greek nation. However, Dinocrates sent poison to him in the gaol, and thus took him off, contrary to the
8 wishes of the people. Not long afterwards Lycortas raised a force in Arcadia and Achaia, at the head of which he marched against Messene. The Messenian populace went over to them at once; and all who had been accomplices in the death of Philopoemen were taken and punished, except Dinocrates, who laid hands on himself. The bones of Philopoemen were brought back to Megalopolis by the Arcadians.

LII

1. From that day Greece ceased to be the mother of the brave.
2. Miltiades, son of Cimon, by defeating the barbarians who landed at Marathon, and checking the advance of the Persian host, was the first benefactor of the whole Greek people, and Philopoemen, son of Craugis, was the last. For Codrus, son of Melanthus, the Spartan Polydorus, Aristomenes the Messenian, and all the rest who did

bright deeds before Miltiades, will be found to have benefited each his native country and not Greece as a whole. After Miltiades, 2 Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides, and Themistocles, son of Neocles, drove Xerxes from Greece — Themistocles by the two sea-fights, Leonidas by the combat at Thermopylae. But Aristides, son of Lysimachus, and Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, both of whom commanded at Plataea, forfeited the title of benefactors of Greece— Pausanias by his subsequent crimes, Aristides by imposing tribute on the Greek islands, whereas before his time the whole Greek race had been exempt from tribute. Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, along 3 with Leotychides, king of Sparta, destroyed the fleet of the Medes at Mycale; and Cimon struck many a famous blow for Greece. But as for the men who fought in the war of the Peloponnesians against Athens, especially the men who most distinguished themselves in it, they may fitly be described as the assassins and almost the wreckers of Greece. From the low estate into which she had 4 sunk, Greece was raised by Conon, son of Timotheus, and Epaminondas, son of Polymnis—the former chasing the Lacedaemonian garrisons and governors out of the islands and coasts, the latter out of the inland cities, and both of them putting down the decemvirates. Moreover, by founding two renowned cities, Messene and the Arcadian Megalopolis, Epaminondas made Greece yet more illustrious. Leosthenes and Aratus I also rank among the benefactors 5 of the Greek nation. The former, in defiance of the wishes of Alexander, shipped safe back to Greece some fifty thousand Greek mercenaries, who had served in Persia, and had made their way to the coast. The history of Aratus has been already set forth by me in my description of Sicyon.

3. The inscription on the statue of Philopoemen at Tegea is 6 as follows:—

This man's valour and glory are noised throughout Greece, for much by prowess
And much by his counsels did he achieve.
He was the Arcadian spearman, Philopoemen. Great renown
Attended him as a leader of lances in war.
Two trophies, won from Sparta's tyrants, attest his fame;
And he checked the rising tide of slavery.
Wherefore Tegea set up a statue of the great-hearted son of Craugis,
The blameless author of freedom.

LIII

1. Such is the tenor of the inscription. There are images of Apollo, the God of Streets, at Tegea. The Tegeans say that they set them up for the following reason. They relate that Apollo and Artemis went to every country and took vengeance on all

the men of that age who, when the pregnant Latona in the course
2 of her wanderings came to that land, paid no heed to her. So
when the deities came to the land of Tegea, Scephrus, son of
Tegeates, went up to Apollo and talked with him in secret; but
Limon, another son of Tegeates, suspecting that what Scephrus
was saying reflected on himself, ran at his brother and slew him.
3 Punishment immediately overtook the murderer, for Artemis shot
him. Tegeates and Maera sacrificed to Apollo and Artemis at the
time; but afterwards a great barrenness fell upon the land, and an
oracle was sent from Delphi that they should bewail Scephrus. So
at the festival of the God of Streets they perform various ceremonies
in honour of Scephrus, and, in particular, the priestess of Artemis
pursues a man, feigning that she is Artemis and he Limon. 2.
4 They say, further, that Cydon, Archedius, and Gortys, the surviving
sons of Tegeates, migrated voluntarily to Crete, and that the cities
Cydonia, Gortyna, and Catreus, were named after them. The
Cretans, however, do not agree with the Tegean legend, but say
that Cydon was a son of Hermes by Acacallis, daughter of Minos,
and that Catreus was a son of Minos, and that Gortys was a son of
5 Rhadamanthys. Touching Rhadamanthys himself, Homer, in Proteus'
speech to Menelaus, says that Menelaus will come to the Elysian
plain, but that Rhadamanthys was come there before him. Cinaethon
in his poem represents Rhadamanthys as a son of Hephaestus,
Hephaestus as a son of Talos, and Talos as a son of Cres. The
legends of the Greeks differ from each other on most points, especi-
6 ally in the genealogies. 3. The Tegeans have four statues of the
God of Streets, one set up by each tribe. The names of the tribes
are Clareotis, Hippothoetis, Apolloniatis, and Athaneatis. They are
called after the lots which Arcas made his sons cast for the land,
and after Hippothous, son of Cercyon.

7 There is also in Tegea a temple of Demeter and the Maid,
whom they name Fruit-bearers, and near it is a temple of Paphian
Aphrodite. The latter was founded by Laodice, who dwelt in
Paphos, and, as I have shown before, was descended from
Agapenor, who led the Arcadians to Troy. Not far from it are
two sanctuaries of Dionysus, an altar of the Maid, and a temple
8 of Apollo, with a gilded image. This image was made by Chiriso-
phus, a Cretan by birth, but his date and master we do not know.
The residence of Daedalus in Cnosus, at the court of Minos, con-
ferred on the Cretans for a long time a reputation for the making
of wooden images. Beside the Apollo stands a statue of Chirisophus,
made of stone.

9 There is also what the Tegeans call the Common Hearth of the
Arcadians. Here is an image of Hercules, with a wound on his
thigh, which he received in the first battle which he fought with the
sons of Hippocoon. 4. The high place on which stand most of the

altars of the Tegeans is called after Clarian Zeus: plainly the god received the surname from the lots (*kleroi*) cast on behalf of the sons of Arcas. The Tegeans celebrate a festival here every year. They say 10
that once the Lacedaemonians marched against them at the time of the festival: it was snowing, and the Lacedaemonians shivered and were faint with the weight of their arms. But the Tegeans stealthily lit a fire, and not being incommoded by the cold they got under arms, marched out against the Lacedaemonians, and got the best of it in the action. 5. I also beheld in Tegea the house of Aleus, the tomb of Echemus, and the combat of Echemus with Hyllus sculptured in relief on a slab.

On the way from Tegea to Laconia there is an altar of Pan on 11
the left of the road, also an altar of Lycaean Zeus, and some foundations of sanctuaries are still to be seen. These altars are two furlongs from the city wall; and just about seven furlongs farther on is a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed the Lady of the Lake, with an image of ebony: the style of the workmanship is what the Greeks call Aeginetan. About ten furlongs farther on are the ruins of a temple of Cnaceatian Artemis.

LIV

1. The river Alpheus is the boundary between the lands of Lacedaemon and Tegea. Its water rises at Phylace, but not far from its source it is joined by another water from a number of small springs, and so the place has got the name of Symbola ('meetings'). 2. It is well known that the Alpheus is distinguished from 2
all other rivers by the following natural peculiarity: it often vanishes underground and reappears again. Thus, after proceeding onward from Phylace and the place called Symbola, it sinks underground in the Tegean plain: it rises again in Asea, and after uniting its stream with the Eurotas, descends for the second time into the earth. It 3
comes up at the spot which the Arcadians call Pegae ('springs'), and flowing past the land of Pisa and past Olympia it falls into the sea above Cyllene, the port of Elis. Even the Adriatic could not stop its onward course: it flows through that wide and stormy sea, and in the isle of Ortygia, off Syracuse, it shows that it is the true Alpheus, and blends its water with Arethusa.

3. On the straight road that leads from Tegea to Thyrea and 4
the villages of that district, we may note the tomb of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon: it was from here, say the Tegeans, that a Spartan stole his bones. In our time the grave is no longer within the gates. The river Garates flows beside the road. Crossing it and going ten furlongs farther you come to a sanctuary of Pan, and beside it is an oak-tree, which is also sacred to Pan.

4. The road from Tegea to Argos is an excellent carriage-road, 5

and quite a highway. On this road there is first a temple of Aesculapius with an image of him; next, turning off to the left for about a furlong, we come to a dilapidated sanctuary of Pythian Apollo, entirely in ruins. On the straight road the oak-trees are numerous and in the oak grove is a temple of Demeter, called 'Demeter in Corythenses': near it is another sanctuary, that of Mystic Dionysus.
6 5. After this begins Mount Parthenius. On it is shown a precinct of Telephus, and they say that here in his childhood he was exposed and was nourished by a doe. A little way off is a sanctuary of Pan, where the Athenians and Tegeans agree that Pan appeared to Philip-
7 pides and spoke with him. On Mount Parthenius there are tortoises, which are well fitted for making lyres of; but the men of the mountain fear to catch them, and will not allow strangers to do so either, for they think that the tortoises are sacred to Pan. When you have passed over the top of the mountain and reached the arable land you come to the boundary between Tegea and Argos: it is at Hysiae, which belongs to Argolis.

These are the divisions of Peloponnesė, and the cities in the divisions, and the most memorable things in each city.

BOOK NINTH

BOEOTIA

I

1. AMONGST the places where Boeotia marches with Attica is Plataea, which is coterminous with Eleutherae. The Boeotians, as a nation, got their name from Boeotus, who, they say, was a son of Itonus and the nymph Melanippe, and Itonus again was a son of Amphictyon. Some of the cities are called after men, but the greater part of them are called after women. 2. The Plataeans, it seems to me, were originally children of the soil; but their name is derived from Plataea, whom they believe to have been a daughter of the river <Asopus>. It is clear that the Plataeans also were governed of 2
old by kings; for everywhere in Greece kingdoms and not democracies were established long ago. But the only kings the Plataeans know of are Asopus and Cithaeron before him. They say that the one gave his name to the mountain and the other to the river. I believe that Plataea also, after whom the city is called, was a daughter of King Asopus, and not of the river.

Before the battle which the Athenians fought at Marathon, the 3
Plataeans had no title to fame. But they took part in the combat at Marathon; and afterwards, when Xerxes had come down to the sea, they dared to help the Athenians to man the ships; and they defended themselves against Mardonius, son of Gobrias, general of Xerxes, in their own territory. 3. Twice it befell them to be driven from their homes and to be brought back again to Boeotia. For in the war which the Peloponnesians waged against Athens, 4
the Lacedaemonians besieged and took Plataea; but during the peace which the Spartan Antalcidas negotiated with the Persian king on behalf of the Greeks, Plataea was restored, and the people returned to it from Athens. But a second calamity was to overtake them. There was no open war between them and the Thebans, the Plataeans asserting that peace was unbroken because they had taken no share in planning or executing the seizure of the Cadmea by the Lacedaemonians. But the Thebans de- 5

clared that as the Lacedaemonians had first made and then broken the peace, its obligations had ceased to be binding on any one. Therefore the Plataeans, viewing the behaviour of the Thebans with some suspicion, kept strict watch and ward in the city, and did not go daily even to the fields which were but a little way from the city. However, knowing that the deliberations of the Thebans were long, and were attended by the whole people, they waited till the Thebans were holding their public assemblies, and then looked after their lands at their leisure, even those whose farms lay farthest
6 from the city. But the artifice resorted to by the Plataeans had not escaped Neocles, who was then Boeotarch in Thebes; and he ordered every Theban to repair to the public assembly with his weapons. Then he instantly led them, not by the straight road from Thebes through the plain, but by the road that leads to Hysiae in the direction of Eleutherae and Attica, where the Plataeans had not even a sentinel posted. He calculated to be at the walls just about noon.
7 But the Plataeans, thinking that the Thebans were holding a public assembly, had gone to the fields, and so were cut off from the gates. With such as they caught in the city the Thebans concluded a treaty, that they should depart before set of sun, every man clad in a single garment, and every woman in two. Thus the fortune which befell the Plataeans on this occasion was the reverse of that which had overtaken them before when they fell into the hands of the Lacedaemonians under Archidamus. For whereas the Lacedaemonians took them by drawing a double line of circumvallation so that they could not get out of the city, the Thebans on this occasion attained the same end by preventing them from entering within the walls.
8 The second capture of Plataea took place two years before the battle of Leuctra, in the archonship of Astius at Athens. The city was razed by the Thebans, all but the sanctuaries; but the manner of its capture allowed all the people to escape with their lives. The exiles were again received by the Athenians. After his victory at Chaeronea, Philip introduced a garrison into Thebes, and amongst the other measures he took to humble the Thebans was the restoration of the Plataeans to their own land.

II

1. On Mount Cithaeron in the Plataean territory, if you turn a little to the right out of the straight road, you come to ruins of Hysiae and Erythrae. They were once cities of Boeotia, and even now among the ruins of Hysiae there is a half-finished temple of Apollo and a sacred well. Long ago, say the Boeotians, people
2 divined by drinking of the well. 2. Returning to the highway we come to what is said to be the tomb of Mardonius, also on the right. That the corpse of Mardonius disappeared immediately after the

battle is admitted; but people are not agreed as to the person who buried it. It is known that Mardonius' son, Artontes, gave many gifts, not only to Dionysophanes of Ephesus, but also to other Ionians, on the ground that they had been not unmindful of having Mardonius buried. This, then, is the road from Eleutherae to Plataea.

3. On the road from Megara there is a spring on the right, and 3
a little farther on a rock. They call the rock Actaeon's bed, for they say that he slept on this rock when he was weary with the chase; and they tell that he looked into the spring while Artemis was bathing in it. Stesichorus of Himera says that the goddess threw a deer-skin round Actaeon to ensure his death by the dogs, lest he should take Semele to wife. I am persuaded that without 4
the intervention of the goddess the dogs of Actaeon went mad, and in this condition they would be sure to rend in pieces without distinction whomsoever they fell in with. On what part of Cithaeron Pentheus, son of Echion, met his doom, or where Oedipus was exposed at birth, no man knows with that certainty wherewith we know the Cleft Way on the road to Phocis, where Oedipus slew his father. [Mount Cithaeron is sacred to Cithaeronian Zeus.] These things I will describe more fully in their proper place.

4. Just at the entrance into Plataea are the graves of the men 5
who fought against the Medes. There are separate graves for the Lacedaemonians and Athenians who fell, and elegies of Simonides are carved upon them. The rest of the Greeks are buried in a common tomb. Not far from this common tomb is an altar of Zeus of Freedom. . . . It is of bronze; but the altar and image of Zeus are made of white marble. They still celebrate games called 6
the Eleutheria ('games of freedom') every fourth year, at which the chief prizes offered are for running. They run in armour in front of the altar. The trophy which the Greeks set up for the battle of Plataea stands about fifteen furlongs from the city.

5. Going forward from the altar and image erected to Zeus 7
of Freedom, we come, in the city itself, to a shrine of the heroine Plataea. I have already mentioned the legend about her and my own conjectures on the subject. There is a temple of Hera at Plataea, which is worth seeing both for its size and for the beauty of its images. On entering we see Rhea bringing to Cronus the stone wrapt in swaddling bands, as if it were the child whom she had given birth to. They call Hera Full-grown: her image is upright and of colossal size. Both images are of Pentelic marble, and are works of Praxiteles. There is another image of Hera here: it is seated, and is by Callimachus. They name the goddess the Bride for the following reason.

III

1. They say that Hera, enraged at Zeus for some reason, retired to Euboea; and that Zeus, when he could not persuade her, came to Cithaeron, who then ruled in Plataea; for Cithaeron was second to none in craft. He accordingly advised Zeus to have an image made of wood, to convey it, wrapt up, in a bullock cart, and to say that he
2 was taking to wife Plataea, daughter of Asopus. Zeus did as Cithaeron advised him, and no sooner had Hera heard of it than she flew to the spot, and going up to the wagon tore the dress off the image. And finding a wooden image instead of a bride, she was pleased with the trick, and made it up with Zeus. 2. In memory of this reconciliation they celebrate a festival called Daedala, because people long ago called the wooden images *daedala*. I believe that they called them so even before Daedalus, son of Palamaon, was born at Athens, and I think that Daedalus was a surname subsequently given to him from the *daedala*, and not a name
3 bestowed on him at birth. 3. So the Plataeans hold the festival of the Daedala, the local guide said, every sixth year, but really the celebrations take place at shorter intervals. We tried to reckon the exact interval between one Daedala and another, but
4 we could not do it. They hold the festival thus. There is an oak wood not far from Alalcomenae; the trunks of the oak-trees in it are the largest in Boeotia. To this wood come the Plataeans, set out pieces of boiled flesh, and keep a sharp watch on the crows, which come flocking to them: the other birds do not trouble them in the least. They observe the crow which pounces on the flesh and the tree on which he perches. Then they fell the tree on which he perched, and make the *daedalum* out of it; for
5 they name the wooden image also *daedalum*. 4. This festival the Plataeans hold by themselves, and name it the Little Daedala; but the festival of the Great Daedala is held by them conjointly with the Boeotians every fifty-ninth year; for they say that the festival remained in abeyance for that time, when the Plataeans were in exile. There are fourteen wooden images made ready, these
6 having been provided year by year at the Little Daedala. Lots are drawn for these images by the Plataeans, Coroneans, Thespians, Tanagraeans, Chaeroneans, Orchomenians, Lebadeans, and Thebans; for at the time when Cassander, son of Antipater, restored Thebes, the Thebans desired to be reconciled to the Plataeans, to share in the common assembly, and to send a sacrifice to the Daedala. The towns of less note club together for images. Having decked the image . . . . to the Asopus, and having set it up on a wagon, they place a bridesmaid on the wagon. The representatives of the different cities again cast lots for the places they are to have in the

procession. Then they drive the wagons from the river to the top of Cithaeron. On the summit of the mountain an altar has been got ready. They make it in this fashion:—They put together quad- 7
rangular blocks of wood, fitting them into each other, just in the same way as if they were constructing an edifice of stone. Then, having raised it to a height, they pile brushwood on it. The cities 8
and the magistrates sacrifice each a cow to Hera and a bull to Zeus, and burn the victims, which are filled with wine and incense, together with the images (*daedala*) on the altar. Rich people sacrifice what they please: persons who are not so well off sacrifice the lesser cattle; but all the victims alike are burned. The fire seizes on the altar as well as the victims, and consumes them all together. I know of no blaze that rises so high, and is seen so far. 5. Just 9
about fifteen furlongs down from the summit on which they make the altar there is a cave of the nymphs of Cithaeron: it is called Sphragidium, and the story goes that the nymphs gave oracles there in days of old.

IV

1. The Plataeans have also a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Warlike: it was built from the share which the Athenians assigned them of the booty taken at the battle of Marathon. The image is of wood gilded, but the face, hands, and feet are of Pentelic marble. In size it falls little short of the bronze image on the Acropolis, which the Athenians also dedicated from the spoils of the battle of Marathon. It was Phidias who made the image of Athena for the Plataeans as well as for the Athenians. There are paintings 2
in the temple: one of them, by Polygnotus, represents Ulysses after he has killed the wooers; the other, by Onasias, depicts the former expedition of the Argives, under Adrastus, against Thebes. These paintings are on the walls of the fore-temple. At the feet of the image is a statue of Arimnestus, who commanded the Plataeans at the battle with Mardonius, and previously at the battle of Marathon.
2. There is also a sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter in Plataea, and 3
the tomb of Leitus. Of the captains that led the Boeotians to Troy, this Leitus was the only one who returned home. The Gargaphian fountain was filled up by Mardonius and the Persian cavalry because the Greek army, which was encamped over against them, drank of the fountain. However, the Plataeans afterwards recovered the water.

3. On the way from Plataea to Thebes there is a river Oeroe: 4
they say that Oeroe was a daughter of the Asopus. Before you cross the Asopus, turn aside and follow the stream downward, and after about forty furlongs you will come to ruins of Scolus. Amongst the ruins is an unfinished temple of Demeter and the Maid: the

images of the goddesses are also but half finished. The Asopus still separates the territory of Plataea from that of Thebes.

V

1. The land of Thebes, they say, was first inhabited by the Ectenians, whose king was Ogygus, an aboriginal; hence an epithet applied to Thebes by most of the poets is Ogygian. They say that the Ectenians were cut off by a plague, and that after them the Hyantians and Aonians settled in the country: I think the two latter were Boeotian tribes, and not foreigners. Being attacked by Cadmus and his Phoenician army they were defeated in battle; and the Hyantians fled at nightfall. But the Aonians threw themselves on the protection of Cadmus, and he suffered them to stay and to coalesce with
2 the Phoenicians. The Aonians still dwelt in villages, but Cadmus founded the city which is called Cadmea to our day. With the subsequent expansion of the city the Cadmea became the acropolis of the lower town of Thebes. Cadmus made a distinguished marriage if he really married, as the Greeks say he did, a daughter of Aphrodite and Ares. His daughters, too, Semele and Ino, acquired the reputation, the former of having had a child by Zeus,
3 the latter of being one of the divinities of the sea. In the time of Cadmus the most powerful persons, next to Cadmus himself, were the Sparti, to wit, Chthonius, Hyperenor, Pelorus, and Udaeus; but Echion for his surpassing prowess was chosen by Cadmus to be his son-in-law. I was unable to get any fresh light about these men, so I follow the myth that they were named Sparti ('sown') because of the way they were produced. When Cadmus had gone away to dwell among the Illyrian tribe of the Encheleans, his son Polydorus
4 succeeded to the throne. 2. Now Pentheus, son of Echion, was also powerful by virtue of his high birth and the king's friendship. But being a man of overbearing character and having behaved impiously to Dionysus, he was punished by the god. Polydorus had a son, Labdacus. When Polydorus' end was at hand, Labdacus was still a child, and the father entrusted his son and the govern-
5 ment to Nycteus. The sequel of the story, how Nycteus died, and how the guardianship of the boy and the regency of Thebes devolved on his brother Lycus, all this has been already narrated in my account of Sicyon. When Labdacus was grown up, Lycus ceded the sovereignty to him. But when Labdacus also died not long afterwards, Lycus acted once more as guardian, this time to Labdacus' son Laius.

6 3. During the second regency of Lycus, Amphion and Zethus mustered a force and returned to Thebes. Laius was stealthily removed out of the way by those who had it at heart that the house of Cadmus should not be forgotten in after ages; but Lycus

was defeated in battle by the sons of Antiope. When they came to the kingdom they added the lower city to the Cadmea, and named it Thebes, because of their relationship to Thebe. This is attested 7
by Homer in the *Odyssey*:—

> Who first laid the foundation of seven-gated Thebe,
> And fenced it with towers, for without towers they could not
> Dwell in spacious Thebe, strong though they were.

4. But Homer does not tell that Amphion sang and built the wall to the music of his lyre. Amphion was renowned as a musician, for through his connection with Tantalus he learned the Lydian music from the Lydians, and he added three new strings to the four old strings of the lyre. The author of the poem on Europa 8
says that Amphion was the first who fingered the lyre, and that his master was Hermes. The poet, too, has told how, as he sang, he drew the very stones and beasts after him. Myro of Byzantium, a poetess who composed epic and elegiac poems, says that Amphion was the first who set up an altar to Hermes, and that, therefore, he received a lyre from the god. It is also said that Amphion is punished in hell for having been one of those who jeered at Latona and her children. The punishment of Amphion is mentioned in 9
the poem *Minyad*, which deals both with Amphion and with the Thracian Thamyris. 5. But when the house of Amphion had been left desolate by a pestilence, and the son of Zethus had, by some mistake, been slain by the mother who bore him, and Zethus himself had died of a broken heart, then the Thebans brought back Laius to be king.

While Laius sat on the throne and had to wife Jocasta, there 10
came to him an oracle from Delphi, that if Jocasta should bear a son, that son would be his father's death. Therefore he exposed Oedipus. But as fate would have it, when Oedipus was grown to manhood, he slew his father and married his mother. But I think he had no children by her, and Homer is my witness, who says in the *Odyssey*:—

> And the mother of Oedipedes I saw, fair Epicaste, 11
> Who all unwitting wrought a fearful deed,
> Wedding her son. But he his father slew
> And wedded her. And straightway the gods revealed it to mankind.

Now, how could they have revealed it straightway if Jocasta was the mother of four children by Oedipus? In point of fact, the mother of his children was Euryganea, daughter of Hyperphas. This is proved by the author of the poem they call the *Oedipodia*; and Onasias has painted a picture at Plataea of Euryganea bowed with grief at the battle between her children.

6. Polynices retired from Thebes during the life and reign of 12

Oedipus for fear that the curses of his sire might be fulfilled on the children. He went to Argos and took to wife a daughter of Adrastus, but returned to Thebes when he was fetched by Eteocles after the death of Oedipus. But after his return he fell out with Eteocles, and so went into exile the second time. Having begged of Adrastus to give him a force which should restore him to his home, he lost his army and fought a single combat with Eteocles, according to challenge.
13 Both the combatants fell. The sovereignty now devolved on Laodamas, son of Eteocles; and Creon, son of Menoeceus, ruled as regent and guardian of the boy. 7. When Laodamas was come to manhood and sat upon the throne, <the Argives> led the second expedition against Thebes. The Thebans encamped in face of the enemy at Glisas; and when they came to close quarters Laodamas killed Aegialeus, son of Adrastus; but the Argives prevailed in the battle, and at nightfall Laodamas set out for Illyria with such of the
14 Thebans as chose to follow him. Having taken Thebes the Argives handed it over to Thersander, son of Polynices. When the host of Agamemnon on its way to Troy strayed from their course on the sea and suffered the defeat in Mysia, Thersander approved himself the bravest of the Greeks in the fight <and was slain> by Telephus. His tomb is in the city of Elaea, as you go towards the plain of the Caicus, and consists of a stone standing in the open part of the market-place: the natives say that they sacrifice to him as a hero. 8.
15 Thersander being dead, when a second expedition was being assembled to attack Alexander at Ilium, they elected Peneleus to the command, because Thersander's son Tisamenus was not yet of age. But when Peneleus was killed by Eurypylus, son of Telephus, they chose Tisamenus king, he being a son of Thersander by Demonassa, daughter of Amphiaraus. The Furies of Laius and Oedipus did not visit Tisamenus with their wrath, but they did visit his son Autesion,
16 so that in obedience to an oracle he migrated to the Dorians. On his departure they chose as king, Damasichthon, son of Opheltes, son of Peneleus. This Damasichthon had a son, Ptolemy, and Ptolemy had a son, Xanthus, whom Andropompus slew in single combat, not fairly, but by craft. Thenceforward it appeared better to the Thebans to entrust the conduct of affairs to several persons, than to be entirely dependent on a single man.

VI

1. Of the successes and reverses of the Thebans in battle, I found the following to be the most famous. They were defeated by the Athenians who had come to the help of the Plataeans in a war about boundaries. They sustained a second reverse when they were arrayed against the Athenians at Plataea, at the time when they are supposed to have preferred the cause of King Xerxes to

that of Greece. The people were not to blame for that, because at 2
the time Thebes was governed by an oligarchy, and not by its
hereditary constitution. Similarly, if the barbarians had attacked
Greece while Pisistratus or his sons ruled at Athens, it is quite
certain that the Athenians also would have incurred the charge of
siding with the Medes. Afterwards, however, the Thebans won a 3
victory over the Athenians at Delium in the land of Tanagra, and
the Athenian general, Hippocrates, son of Ariphron, fell with most
of his army. From the moment the Medes withdrew from Greece
down to the Peloponnesian war, the Thebans were on good terms
with the Lacedaemonians; but when the war was over and the
Athenian navy destroyed, the Thebans and Corinthians were soon
drawn into a war with Lacedaemon. They were defeated at 4
Corinth and Coronea; but at Leuctra they gained the most splendid
victory that ever, to our knowledge, Greek gained over Greek.
They then put down the decemvirates which the Lacedaemonians
had set up in the cities, and they expelled the Spartan governors.
Afterwards they waged for ten years continuously the Phocian, or,
as the Greeks call it, the Sacred War. 2. In my description of 5
Attica I have already said that the defeat at Chaeronea was a
disaster for the whole of Greece. On the Thebans the blow
fell with especial weight, for a garrison was introduced into
their city. When Philip was dead and the crown of Macedonia
devolved on Alexander, the Thebans contrived to overpower
the garrison. Scarcely, however, had they done so when
God foreshadowed to them their impending destruction. And
in the sanctuary of Lawgiver Demeter the omens were the opposite
of those that had preceded the battle of Leuctra. For before 6
Leuctra spiders spun white threads over the doors of the sanctuary;
but at the approach of Alexander and his Macedonians, they spun
black threads over the doors. It is said that God rained ashes on
the Athenians the year before Sulla engaged them in the war which
cost them such fearful sufferings.

VII

1. The Thebans, rendered homeless by Alexander, found their
way to Athens, and were afterwards restored by Cassander, son of
Antipater. The restoration of Thebes was promoted most eagerly
by the Athenians, but the Messenians and the Arcadians of
Megalopolis also bore a hand. 2. It seems to me that, in rebuilding 2
Thebes, Cassander was chiefly actuated by hatred of Alexander.
For he hunted to death the whole house of Alexander: he flung
Olympias to the infuriated Macedonians to be stoned by them to
death; and he poisoned Alexander's sons, Hercules whom Alexander
had by Barsina, and Alexander whom he had by Roxana. But he

came to a bad end himself; for he swelled with a dropsy, and that
3 bred worms in his body while he was still alive. 3. Of his sons, Philip the eldest had not long succeeded to the kingdom when he fell into a wasting sickness, which carried him off; and Antipater, his next son, murdered his mother Thessalonice on the plea that she was partial to Alexander, the youngest of Cassander's sons. Thessalonice was a daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas, and her mother was Nicasipolis. Alexander invoked the aid of Demetrius, son of Antigonus, and by his means deposed and punished his brother Antipater. However, it appeared that in Demetrius he had found
4 for himself an assassin instead of an ally. Thus did some one of the gods requite Cassander. 4. In Cassander's time the whole ancient circuit of Thebes was rebuilt. But still fate had great sorrows in store for Thebes. For when Mithridates engaged in his war with Rome, the Thebans sided with him, purely, it seems to me, out of friendship for Athens. But when Sulla invaded Boeotia fear fell upon the Thebans: they veered round immediately, and threw
5 themselves once more into the arms of Rome. Nevertheless Sulla treated them with rigour, and among other expedients for crippling them he took away half their territory on the following pretext. At the opening of the war with Mithridates he had been short of money. So he collected votive offerings from Olympia and Epidaurus, and
6 he took from Delphi all that the Phocians had left. These treasures he distributed amongst his army; and in lieu of them he made the gods a present of half the Theban territory. By the favour of the Romans Thebes afterwards recovered the forfeited territory, but from that hour she sank into the lowest depths of weakness. In my time the lower city, except the sanctuaries, was all deserted, the population being restricted to the acropolis, which is now called Thebes instead of the Cadmea.

VIII

1. When you have crossed the Asopus and are just ten furlongs from the city you come to the ruins of Potniae. Amongst them is a grove of Demeter and the Maid. The images at the river which <flows> past Potniae . . . they name the goddesses. At a stated time they perform certain customary ceremonies: in particular they throw sucking pigs into what they call the halls; and they say that at the same time next year those pigs <appear> at Dodona. The tale may possibly find credence with some
2 people. Here, too, is a temple of Dionysus the Goat-shooter. For once while sacrificing to the god, flushed with wine, they grew so outrageous that they killed the priest of Dionysus. No sooner had they done so than a pestilence fell upon them; and from Delphi word came to them that the remedy was to sacrifice a blooming boy

to Dionysus. But they say that not many years afterwards the god substituted a goat as a victim instead of the boy. A well is shown in Potniae, and they say that the mares of the district that drink of this water go mad.

2. On the way from Potniae to Thebes, on the right hand side of 3
the road, there is a small enclosure with pillars in it. They believe that here the earth yawned for Amphiaraus, and they add that birds do not perch on these pillars, and that no beast, wild or tame, browses on the grass that grows there.

3. In the circuit of the ancient walls of Thebes there were seven 4
gates, and they remain to this day. I learned that one of them was named after Electra, sister of Cadmus, and that another was called Proetidian, after a man of the country. But the date and ancestry of Proetus were hard to discover. The Neistan gate was named, they say, for the following reason: one of the cords of the lyre is called *nete*, and they say that Amphion invented it at this gate. I have also heard that Amphion's brother Zethus had a son named Neis, and that this gate was called after him. The Crenaean gate 5
and the Hypsistan ('highest') gate are so named for the following reason . . . And beside the Hypsistan gate there is a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Hypsistus ('highest'). The next gate is named the Ogygian; and the last is the Homoloidian. The name of this last gate seemed to me the newest, and that of the Ogygian the oldest. They say that the Homoloidian gate was called so for the following 6
reason. When the Thebans were defeated in battle by the Argives near Glisas, most of them stole away with Laodamas, son of Eteocles. But some of them shrank from the journey to Illyria, and betaking themselves to Thessaly, seized Homole, the most fertile and best watered of the Thessalian mountains. But Thersander, son of 7
Polynices, recalled them to their homes, and so they named the gate through which they returned the Homoloidian gate, after Homole. Coming from Plataea you enter Thebes by the Electran gate, and they say that here Capaneus, son of Hipponous, was struck by a thunderbolt while making furious assaults on the wall.

IX

1. I consider that this war which the Argives waged was the most memorable of all the wars carried on by Greeks against Greeks in what they call the heroic age. In the war of the Eleusinians against the rest of the Athenians, and also in the war of the Thebans against the Minyans, the assailants had to go but a little way to find the enemy, a single battle decided the issue, and a peace was immediately ratified. But the Argive army came from 2
the heart of Peloponnese and penetrated into the heart of Boeotia, and Adrastus collected contingents from Arcadia and Messenia.

Similarly the Thebans were joined by mercenaries from Phocis, and by the Phlegyans who came from the Minyan territory. A battle took place at the Ismenian sanctuary, the Thebans were defeated in the engagement, and being routed took refuge within the walls of
3 the city. But as the Peloponnesians, not understanding the art of attacking fortifications, pushed their assaults with more courage than science, the Thebans knocked over a great many of them from the walls, and then, before they recovered from their confusion, sallied out and defeated the remainder, so that the whole army, except Adrastus, was cut off. The Thebans themselves suffered heavily in the action, and from that time a victory which proves fatal to the
4 victors has been called a Cadmean victory. 2. Not many years afterwards the Epigoni ('after-born'), as the Greeks call them, marched with Thersander against Thebes. It is plain that they too were accompanied not by Argives only, and Messenians, and Arcadians, but also by allies from Corinth and Megara, whom they had invited to join them. On their side the Thebans were supported by their
5 neighbours, and a fierce battle took place at Glisas. The Thebans were worsted, whereupon some of them fled with Laodamas, others stayed behind, were besieged, and taken. 3. This war is the subject of the epic poem the *Thebaid*. Callinus, after mentioning the poem, says that the author was Homer, and many respectable persons have shared his opinion. Next to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there is certainly no poem which I esteem so highly. So much for the war waged by the Argives and Thebans on account of the sons of Oedipus.

X

1. Not far from the gate is a great sepulchre in which are laid the men who fell in the battle with Alexander and his Macedonians. Not far off they point out a place where they say (believe it who likes) that Cadmus sowed the teeth of the dragon which he slew at the fountain, and that from the teeth the earth brought forth men.
2 2. On the right of the gate is a hill sacred to Apollo: both the hill and the god are called Ismenian, after the river Ismenus which flows by the spot. First of all at the entrance are Athena and Hermes, both in stone, and named Pronaï ('those of the fore-temple'). The Hermes is said to be by Phidias, and the Athena by Scopas. Behind them is the temple. The image is of the same size as the one at Branchidae, and does not differ from it at all in form. Whoever has seen one of these two images and learned the artist's name, needs no great sagacity to perceive, when he sees the other, that it too is a work of Canachus. The only difference is that the image at Branchidae is of bronze, while the Ismenian one is of cedar. 3.
3 There is here a stone on which they say that Manto, daughter of Tiresias, used to sit. It lies in front of the entrance, and still goes

by the name of Manto's seat. On the right of the temple are statues of women made of stone: they say that the one is Henioche, and the other Pyrrha, daughters of Creon, the regent and guardian of Laodamas, son of Eteocles. 4. The following custom is still to my 4
knowledge observed in Thebes. A boy of good family, handsome and strong, is made priest of the Ismenian Apollo for a year. His title is Laurel-bearer, for these boys wear wreaths of laurel leaves. I am not clear whether it is the custom for all boys who have worn the laurel to dedicate a bronze tripod to the god; but I think it is not the rule for all of them to do so, for I did not see many of these votive offerings here. But the wealthier boys certainly dedicate them. Most remarkable for its age and for the renown of him who dedicated it, is a tripod dedicated by Amphitryo for Hercules who wore the laurel.

5. Higher up than the Ismenian sanctuary you may see the 5
fountain which they say is sacred to Ares, who set, it is said, a dragon to guard the spring. Beside this fountain is the grave of Caanthus. They say that Caanthus was a brother of Melia and son of Ocean, and that he was sent out by his father to seek for his sister who had been carried off. He found Melia in the possession of Apollo, and being unable to rescue her from him, he dared to set fire to the precinct of Apollo which is now called the Ismenium; and the god, so the Thebans say, shot him with an arrow. His tomb is 6
here. They say that Apollo had two sons, Tenerus and Ismenius, by Melia. To Tenerus he gave the art of soothsaying; and the river got its name from Ismenius. But the river was not nameless before, if it be true that it was called Ladon before Ismenius, son of Apollo, was born.

XI

1. On the left of the gate which they name Electran are the ruins of a house where they say Amphitryo dwelt, when he fled from Tiryns on account of the death of Electryon; and Alcmena's bridal-chamber can still be seen among the ruins. They say that it was built for Amphitryo by Trophonius and Agamedes, and that the following inscription was placed upon it:—

> When Amphitryo was about to bring hither his bride
> Alcmena, he chose this bridal-chamber for himself:
> Anchasian Trophonius and Agamedes made it for him.

Such was the inscription which the Thebans say was here inscribed. 2
They also show the tomb of the children whom Hercules had by Megara. Their account of the death of the children does not differ from that given by the poets Stesichorus the Himeraean, and Panyasis. But the Thebans add that in his madness Hercules was

about to kill Amphitryo also, but before he could do so he fainted from the blow of the stone: it was Athena, they say, who hurled at
3 him this stone, which they name Chastener. 2. Here are likenesses of women in relief, but the figures are somewhat worn. The Thebans call them the Witches, and say that they were sent by Hera to hinder the travail of Alcmena. Accordingly they kept Alcmena from bringing forth; but Historis, daughter of Tiresias, bethought her of playing the witches a trick: she set up a cry of joy in their hearing, pretending that Alcmena had been delivered. So the witches, they say, were deceived and took themselves off, and Alcmena was delivered of the child.

4 Here there is a sanctuary of Hercules. The image is of white marble, and is called Champion: it is a work of Xenocritus and Eubius, two Thebans. The old wooden image is believed by the Thebans to be by Daedalus, and that was my impression too. 3. This image, it is said, Daedalus himself dedicated in acknowledgment of a benefit received. For when he fled from Crete in small craft which he had made for himself and his son Icarus, he devised sails for the ships (an invention hitherto unknown) in order to take advantage of a fair wind, and so outstrip the fleet of Minos which was propelled
5 by oars. Well, Daedalus himself was saved; but Icarus, they say, steered awkwardly and his ship capsized. The drowned man was washed ashore by the billows on an island, then nameless, off the coast of Samos. Hercules found and recognised the corpse, and buried it where there still stands a small mound to Icarus on a headland jutting into the Aegean sea. From Icarus both the island and
6 the surrounding sea derived their names. 4. The sculptures in the gables at Thebes are by Praxiteles, and represent most of what are called the twelve labours. The affair of the Stymphalian birds and Hercules cleansing the land of Elis are wanting, and in their stead is the wrestling with Antaeus. Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, and the Athenians who with him put down the tyranny of the Thirty, set out from Thebes on their return to Athens, and therefore they dedicated colossal figures of Athena and Hercules in the sanctuary of Hercules. The figures are carved in relief on Pentelic marble and are works of
7 Alcamenes.

Adjoining the sanctuary of Hercules are a gymnasium and a stadium, both named after the god. 5. Above the Chastener stone is an altar of Apollo, surnamed Apollo of the Ashes: it is made of the ashes of the victims. There is here a regular system of divination by means of voices: this mode of divination is, to my knowledge, more employed by the people of Smyrna than by any other Greek people; for at Smyrna also there is a sanctuary of the Voices outside the walls, above the city.

XII

1. The Thebans sacrificed bulls of old to Apollo of the Ashes. Once when the festival was come, and the hour of sacrifice drew near, the men who had been sent to fetch the bull had not yet appeared. So a wagon happening to be at hand, they sacrificed one of the oxen to the god; and from that time it has been their custom to sacrifice working oxen. Another story which they tell is this. When Cadmus was departing from Delphi by the road which leads to Phocis, he was guided on his journey by a cow which had been bought from the cowherds of Pelagon, and on each of the cow's flanks was a white mark like the orb of the moon when it is full. Now the 2
oracle of the god directed Cadmus and his host to take up their abode wherever the cow sank down exhausted. So the spot is still pointed out. 2. Here in the open air is an altar and an image <of Athena>. They say that the image was set up by Cadmus. Against the view of those who think that Cadmus came to the land of Thebes from Egypt, and not from Phoenicia, is to be set the name of this Athena, for she is called by the Phoenician name of Onga, not by the Egyptian name of Sais. 3. The Thebans say that 3
in that part of the acropolis where the market-place is at present the house of Cadmus stood of old. They also show the ruins of the bridal-chambers of Harmonia and Semele. Even to the present day they allow no one to set foot in the latter. The Greeks who believe that the Muses sang at the wedding of Harmonia can point to the place in the market-place where they say the goddesses sang. It is further said that along with the thunderbolt which was hurled on 4
the bridal-chamber of Semele, there fell a log from heaven; and they say that Polydorus adorned this log with bronze, and called it Dionysus Cadmus. Near it is an image of Dionysus made by Onasimedes of solid bronze. The altar was wrought by the sons of Praxiteles.

4. There is a statue of Pronomus, a very popular flute-player. 5
Before his time flute-players had three kinds of flutes. On one kind they played the Dorian music, while the flutes for the Phrygian melody were differently constructed, and the Lydian music again was played on flutes different from either. Pronomus was the first who invented flutes suitable for every kind of melody, and he was the first who played such widely different airs on the same flutes. It is said, too, that he charmed his audiences to an extraordinary 6
degree by the expression of his face and the carriage of his whole person. He also composed for the people of Chalcis, on the Euripus, the processional hymn to be used at Delos. Here, then, the Thebans set up his statue and the statue of Epaminondas, son of Polymnis.

XIII

1. Epaminondas was of illustrious descent, but his father's means were less than those of an ordinary Theban gentleman. He was not only thoroughly trained in the usual education of his countrymen, but also studied as a youth under Lysis, a native of Tarentum, and an adept in the doctrines of Pythagoras the Samian. In the war between Lacedaemon and Mantinea, Epaminondas is said to have been one of a Theban contingent sent to aid the Lacedaemonians. In the battle Pelopidas was wounded, and Epaminondas
2 saved him at extreme personal hazard. Afterwards, when the Lacedaemonians professed to be concluding the peace known as the peace of Antalcidas with the rest of the Greeks, Epaminondas was sent to Sparta on an embassy. On this occasion, being asked by Agesilaus whether the Thebans would allow the Boeotian cities to ratify the peace separately, he answered, 'Not, Spartans, till we see your subjects also ratifying it separately, city by city.'

3 2. When the war between Lacedaemon and Thebes had broken out, and a Lacedaemonian and confederate army was moving against Thebes, Epaminondas with a detachment took up a defensive position above the Cephisian Lake, expecting that the Peloponnesian invasion would be made by this route. But the Lacedaemonian king, Cleombrotus, struck off in the direction of Ambrosus in Phocis, cut to pieces the Theban corps under Chaereas, who had been ordered to guard the passes, and thus having passed the
4 mountains, reached Leuctra in Boeotia. Here omens were vouchsafed by God to the Lacedaemonians in general and to Cleombrotus in particular. When the Spartan kings took the field they used to be followed by sheep, which were to be sacrificed to the gods, and were to give good omens before battles. On the march these flocks were led by certain goats which herdsmen call *katoiades*. Well, at the time I speak of, wolves rushed upon the flock and killed
5 the goats called *katoiades*, but did no harm to the sheep. 3. It was said, too, that the wrath of the daughters of Scedasus rested on the Lacedaemonians. Scedasus dwelt at Leuctra, and he had two daughters, Molpia and Hippo. In their youthful prime these girls were wantonly violated by two Lacedaemonians, Phrurarchidas and Parthenius, and the damsels, unable to brook the outrage, immediately hung themselves. Scedasus went to Lacedaemon, but got no redress, so on his return to Leuctra he despatched himself.
6 Epaminondas now sacrificed and prayed to Scedasus and the girls, on the ground that the battle would be as much to avenge them as to save Thebes. The opinions of the Boeotarchs differed widely from each other. Epaminondas, Malgis, and Xenocrates were for giving battle to the Lacedaemonians at once. Damoclidas,

Damophilus, and Simangelus, on the other hand, were against engaging, and advised that they should quietly send the women and children to Attica to be out of the way, and prepare to stand a siege. Thus the counsels of the six were divided. But when 7
Bacchylides, the seventh Boeotarch, who had been guarding the pass over Cithaeron, rejoined the army, he voted on the side of Epaminondas; and then it was unanimously resolved to abide the issue of a battle. Now Epaminondas had his suspicions of some of 8
the Boeotians, but more especially of the Thespians. Fearing, then, that they might desert in the course of the action, he allowed all who pleased to leave the camp and go home. So the Thespians went off to a man, together with such other Boeotians as nursed a secret grudge at Thebes. 4. The engagement began, and if there 9
had been no love lost between the Lacedaemonians and their allies before, the latter now plainly evinced their detestation of their confederates by refusing to stand their ground, and by giving way wherever the enemy attacked them. The Lacedaemonians themselves and the Thebans were well matched; for if the Lacedaemonians were veterans who thought shame to lower the prestige of Sparta, the Thebans were animated by the knowledge that the fate of their country and of their wives and children was at stake. But when 10
King Cleombrotus with some of his officers had fallen, necessity was laid upon the weary Spartans not to give in; for amongst the Lacedaemonians it was deemed the height of infamy to suffer the dead body of a king to fall into the hands of the enemy.

The victory achieved by the Thebans was the most famous that 11
ever Greeks gained over Greeks. On the morrow the Lacedaemonians purposed to bury their dead, and sent a herald to the Thebans. But Epaminondas, aware that the Lacedaemonians were always inclined to conceal their losses, said he would allow their allies to take up their dead first, and only after they had done so did he consent that the Lacedaemonians should bury their dead. So when it had appeared that some of the allies had no bodies to 12
take up, because none of them had fallen, while of others the loss was found to be trifling, the Lacedaemonians proceeded to bury their dead, and then the fact was revealed that the fallen were Spartans. The Thebans and the Boeotians who stood by them lost forty-seven men; but of the Lacedaemonians themselves there fell more than a thousand.

XIV

1. After the battle Epaminondas ordered the rest of the Peloponnesians to depart to their homes, but the Lacedaemonians he at first kept shut up in Leuctra; till hearing that the Spartans of the capital had turned out to a man, and were marching to Leuctra

to the help of their comrades, he made terms with his beaten foes and allowed them to depart, saying that it would be better to transfer
2 the seat of war from Boeotia to Lacedaemon. The Thespians, filled with misgivings at the ancient ill-will and present good fortune of the Thebans, resolved to abandon their city and take refuge in Ceressus. Ceressus is a stronghold belonging to the Thespians, in which they had once long before taken up their quarters on the occasion of the Thessalian invasion. At that time the Thessalians, after a fruitless attempt, resigned all hope of capturing Ceressus, and
3 betook themselves to Delphi to inquire of the god. The following oracle was vouchsafed to them :—

> Dear to me are shady Leuctra and the Alesian soil,
> And dear the two sad girls of Scedasus.
> There a tearful battle draws on, which no man
> Shall forecast, till the Dorians shall lose
> The flower of their young men, when the fated day comes on.
> Then may Ceressus be taken, but at no other time.

4 2. But now Epaminondas, after capturing the Thespians who had taken refuge in Ceressus, bent his mind to the affairs of Peloponnese, whither he was also warmly invited by the Arcadians to proceed. Being come thither, he received the voluntary adhesion of the Argives, and gathered the Mantineans, who had been dispersed in villages by Agesipolis, once more into their ancient city. Further, he persuaded the Arcadians to pull down all their petty towns, and founded a capital of Arcadia which is still
5 called Megalopolis ('Great City'). Meanwhile Epaminondas' term of office as Boeotarch had expired, and death was the penalty for extending it. But considering the rule ill-timed he disregarded it, and continued to act as Boeotarch. He led his army against Sparta, but as Agesilaus did not come out to give battle, he turned his attention to the foundation of Messene, and the present city of Messene acknowledges him as its founder. I have already described the foundation of the city in my account of Messenia.
6 3. Meantime the allies of the Thebans had dispersed and were overrunning and plundering Laconia. This induced Epaminondas to lead the Thebans back to Boeotia. When his army had reached Lechaeum, and was about to enter the difficult defile, it was assailed by an Athenian force of targeteers and other troops under Iphicrates,
7 son of Timotheus. Epaminondas routed his assailants and advanced to the Athenian capital. But Iphicrates prevented the Athenians from sallying out to fight, so Epaminondas marched back to Thebes. 4. He was tried for his life because he had acted as Boeotarch after the expiry of his term of office; but it is said that the jury who were balloted to try him did not even proceed to a vote.

XV

1. After this it happened that Pelopidas, paying a visit at the court of Alexander in Thessaly, in the belief that the prince was friendly to Thebes and well disposed to himself, was by that prince faithlessly and wantonly detained in bonds. The Thebans immediately prepared to march against Alexander. Cleomenes and Hypatus, the Boeotarchs for the time being, were appointed to command the expedition; and Epaminondas chanced to serve in the ranks. When the force had advanced beyond Thermopylae, 2
Alexander surprised it in difficult ground. The situation seeming desperate, the army made Epaminondas general, and the Boeotarchs voluntarily resigned the command. But when Alexander saw Epaminondas in command of the enemy, he lost all stomach for fighting, and voluntarily released Pelopidas. 2. In the absence of Epaminondas the Thebans expelled the 3
Orchomenians from their land. Their expulsion was regarded as a calamity by Epaminondas, and he declared that such an outrage would never have been perpetrated by the Thebans if he had been present. Being again elected Boeotarch, he again marched with a 4
Boeotian army into Peloponnese and defeated the Lacedaemonians at Lechaeum, in a battle in which the Lacedaemonians were supported by the Achaeans of Pellene and an Athenian contingent under Chabrias. It was a rule with the Thebans to hold their prisoners to ransom, but to put to death all Boeotian fugitives who fell into their hands. So when Epaminondas had captured a Sicyonian town named Phoebia, where most of the Boeotian fugitives were assembled, he nominally assigned to each of the men he caught in it a different nationality and let them go. 3. When he led his 5
army to Mantinea he was still victorious, but even in the hour of victory he fell by the hand of an Athenian. In the picture of the cavalry fight at Athens this man is depicted in the act of killing Epaminondas: he was Grylus, son of that Xenophon who marched with Cyrus against King Artaxerxes, and led the Greeks back to the sea.

4. On the statue of Epaminondas is an inscription in elegiac 6
verse in which, among other things, it is mentioned that he was the founder of Messene, and that Greece attained freedom through him. The verses run thus:—

> By my counsels Sparta was shorn of her glory,
> And sacred Messene received her children at last,
> And, thanks to Thebe's weapons, Megalopolis was girt with walls,
> And all Greece became independent and free.

So many were his titles to fame.

XVI

1. Not far off is a temple of Ammon. The image was dedicated by Pindar: it is a work of Calamis. Pindar also sent a hymn in honour of Ammon to the Ammonians in Libya. This hymn was still to be seen in my time on a triangular slab beside the altar which Ptolemy, son of Lagus, dedicated to Ammon. After the sanctuary of Ammon at Thebes there is what is called the observa-
2 tory of Tiresias, and near it is a sanctuary of Fortune. Fortune is here represented carrying the child Wealth. The Thebans say that the hands and face of the image are by Xenophon, an Athenian, and the rest by Callistonicus, a native artist. It was a happy thought of these artists to put Wealth in the arms of Fortune as his mother or nurse. Not less happy was the idea of Cephisodotus, who made for the Athenians the image of Peace with Wealth in her arms.

3 2. There are wooden images of Aphrodite at Thebes so ancient that they are said to have been dedicated by Harmonia, and to have been made out of the wooden figure-heads of Cadmus' ships. One of them is called Heavenly, another Vulgar, and the third Averter. These surnames were given to Aphrodite by Har-
4 monia. She called the goddess Heavenly, in reference to a love pure and free from lust: she called her Vulgar, in reference to the intercourse of the sexes; and she called her Averter, in order that she might turn away mankind from lawless desires and unholy deeds. For Harmonia knew that many a rash deed had been done, both in Greece and in foreign lands, such deeds as common fame afterwards ascribed to the mother of Adonis, to Phaedra, daughter
5 of Minos, and to the Thracian Tereus. 3. They say that the sanctuary of Lawgiver Demeter was once the house of Cadmus and his descendants. The image of Demeter is visible as far as the breast. There are bronze shields preserved here, which are said to have belonged to the Lacedaemonian officers who fell at Leuctra.

6 4. Beside the Proetidian gate there stands a theatre, and close to the theatre is a temple of Dionysus surnamed the Deliverer. For when some Theban prisoners were being carried off by Thracians and had reached Haliartia, the god delivered them, and gave the slumbering Thracians into their hands to smite with the sword. The Thebans say that one of the two images here is that of Semele; and they say that once a year, on certain
7 stated days, they open the sanctuary. There are also the ruins of the house of Lycus and Semele's tomb. But there is no tomb of Alcmena, for they say that at her death she was turned into a stone. Their account of her does not agree with that of the Megarians. Indeed, Greek traditions are generally discrepant.

Here, too, at Thebes are the tombs of the children of Amphion: the tombs of the sons are separate from those of the girls.

XVII

1. Close by is a temple of Artemis of Good Fame: the image is a work of Scopas. They say that Androclea and Alcis, daughters of Antipoenus, were buried within the sanctuary. For when Hercules and the Thebans were about to fight the Orchomenians, there came to them an oracle that victory in the war should be theirs if the citizen of most illustrious birth would consent to die by his own hand. Now Antipoenus was the man sprung from the most famous line, and it was not sweet to him to die for the people. But his daughters were well pleased to do so: they despatched themselves, and are honoured accordingly. In front of the temple of Artemis 2
of Good Fame is a lion, made of stone: it was said to have been dedicated by Hercules after his victory over the Orchomenians and their king Erginus, son of Clymenus. Near it is an image of Apollo, surnamed the Helper, and an image of Hermes of the Market: the latter is another votive offering of Pindar. The funeral pyre of the children of Amphion is just half a furlong from their graves. The ashes of the pyre remain to this day. 2. Hard by are two stone 3
images of Athena surnamed Girder: they are said to have belonged to Amphitryo; for the story goes that here Amphitryo armed himself when he was about to take the field against Chalcodon and the Euboeans. Thus it appears that the ancient expression for putting on armour was to gird one's self up; and they say that Homer, in comparing Agamemnon to Ares in respect of his girdle, meant to compare him in respect of his arms and accoutrements.

3. The common tomb of Zethus and Amphion is a small mound 4
of earth. The people of Tithorea, in Phocis, try to filch some of the earth from this mound at the time when the sun is in Taurus; for if at that time they take earth from the mound <and place it on> the tomb of Antiope, their land will bear fruit, but the Theban land will be less fertile. Therefore at that season the Thebans keep a watch on the tomb. 4. This belief, shared by the people 5
of both cities, is based on the oracles of Bacis, which contain the following passage:—

> But whenever a man of Tithorea honours Amphion and Zethus,
> By pouring on the ground propitiary offerings of libations and prayers,
> When Taurus is warmed by the might of the glorious sun,
> Then beware of a calamity, no light one, that threatens the city;
> For the fruits waste away in it,
> When people have taken of the earth and bring it to the tomb of Phocus.

6 Bacis calls it the tomb of Phocus for the following reason. The wife of Lycus honoured Dionysus above all the gods. So when she suffered what legend says she suffered, Dionysus was wroth with Antiope; for, somehow, excessive punishments are always looked on with disfavour by the gods. They say that Antiope went mad, and in her frenzy wandered all over Greece; till she fell in with Phocus, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphus, who healed and married
7 her. Thus Antiope and Phocus share the same grave. 5. The rough-hewn stones which form the base of Amphion's tomb are said to be the very rocks that followed Amphion as he sang. A like story is told of Orpheus, how the beasts followed him as he harped.

XVIII

1. A road leads from Thebes to Chalcis by the Proetidian gate. On the high road is shown the grave of Melanippus, one of the best soldiers of Thebes. In the Argive invasion he slew Tydeus and Mecisteus, one of the brothers of Adrastus, and met his end, they
2 say, at the hand of Amphiaraus. 2. Close to this grave are three unwrought stones. The Theban antiquaries say that it is Tydeus who lies here, and that he was buried by Maeon; as evidence, they quote a line of the *Iliad*:—

> Of Tydeus, whom at Thebes the heaped earth covers.

3 3. Next are the tombs of the children of Oedipus. Though I did not see the ceremonies which are performed at them, I think they are quite credible. For the Thebans say that among the so-called heroes to whom they sacrifice are the children of Oedipus, and that while they are sacrificing to them the flame and the smoke from the flame part in two. I was disposed to believe their story by
4 what I have seen myself, and that is this. In Mysia, beyond the Caicus, is a town Pioniae, the inhabitants of which say that it was founded by Pionis, one of the descendants of Hercules; and when they are about to sacrifice to him, a smoke ascends of itself out of the grave. I have seen it happening myself. The Thebans point out the tomb of Tiresias also: it is just fifteen furlongs farther off than the grave of the children of Oedipus. They admit that Tiresias died in Haliartia, and confess that the tomb here is a cenotaph.

5 4. At Thebes is also the grave of Hector, son of Priam, beside what is called the fountain of Oedipus. The Thebans say that they brought his bones from Ilium in consequence of the following oracle:—

> Ye Thebans, who dwell in the city of Cadmus,
> If you wish your country to enjoy blameless wealth,

Bring the bones of Hector, son of Priam, to your homes
From Asia, and worship the hero as Zeus commands.

The fountain of Oedipus got its name because in it Oedipus 6
washed off the blood of his murdered father. Beside the spring is the grave of Asphodicus, who, in the battle with the Argives, slew Parthenopaeus, son of Talaus. So the Thebans say. But in the passage of the *Thebaid* about the death of Parthenopaeus, it is said that it was Periclymenus who killed him.

XIX

1. On this high road there is a place Teumesus: they say that Europa was hidden here by Zeus. But there is another story about a fox called the Teumesian fox, how in consequence of the wrath of Dionysus the beast was bred up to be the bane of Thebes, and how at the very moment when it was about to be caught by the dog which Artemis gave to Procris, daughter of Erechtheus, both fox and dog were turned into stone. There is a sanctuary of Telchinian Athena in Teumesus, but it has no image. Touching her surname, we may conjecture that some of the Telchinians who once dwelt in Cyprus came to Boeotia, and founded a sanctuary of Telchinian Athena.

2. Going on seven furlongs to the left of Teumesus you come to 2
the ruins of Glisas. In front of them, to the right of the road, is a small mound shaded by a wild wood and by cultivated trees. Here is buried Promachus, son of Parthenopaeus, and other Argive lords who marched with Aegialeus, son of Adrastus, against Thebes. I have already showed, in my description of Megara, that the tomb of Aegialeus is at Pagae. On the straight road from Thebes to 3
Glisas is a place enclosed by unhewn stones. The Thebans call it the Snake's Head: they say that this snake, whatever it was, popped its head out of its hole, and Tiresias, falling in with it, chopped off its head with his sword. That is why the place has its name. 3. Above Glisas is a mountain called Hypatus ('supreme'), and on it is a temple of Supreme Zeus with an image. The torrent is called the Thermodon.

Having returned to Teumesus and the road to Chalcis you come to the tomb of Chalcodon, who was killed by Amphitryo in the battle between the Thebans and Euboeans. 4. Next there are 4
ruins of two cities, Harma ('chariot') and Mycalessus. The first got its name because, say the Tanagraeans, the chariot of Amphiaraus vanished here, and not where the Thebans say it vanished. But they agree that Mycalessus was so named because the cow that led Cadmus and his army to Thebes lowed (*emukēsato*) here. The manner of the destruction of Mycalessus has been told in my de-

scription of Athens. In the direction of the sea from Mycalessus is a sanctuary of Mycalessian Demeter: they say that it is closed every night and opened again by Hercules, who, say they, is one of the so-called Idaean Dactyls. Here a miracle is shown. At the feet of the image they lay all the fruits of autumn, which remain fresh the whole year through.

6 5. At this point the Euripus separates Euboea from Boeotia. On the right there is the sanctuary of Mycalessian Demeter, and a little farther on you come to Aulis, which, they say, was named after the daughter of Ogygus. There is a temple of Artemis here with images of white marble: one of the images carries torches, the other represents the goddess in the act of shooting. They say that when the Greeks, in obedience to the directions of the soothsayer Calchas, were about to sacrifice Iphigenia on the altar, the goddess furnished a deer as
7 the victim in her stead. In the temple are still preserved the remains of the wood of the plane-tree which Homer mentions in the *Iliad*. It is said that in Aulis the Greeks had not a favouring gale, and that when a fair wind did spring up suddenly, every man sacrificed to Artemis whatever he happened to have, male and female animals indiscriminately; and from that time it has continued to be a rule in Aulis that all victims are lawful. The spring, too, is shown beside which the plane-tree grew, and on a neighbouring hill the
8 bronze threshold of Agamemnon's hut. In front of the sanctuary grow palm-trees, of which the fruit, though not wholly edible like the dates of Palestine, ripens better than the dates of Ionia. Few people dwell in Aulis, and they are potters. The districts of Aulis, Mycalessus, and Harma, belong to Tanagra.

XX

1. To Tanagra also belongs Delium on the sea: in Delium there are images of Artemis and Latona. 2. The people of Tanagra say that their founder was Poemander, son of Chaeresileus, son of Iasius, son of Eleuther, <and that Eleuther> was a son of Apollo by Aethusa, daughter of Poseidon. They relate that Poemander married Tanagra, daughter of Aeolus; but the poetess Corinna says that
2 Tanagra was a daughter of Asopus. They say that Tanagra lived to an extreme old age, and that in consequence the people round about dropped her proper name, and called her Graea ('old woman'), and in course of time they applied this name to the city. This name adhered to it so long that Homer in the Catalogue says:—

Thespia, and Graea, and spacious Mycalessus.

But afterwards the city recovered its ancient name.

3 3. At Tanagra there is the tomb of Orion, and Mount Cerycius, where they say that Hermes was born, and a place called Polus,

where they say that Atlas sat and pondered the things under the earth and the things in heaven, just as Homer has said of him :—

> Daughter of baleful Atlas, him who knows the depths
> Of every sea, and himself upholds the tall pillars
> Which keep earth and sky asunder.

4. In the temple of Dionysus the image is worth seeing, being 4
of Parian marble and a work of Calamis. But yet more wonderful is the Triton. The more pretentious of the stories about the Triton is that before the orgies of Dionysus the women of Tanagra went down to the sea to be purified, and that as they swam the Triton attacked them, and that the women prayed to Dionysus to come and help them, and that the god hearkened to them, and conquered the Triton in the fight. The other story is less dignified but more 5
probable. It is that the Triton used to waylay and carry off all the cattle that were driven to the sea, and that he even attacked small craft, till the Tanagraeans set out a bowl of wine for him. They say that, lured by the smell, he came at once, quaffed the wine, and flung himself on the shore and slept, and a man of Tanagra chopped off his head with an axe. Therefore the image is headless. And because he was caught drunk, they think that it was Dionysus who killed him.

XXI

1. I saw another Triton among the marvels of Rome, but it was not so big as the one at Tanagra. The appearance of the Tritons is this. On their heads they have hair which resembles the hair of marsh frogs both in hue and in this, that you cannot separate one hair from another. The rest of their body bristles with fine scales like those of a shark. They have gills under their ears and a human nose, but their mouth is wider, and their teeth are those of a beast. Their eyes, I think, are blue, and they have hands, fingers, and nails like the shells of mussels. Under their breast and belly, instead of feet, they have a tail like a dolphin's. 2. I saw, too, the Ethiopian 2
bulls which they call rhinoceruses, because they have each a horn (*keras*) on the tip of the nose (*rhis*), and another smaller horn above the first; but on their heads they have no horns at all. I saw also the Paeonian bulls: they are shaggy all over, especially about the breast and the under jaw. And I saw Indian camels in colour like leopards. 3. There is a beast called the elk, in appearance between 3
a stag and a camel: it is a native of the land of the Celts. It is the only beast we know of that cannot be tracked or seen afar off by man; but sometimes when men have gone out to hunt other game, chance throws an elk in their way. It smells man, they say, while it is still a great way off, and plunges into gullies and the deepest caverns. So the hunters surround the plain or mountain in a circle

of at least a thousand furlongs, and taking care not to break the circle they gradually close in, and so catch all the animals inside the circle, the elks among the rest. But if the elk happens not to have
4 its lair here, there is no other way of catching it. 4. Ctesias, in his description of India, mentions a beast which he says is called *martichoras* by the Indians, and 'man-eater' by the Greeks. I believe it is the tiger. That it has three rows of teeth on each jaw and prickles on the tip of the tail, and that it defends itself with these prickles at close quarters, and hurls them at its foes at a distance like the arrow of an archer: all this seems to me to be a false report which circulates amongst the Indians owing to their
5 excessive fear of the beast. They were deceived also in respect of its colour; for when they saw the tiger in the sunlight it seemed to them to be red all over, either by reason of its speed, or, if it were not running, on account of its constantly turning about, especially if they did not see the beast near. And I think that if a man were to search the farthest parts of Libya, or India, or Arabia, for the wild animals of Greece, he would fail to find some
6 of them at all, and others would appear different to him. For assuredly man is not the only animal whose aspect differs with differences in climate and country: all the other animals, probably, are subject to the same law. For example, the Libyan asps differ from the Egyptian in colour, and in Ethiopia the asps are as black as the men. So careful should we be to avoid hasty judgments on the one hand, and incredulity in matters of rare occurrence on the other. I myself, for instance, have never seen winged snakes, but I believe that they exist, because a man of Phrygia brought to Ionia a scorpion that had wings just like those of locusts.

XXII

1. In Tanagra, beside the sanctuary of Dionysus, are three temples, one of Themis, one of Aphrodite, and one of Apollo, and associated with Apollo are Artemis and Latona. 2. There are sanctuaries of Hermes the Ram-bearer and of Hermes whom they call Champion. As to the former surname, they say that Hermes averted a plague from Tanagra by carrying a ram round the walls, and therefore Calamis made an image of Hermes carrying a ram on his shoulders. And at the festival of Hermes, the lad who is judged to be handsomest goes round about the walls carrying a lamb
2 on his shoulders. As to Hermes the Champion, they say that when the Eretrians crossed in ships from Euboea and landed in the territory of Tanagra, Hermes led out the lads to the fight, and, armed with a scraper like a lad himself, did more than any one to rout the Euboeans. In the sanctuary of the Champion are preserved the remains of the wild strawberry-tree under which they believe

that Hermes was nurtured. Not far off is a theatre, and beside it a colonnade. No Greek people, it seems to me, have regulated the worship of the gods so well as the people of Tanagra; for at Tanagra the dwelling-houses are in one place, and the sanctuaries are in another place, above the houses, in a clear space away from the haunts of men. 3. The tomb of Corinna, the only poetess of 3
Tanagra, stands in a conspicuous part of the city; and in the gymnasium there is a picture of Corinna binding a fillet on her head for the poetical victory which she gained over Pindar at Thebes. In my opinion she owed her victory in part to her dialect, for she composed, not in Doric, like Pindar, but in a dialect which Aeolians would understand; and in part she owed it to her beauty, for she was the fairest woman of her time, if we may judge by her portrait. 4. There are two kinds of cocks at Tanagra, namely, game-cocks 4
and the sort called blackbirds. These blackbirds are of the size of the Lydian birds, but in hue the bird is like a raven, while the wattles and comb are like an anemone; and they have small white marks on the tip of the beak and the tip of the tail. Such is their appearance.

5. In Boeotia, to the left of the Euripus, is Mount Messapius, 5
and at its foot, beside the sea, is a Boeotian city, Anthedon. Some say that the city got its name from a nymph Anthedon, while others say that one Anthas reigned here, a son of Poseidon and Alcyone, daughter of Atlas. Just about the centre of the city is a sanctuary of the Cabiri surrounded by a grove, and near it is a temple of Demeter and her daughter with images of white marble. There is 6
a sanctuary of Dionysus with an image in front of the city, on the inland side. Here are the graves of the children of Iphimedea and Aloeus. Homer and Pindar agree in saying that their death was caused by Apollo. <Pindar adds> that they met their doom in Naxos, the island lying off Paros. 6. Their tombs are at Anthedon, and on the coast there is what is called Glaucus' Leap. That Glaucus was 7
a fisherman, and that by eating of a certain grass he was turned into a demon of the sea who foretells men the future, is believed by people in general, and many a tale do seafaring men in particular tell every year about the prophetic gift of Glaucus. Pindar and Aeschylus heard the story from the Anthedonians. The former has not said much about it in his poetry, but Aeschylus made it the subject of a play.

XXIII

1. Before the Proetidian gate at Thebes is the gymnasium called the gymnasium of Iolaus, and a stadium formed by a bank of earth like the stadiums at Olympia and Epidaurus. Here, too, is shown a shrine of the hero Iolaus. The Thebans them-

selves admit that Iolaus met his end in Sardinia along with the Athenians and Thespians who had crossed the sea with him. 2. 2 Passing over the right side of the stadium you come to a hippodrome in which is the tomb of Pindar. It chanced that the youthful Pindar was once journeying to Thespiae in the hot season at the hour of noon. Weariness and drowsiness overtook him, and he laid him down without more ado a little way above the road. And while he slept, bees flew to him and plastered honey 3 on his lips. Such was the beginning of his career of song. When his fame was spread abroad from one end of Greece to the other, the Pythian priestess set him on a still higher pinnacle of renown by bidding the Delphians give to Pindar an equal share of all the first-fruits they offered to Apollo. It is said, too, that in his old age there was vouchsafed to him a vision in a dream. As he slept Proserpine stood by him and said that of all the deities she alone had not been hymned by him, but that, nevertheless, he should make 4 a song on her also when he was come to her. Before ten days were out Pindar had paid the debt of nature. But there was in Thebes an old woman, a relation of Pindar's, who had practised singing most of his songs. To her Pindar appeared in a dream and sang to her a hymn on Proserpine; and she, as soon as she was awake, wrote down all the song she had heard him singing in her dream. In this song, amongst the epithets applied to Hades is that of 'golden-reined,' obviously in reference to the rape of Proserpine.

5 3. The road from here to Acraephnium is mostly over a level country. They say that the city of Acraephnium originally belonged to the territory of Thebes, and I found that when Alexander destroyed Thebes, some of the Thebans made their way hither, and being feeble and old they could not escape to Attica, and so took up their abode here. The town stands on Mount Ptous: a temple 6 and an image of Dionysus here are worth seeing. About fifteen furlongs to the right of the city is the sanctuary of Ptoan Apollo. The poet Asius says that Ptous, after whom Apollo and the mountain were named, was a son of Athamas and Themisto. Before the invasion of the Macedonians under Alexander and the destruction of Thebes there was an infallible oracle here. It is said that once a man of Europus named Mys was sent by Mardonius and inquired of the oracle in his own tongue, and the god answered him likewise, not in Greek, but in the Carian language.

7 4. Having crossed Mount Ptous we come to a Boeotian city, Larymna, on the sea. They say it got its name from Larymna, daughter of Cynus. Her more remote ancestors I will mention in the section on Locris. Larymna anciently belonged to Opus; but when Thebes grew powerful the people of Larymna voluntarily joined the Boeotian confederacy. Here there is a temple of Dionysus with a standing image. They have a harbour where the water is deep

close in shore; and wild boars may be hunted in the mountains above the city.

XXIV

1. Following the straight road from Acraephnium to the Cephisian or, as it is sometimes called, the Copaic Lake, we come to the Athamantian plain: they say that Athamas dwelt in it. The river Cephisus falls into the lake: it rises at Lilaea in Phocis. And sailing across the lake you come to Copae, a town on the bank of the lake. 2. This town is mentioned by Homer in the Catalogue. Here are sanctuaries of Demeter, Dionysus, and Serapis. The 2 Boeotians say that there were once other towns named Athens and Eleusis beside the lake, but that in winter the lake flooded and destroyed them. The fish in the Cephisian Lake do not differ from the fish usually found in lakes; but the eels in it are very large and very good to eat.

3. About twelve furlongs to the left of Copae is Olmones, and 3 about seven furlongs from Olmones is Hyettus: both places are and have always been mere villages. Both they and the Athamantian plain belong, I think, to the district of Orchomenus. The traditions which I heard about Hyettus an Argive, and Olmus, son of Sisyphus, will be included in my account of Orchomenus. At Olmones they had nothing whatever to show that was worth seeing; but at Hyettus there is a temple of Hercules, and the sick can be healed by him: he is represented, not by an artificial image, but in the ancient fashion by an unwrought stone.

4. About twenty furlongs distant from Hyettus is Cyrtones: the 4 old name of the town, they say, was Cyrtone. It stands on a lofty mountain, and there is a temple and grove of Apollo here: there are images of Apollo and Artemis, both represented standing. Here, too, there is cold water welling up from a rock. There is a sanctuary of the nymphs at the spring and a small grove. All the trees in the grove have been planted.

5. In crossing the mountain from Cyrtones you come to a town 5 Corsea: beneath it is a grove of forest trees, most of them evergreen oaks. In the grove stands a small image of Hermes in the open air: it is about half a furlong from Corsea. Having descended into the level ground we reach a river called the Platanius, flowing into the sea. On the right of the river is Halae, the last town in Boeotia. It is situated on the arm of the sea which separates the mainland of Locris from Euboea.

XXV

1. Close to the Neistan gate of Thebes is the tomb of Menoeceus, son of Creon. He slew himself voluntarily in obedience to the

Delphic oracle when Polynices and his army came from Argos. On the tomb of Menoeceus there grows a pomegranate-tree: if you break the outer husk of the ripe fruit, you will find the inside like blood. This pomegranate-tree is living. The Thebans say that they were the first people in whose land grew a vine, but they have
2 no memorial of this to show. 2. They say that not far from the grave of Menoeceus the sons of Oedipus fell by each other's hands in single combat. A pillar stands to mark the scene of the combat: on it is a shield in stone. A place is pointed out where the Thebans say that Hera was beguiled by Zeus into giving the breast to the infant Hercules. This whole place is called the Dragging of Antigone; for when with all her efforts Antigone could not lift the corpse of Polynices, she hit upon the plan of dragging it, until she had dragged and cast it upon the lighted pyre of Eteocles.
3 3. The river Dirce is named after the wife of Lycus. The story goes that she tormented Antiope, and was therefore killed by Antiope's children. Crossing the Dirce we come to the ruins of Pindar's house, and to a sanctuary of Mother Dindymene. The sanctuary was dedicated by Pindar: the image is a work of Aristomedes and Socrates, two Theban artists. It is the custom to open the sanctuary on a single day each year, not more. I was fortunate enough to arrive on that very day, and I saw the image, which, with the throne, is made of Pentelic marble.
4 4. On the road which runs from the Neistan gate we come to a sanctuary of Themis with an image of white marble, then to a sanctuary of the Fates, and then to a sanctuary of Zeus of the Market. The image of the last is of stone: of the Fates there are no images. A little farther on stands an image of Hercules in the open air: it bears the surname of Nose-docker, because, according to the Thebans, Hercules insultingly cut off the noses of the heralds whom the Orchomenians sent to demand tribute.
5 5. Five-and-twenty furlongs from here you come to a grove of Cabirian Demeter and the Maid: the initiated are allowed to enter it. About seven furlongs from this grove is the sanctuary of the Cabiri. I must crave pardon of the curious if I preserve silence as to who the Cabiri are, and what rites are performed in honour of them and
6 their mother. 6. There is, however, nothing to prevent me disclosing the account which the Thebans give of the origin of the rites. They say that in this place there was once a city, the men of which were named Cabiri; and that Demeter made the acquaintance of Prometheus, one of the Cabiri, and of his son Aetnaeus, and entrusted something to their care; but what it was she entrusted to them and what happened to it, I thought it wrong to set down. At all events, the mysteries are a gift of Demeter to the Cabiri.
7 At the time of the invasion of the Epigoni and the capture of Thebes, the Cabiri were driven from their homes by the Argives,

and for a time the mysteries fell into abeyance. But they say that afterwards Pelarge, daughter of Potneus, and her husband, Isthmiades, instituted the orgies afresh, and transferred them to a place called Alexiarus. But because Pelarge performed the initiations outside 8
of the ancient boundaries, Telondes and all who were left of the race of the Cabiri returned again to Cabiraea. Amongst the honours which, in accordance with an oracle of Dodona, were to be instituted in honour of Pelarge, was the sacrifice of a pregnant victim. 7. The wrath of the Cabiri is implacable, as has been often proved. For 9
instance, certain private persons dared to imitate the Theban rites at Naupactus, and were soon overtaken by the penalty of their crime. Again, out of the remnant of the army of Xerxes which was left with Mardonius in Boeotia, all who entered the sanctuary of the Cabiri, moved perhaps by hope of great treasures, but rather, I fancy, by contempt for religion, immediately went out of their senses, and perished by flinging themselves into the sea or from the tops of crags. Once more, when Alexander after his victory gave Thebes 10
and all the land of Thebes to the flames, some Macedonians who entered the sanctuary of the Cabiri because it was in the enemy's country, were destroyed by thunderbolts and lightning from heaven. So holy has this sanctuary been from the beginning.

XXVI

1. To the right of the Cabirian sanctuary is a plain called after a soothsayer Tenerus, whom they believe to be a son of Apollo and Melia, and there is also a great sanctuary of Hercules surnamed the Horse-binder. For they say that the Orchomenians came hither with an army, and that by night Hercules took and bound fast their chariot-horses. 2. Farther on we come to the mountain from which 2
they say the Sphinx used to sally, reciting a riddle which proved fatal to those whom she caught. Others say that she was a pirate who, roving with a naval force, touched at Anthedon, and seizing this mountain, engaged in pillage till Oedipus conquered her by the superior numbers of an army which he brought from Corinth. An- 3
other story is that she was a bastard daughter of Laius, who for the love he bore her revealed to her the oracle that had been given to Cadmus at Delphi. But no one knew the oracle except the kings. Now Laius had sons by concubines, and the Delphic oracle referred only to Epicaste and her children. So when any of her 4
brothers came to claim the throne as against the Sphinx, she dealt subtly with them, pretending that, as sons of Laius, they must surely know the oracle given to Cadmus. And when they could not answer, she put them to death on the ground that their claim to the blood royal and the kingdom was baseless. But when Oedipus came, it appears that he had learnt the oracle in a dream.

5 3. Fifteen furlongs from this mountain are the ruins of a city Onchestus: they say that Onchestus, a son of Poseidon, dwelt here. In my time there remained a temple and image of Onchestian Poseidon and the grove which Homer praised.

6 4. Turning to the left from the Cabirian sanctuary, and going on for about fifty furlongs, you come to Thespiae, which is built at the foot of Mount Helicon. They say that Thespia was a daughter of Asopus, and that the city was called after her. Others say that one Thespius, a descendant of Erechtheus, came from Athens and gave 7 his name to the city. 5. In the city of Thespiae there is a bronze image of Saviour Zeus. The story they tell of it is that once upon a time, when a dragon was ravaging the city, the god commanded that every year the lad on whom the lot fell should be given to the beast. They say that they do not remember the names of the victims who perished; but that when the lot fell on Cleostratus, 8 his lover Menestratus resorted to the following expedient. He had a bronze breast-plate made, with a fish-hook on the inside of each of its plates. Then he put on the breast-plate and freely surrendered himself to the dragon, with the certainty that he would kill the monster and be killed by it. Hence Zeus got the surname of Saviour. The image of Dionysus and that of Fortune, and elsewhere that of Health . . . but the image of Worker Athena and that of Wealth standing beside her were made by . . .

XXVII

1. Of all the gods the Thespians honour Love the most, and have always done so: they have a very ancient image of him, consisting of an unwrought stone. Who it was that taught the Thespians to worship Love above all the gods, I do not know. His worship is equally observed by the people of Parium on the Hellespont, who were originally a colony from Erythrae in 2 Ionia, but are now dependent on Rome. 2. The general opinion is that Love is the youngest of the gods, and that he is a son of Aphrodite. But Olen the Lycian, author of the oldest Greek hymns, says in his hymn to Ilithyia that she is mother of Love. After Olen were the poets Pamphos and Orpheus, both of whom composed poems on Love to be sung by the Lycomids at the performance of the rites. I read . . . in conversation with a Torch-bearer. But on that topic I will say no more. Hesiod, or the person who fathered the *Theogony* on him, says, I am aware, that Chaos first came into being, and that after Chaos were born Earth 3 and Tartarus and Love. Sappho the Lesbian sang much of Love, but her utterances do not agree with each other.

3. Afterwards Lysippus made a bronze statue of Love for the Thespians: Praxiteles had previously made one of Pentelic marble.

The story of the trick which Phryne played Praxiteles has been told by me elsewhere. They say that the first to remove the image of Love was the Roman Emperor Caius (Caligula), and that it was restored by Claudius only to be a second time carried off by Nero. At Rome it was destroyed by fire. Of the 4
men who thus sinned against the god, Caius, in the act of giving the watchword, was despatched by a soldier, whose rage he had excited by always giving him, with a covert taunt, the same watchword; while Nero, besides his conduct to his mother, was guilty of accursed and unlovely crimes against his wives. The present image of Love at Thespiae is a copy, by the Athenian Menodorus, of the work of Praxiteles. 4. Here, too, are works of Praxiteles' own 5
hand, an Aphrodite and a statue of Phryne, both in stone. Elsewhere there is a sanctuary of Black Aphrodite, also a theatre and a market-place which are both worth seeing. Here stands a bronze statue of Hesiod. Not far from the market-place is a bronze Victory and a small temple of the Muses containing little images made of stone.

5. There is also a sanctuary of Hercules at Thespiae. A virgin 6
acts as his priestess till her death. The cause of this was, they say, as follows:—Hercules, in a single night, had connection with all the fifty daughters of Thestius save one, who alone refused to share his bed. . . . in consideration sentenced her to remain a virgin all the days of her life, serving him as priestess. I have heard another 7
story, namely, that Hercules had connection with all the daughters of Thestius in the same night, and that they all bore him male children, the youngest and eldest giving birth to twins. But I cannot think it credible that Hercules carried his anger at a friend's daughter so far. Besides, while he was still among men, punishing other people for presumption and especially for impiety, it is not likely that he would have established a temple with a priestess all for himself, just as if he were a god. As a matter of fact, the 8
sanctuary seemed to me older than the time of Hercules, the son of Amphitryo, and I judged it to belong to the Hercules who is called one of the Idaean Dactyls, the same of whom I found sanctuaries at Erythrae in Ionia and at Tyre. Nor are the Boeotians ignorant of this name of Hercules, for they say themselves that the sanctuary of Mycalessian Demeter is entrusted to the Idaean Hercules.

XXVIII

1. Helicon is one of the Greek mountains which have the finest soil, and are most thickly wooded with cultivated trees; and the wild strawberry bushes here furnish goats with a sweeter berry than is to be found anywhere else. The mountaineers of Helicon say that none of the herbs and roots that grow on the mountain

are at all poisonous to man. Nay more, the food on which snakes here live actually weakens their venom, so that the people who are bitten usually escape, if they happen to fall in with a Libyan of the race of the Psyllians, or with any suitable medicine.
2 2. It is true that in the most venomous snakes the poison is of itself fatal to man and to all animals alike; but the food contributes not a little to the strength of the poison. Thus I have been told by a Phoenician man that in the highlands of Phoenicia the vipers are rendered more venomous by the roots which they eat. He said that he had seen with his own eyes a man, fleeing from the attack of a viper, run up a tree: then up came the viper, blew a whiff of its venom at the tree, and the man was dead. So he told
3 me. As to the vipers that haunt the balsam-trees in the land of the Arabs, I know the following facts. The balsam-trees are about the size of a myrtle bush, and the leaves are like those of the herb marjoram. The Arabian vipers lodge, in larger or smaller numbers, under each tree; for the juice of the balsam is their favourite food,
4 and besides they love the shadow of the plants. When the season for gathering the juice of the balsam has come, the Arabs provide themselves with two sticks apiece, and by rattling the sticks together they drive away the vipers. But they will not kill them, for they believe them to be sacred to the balsam-trees. If a man happens to be bitten by one of these vipers the wound is like the wound of a knife, but there is no danger from the venom. For as the vipers feed on the most fragrant of perfumes, their venom takes a milder and less deadly complexion. These things are so.

XXIX

1. They say that the first who sacrificed to the Muses on Helicon, and called the mountain sacred to the Muses, were Ephialtes and Otus: they also, it is said, founded Ascra. To this the poet Hegesinus refers in his *Atthis*:—

> And with Ascra lay the Earth-shaking Poseidon,
> And she, when the revolving year came round, bore him a son
> Oeoclus, who first with the children of Aloeus founded
> Ascra, which lies at the foot of Helicon, where springs abound.

2 This poem of Hegesinus I have not read: it was lost before my time; but the verses are quoted as evidence by Callipus of Corinth in his history of Orchomenus, and I have profited by his information to do the same. Of Ascra nothing worth mentioning was left in my time except one tower. 2. The sons of Aloeus believed that the Muses were three in number, and the names they gave them were
3 Melete ('practice'), Mneme ('memory'), Aoede ('song'). But they say that afterwards Pierus, a Macedonian, who gave his name to

the mountain in Macedonia, came to Thespiae and introduced nine Muses, and changed their names to those which they now bear. These views Pierus adopted, either because they seemed to him wiser, or because an oracle commanded him to do so, or because he learned them from one of the Thracians. For of yore the Thracians had the reputation of being a more gifted race than the Macedonians, and especially of not being so careless in matters of religion. But some 4
say that Pierus had nine daughters, and that their names were those of the goddesses, and that all whom the Greeks called sons of the Muses were sons of the daughters of Pierus. In the preamble to the elegy which Mimnermus composed on the battle fought by the Smyrnaeans against Gyges and the Lydians, he says that the elder Muses are daughters of Sky, and that there are younger Muses, daughters of Zeus.

3. On Helicon, as you go to the grove of the Muses, you see on 5
the left the spring Aganippe: they say that Aganippe was a daughter of the Termesus, which flows round Helicon. On the straight road to the grove you come to a likeness of Eupheme carved in relief on a stone: they say she was the Muses' nurse. After her likeness 6
there is a portrait of Linus on a small rock cut to resemble a grotto: they sacrifice to him as to a hero every year before they sacrifice to the Muses. It is said that this Linus was a son of Urania and Amphimarus, son of Poseidon, and that he gained a greater reputation for music than all his predecessors and contemporaries, and was slain by Apollo for vying with him in song. When Linus died 7
the lamentation for him spread, it appears, to all foreign lands, so that with the Egyptians also he passed into a song, which in their native tongue they call Maneros. As to the Greek poets, Homer knew that the sufferings of Linus were the theme of a Greek song; so among the scenes which he says Hephaestus wrought on the shield of Achilles is a minstrel boy singing the song of Linus:—

> And in their midst a boy upon a clear-toned harp
> Played charmingly, and as he played he sang of Linus fair.

Pamphos, author of the oldest Athenian hymns, called him Oetolinus 8
('doomed Linus') at the time when the mourning for him was at its height. Sappho the Lesbian, borrowing the name of Oetolinus from the poem of Pamphos, sang of Adonis and Oetolinus together. The Thebans say that Linus was buried in their land, and that after the defeat of the Greeks at Chaeronea, Philip, son of Amyntas, in obedience to a vision of a dream, took up his bones and brought them to Macedonia, but that afterwards, in consequence of other dreams, he sent them back to Thebes. However, the tombstone, 9
they say, and all the other marks of the grave have disappeared in course of time. The Thebans further aver that after this Linus there was another Linus called the son of Ismenius, that he was a teacher

of music, and that Hercules in his boyhood killed him. Neither Linus, son of Amphimarus, nor the later Linus, composed poems; or if they did, the poems have not come down to posterity.

XXX

1. First you come to images of all the Muses by Cephisodotus. A little farther on you come to images of three of them by the same artist, three others by Strongylion (a sculptor unrivalled in his representations of oxen and horses), and the remaining three by Olympiosthenes. There is also on Helicon a bronze Apollo fighting with Hermes for the lyre. Also there is a Dionysus by Lysippus: the standing image of Dionysus was dedicated by Sulla, and is the finest of all the works of Myron, next to his statue of Erechtheus at Athens. It was not Sulla's to dedicate: he took it from the Minyans of Orchomenus. This is what the Greeks call worshipping God with other people's incense.

2 2. They have set up statues of the following poets and famous musicians:—Thamyris, represented as he was after he had become blind, holding a broken lyre; Arion of Methymna on a dolphin. The sculptor who fashioned the statue of Sacadas the Argive, not understanding Pindar's poem on him, has made the flute-
3 player no bigger than his flute. Hesiod, too, is seated holding a lute on his knees, which is not at all appropriate for Hesiod, since it is plain from his own poems that he sang with a laurel wand in his hand. Though I have investigated very carefully the dates of Hesiod and Homer, I do not like to state my results, knowing as I do the carping disposition of some people, especi-
4 ally of the professors of poetry at the present day. 3. There is a statue of Orpheus, the Thracian, with Telete standing by his side, and round about him are beasts in stone and bronze listening to his song. One of the many falsehoods believed by the Greeks is that Orpheus was a son of the Muse Calliope, and not of the daughter of Pierus, that the beasts followed him spellbound as he sang, and that he went alive to hell to beg his wife from the nether gods. In my opinion Orpheus was a man who surpassed his predecessors in the beauty of his poetry, and attained great power because he was believed to have discovered mystic rites, purifications for wicked deeds, remedies for diseases, and modes of averting the wrath of the gods.
5 They say that the Thracian women plotted his death, because he had persuaded their husbands to follow him in his roamings, but that they did not dare to carry out their plot for fear of their husbands; however, when they had drunk deep of wine, they did the deed, and from that time it has been the rule for the men to march to battle drunk. But some say that Orpheus was struck dead by the god with a thunderbolt on account of certain revelations which he had made to

men at the mysteries. Others say that his wife died before him, 6
and that for her sake he went to Aornum in Thesprotis, where
there was of old an oracle of the dead: he thought that the
soul of Eurydice was following him, but having lost her by
turning round to look at her, he put an end to himself for grief.
The Thracians say that the nightingales that have their nests on
Orpheus' grave sing sweeter and stronger. The Macedonians of 7
the district at the foot of Mount Pieria and the city of Dium say
that Orpheus met his end there at the hands of the women.
Twenty furlongs along the road that leads from Dium to the
mountain there stands on the right a pillar surmounted by a stone
urn; and the urn, according to the natives, contains the bones of
Orpheus. 4. There is also a river Helicon, which after a course 8
of seventy-five furlongs disappears underground. Then, after an
interval of just twenty-two furlongs, the water rises again, and taking
the name of Baphyra instead of Helicon descends to the sea, a
navigable river. The people of Dium say that originally this river
flowed above ground throughout its whole course, but that the
women who killed Orpheus wished to wash off the blood in its
stream, and that the river dived underground in order not to lend its
water to the cleansing of the guilt of blood. 5. Another account, 9
which I heard in Larisa, was that on Mount Olympus there is a city
Libethra, on the Macedonian side of the mountain, and that not
far from the city is the tomb of Orpheus, and that the people of the
city received an oracle sent from Dionysus in Thrace, to the effect
that whenever the sun should look on the bones of Orpheus, the
city of Libethra would be destroyed by a boar. They gave little
heed to the oracle, thinking that no beast would be big enough and
strong enough to take their city, and that a boar in particular is bold
rather than strong. But in God's good time there befell them what 10
follows. Just about noon a shepherd laid him down on the grave
of Orpheus and went to sleep. But as he slept he was moved to
sing verses of Orpheus' in a strong, sweet voice. So the herdsmen
and ploughmen in the neighbourhood left every man his work, and
gathered to listen to the song of the sleeping shepherd; and what
with jostling and struggling to get next the shepherd, they overthrew
the pillar, and the urn fell from it and was broken, and so the sun
looked on what was left of the bones of Orpheus. That very night 11
God sent the rain in torrents from heaven, and the river Sys
('boar')—one of the torrents on Olympus—broke down the walls of
Libethra, overthrew the sanctuaries of the gods and the houses of
men, and drowned the people and every living thing in the city.
After the destruction of Libethra, the Macedonians of Dium (so my
Larisaean friend informed me) brought the bones of Orpheus to their
own land. Whoever has studied poetry knows that all the hymns 12
of Orpheus are very short, and that their total number is not large.

6. They are known to the Lycomids, who chant them at the celebration of the rites. For poetical beauty they may rank next to the hymns of Homer, and they have received still higher marks of divine favour.

XXXI

1. There is also on Helicon a statue of Arsinoe, whom her brother Ptolemy took to wife. She is carried by a bronze ostrich. Ostriches have wings like other birds, but their bodies are so large and heavy that their wings are powerless to raise them into the air.
2 2. Here, too, is a statue of a deer suckling the infant Telephus, son of Hercules: beside it is an ox and an image of Priapus which is worth seeing. This god is worshipped where there are pastures for goats and sheep or swarms of bees; but the people of Lampsacus esteem him more than all the gods, saying that he is a son of Dionysus and Aphrodite.
3 3. Of the tripods that stand on Helicon the most ancient is that which Hesiod is said to have received at Chalcis on the Euripus for a victory in song. People dwell round about the grove, and the Thespians hold a festival here and games, called the Musaea. They also hold games in honour of Love, in which they offer prizes for athletic sports as well as for music. If you ascend about twenty furlongs up from this grove, you come to the fountain called the Horse's Fount (*Hippokrene*): they say it was produced
4 by Bellerophon's steed touching the earth with his hoof. 4. The Boeotians of Helicon have a tradition that Hesiod composed nothing but the *Works*, and even from it they strike out the preliminary address to the Muses, saying that the poem begins with the passage about the Strifes. They showed me also beside the spring a leaden tablet, very time-worn, on which are engraved the
5 *Works*. There is another opinion, quite distinct from the former, that Hesiod composed a great number of poems, namely, the poem on women, the poem called the *Great Eoeae*, the *Theogony*, the poem on the soothsayer Melampus, the poem on the descent of Theseus and Pirithous to hell, the *Precepts of Chiron for the instruction of Achilles*, and various other poems besides the *Works and Days*. Those who hold this view also say that Hesiod was taught soothsaying by the Acarnanians, and there is a poem on soothsaying, which I have myself read, and a work on the interpretation of prodigies. 5.
6 Opposite accounts are also given of Hesiod's death. All are agreed that Ctimenus and Antiphus, the sons of Ganyctor, fled from Naupactus to Molycria on account of the murder of Hesiod, and that, being there guilty of impiety towards Poseidon, they suffered the penalty of their crime. The young men's sister had been defiled, and some say that the deed was Hesiod's, while others affirm that

rumour falsely accused him of the crime. So different are the accounts of Hesiod's life and poems.

6. On the very summit of Helicon is a small river, the Olmius. 7
In the Thespian district is a place named Donacon ('reed-bed'), and here is Narcissus' spring. They say that Narcissus looked into this water, and not perceiving that what he saw was his own reflection, fell in love with himself unaware, and died of love at the spring. But it is sheer folly to suppose that a person who has reached the age of falling in love should be unable to distinguish between a man and his reflection. There is another story about Narcissus which, 8
though less known than the former, is also current. He had, it is said, a twin sister who resembled him in every feature, and their hair was the same, and they dressed alike, and went out hunting together. But Narcissus loved his sister, and when the girl died he used to haunt the spring, knowing that what he saw was his own reflection, but finding solace in imagining that he was looking, not at his own reflection, but at his sister's likeness. The flower 9
narcissus grew, I believe, before Narcissus' time, at least if we may judge by the verses of Pamphos. For Pamphos, who was born many years before Narcissus the Thespian, says that the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, was carried off while she was playing and gathering flowers, and that the flowers by which she was beguiled were not violets, but narcissuses.

XXXII

1. At Creusis, the port of Thespiae, there is no public monument, but in the house of a private man there was an image of Dionysus made of gypsum and painted. The voyage from Peloponnese to Creusis is tortuous and stormy, for headlands jut out so that you cannot steer straight across, and besides, squalls come sweeping down from the mountains.

2. Sailing from Creusis and standing, not out to sea, but along 2
the Boeotian coast, you reach on the right a city Thisbe. First there is a mountain on the coast: crossing over the mountain you will come to a plain, and then to another mountain, at the skirts of which lies the city. There is a sanctuary of Hercules here with a standing image of stone, and they hold a festival of Hercules. Water is here so plentiful that the plain between the mountains 3
must inevitably have been a lake, were it not that they have constructed a strong dyke right across it; and thus every second year they divert the water to the farther side of the dyke and till the land on the other. They say that Thisbe was a local nymph from whom the city took its name.

3. Coasting along from Thisbe we come to a small town Tipha 4
on the coast. There is a sanctuary of Hercules at Tipha, and they

hold an annual festival. The Tiphaeans claim to have been from antiquity the best sailors in Boeotia: they tell how a townsman of theirs, Tiphys, was chosen pilot of the *Argo;* and they point out the place off the city where they say the *Argo* anchored on her return voyage from Colchis.

5 4. Going inland from Thespiae we come to Haliartus. Who founded Haliartus and Coronea is a topic which cannot naturally be severed from the history of Orchomenus. In the invasion of the Medes the Haliartians took the side of Greece, so a division of Xerxes' army attacked and burned their land and city. In Haliartus there is the tomb of Lysander the Lacedaemonian. He had made an assault on the walls of Haliartus, which was garrisoned by troops from Thebes and Athens: the enemy made a sortie, and he
6 fell in the battle. 5. In some respects Lysander deserves the highest praise, but in others severe censure. Of ability he certainly gave proof. For being in command of the Peloponnesian galleys he took advantage of the absence of Alcibiades from the fleet to cajole Alcibiades' pilot, Antiochus, into the belief that he was a match for the Lacedaemonians at sea; and when Antiochus, in a spirit of bravado, rashly put to sea, Lysander defeated him not far from
7 the city of Colophon. When he was despatched a second time from Sparta to take command of the fleet, he so captivated Cyrus that he had only to ask for money for the fleet and it flowed in promptly and abundantly. Again, when an Athenian fleet of a hundred sail was anchored at Aegospotami, he watched for the moment when the sailors were dispersed to fetch water and procure provisions, and then captured their vessels. The following act is
8 a proof of his justice. Autolycus, the pancratiast, whose statue I have seen in the Athenian Prytaneum, had a dispute about some piece of property with Eteonicus the Spartan. The latter was convicted of putting forward an unjust plea; but as the government of Athens was at that time in the hands of the Thirty, and as Lysander had not yet quitted the city, Eteonicus was encouraged to have recourse to blows, and when Autolycus stood on his defence, Eteonicus haled him before Lysander, making quite certain that the latter would give judgment in his favour. But Lysander decided that Eteonicus was in the wrong, and dismissed him with a rebuke.
9 6. But if these acts were honourable to Lysander, the following were disgraceful to him. He put to the sword Philocles the Athenian general at Aegospotami, together with about four thousand Athenian prisoners, and did not even accord them burial, — a favour which the Athenians granted to the Medes who landed at Marathon, and which King Xerxes vouchsafed to the Lacedaemonians themselves who fell at Thermopylae. But he brought a still greater reproach on his country by the decemvirates which he established in
10 the cities, and by the Laconian governors. And whereas, warned

by an oracle that avarice alone would prove the bane of Sparta, the Lacedaemonians were not accustomed to amass wealth, Lysander imbued them with a keen desire for it. For my part, adopting the Persian standard, and judging by the Persian law, I am of opinion that Lysander did more harm than good to Lacedaemon.

XXXIII

1. In Haliartus there is the tomb of Lysander, and a shrine of the hero Cecrops, son of Pandion. Mount Tilphusius and the spring called Tilphusa are distant just fifty furlongs from Haliartus. The Greeks say that when the Argives, along with the sons of Polynices, had captured Thebes, and were taking Tiresias with some more of the spoil to the god at Delphi, Tiresias was athirst, and having drunk by the way of the spring Tilphusa, he gave up the ghost; and his grave is at the spring. However, they say 2 that his daughter Manto was bestowed by the Argives on Apollo, but that at the god's command she crossed the sea to the district of Colophon in what is now Ionia. There she married Rhacius, a Cretan. The rest of the history of Tiresias, the number of the years which he is recorded to have lived, how he was changed from a woman into a man, and how Homer in the *Odyssey* represents him as the only man of understanding in hell—all this every one has heard of. 2. At Haliartus there is in the open air a sanctuary of 3 the goddesses, whom they call Praxidicae ('exactors of punishment'). Here the Haliartians swear, but the oath is not one that they take lightly. The sanctuary of these goddesses is at Mount Tilphusius. There are temples in Haliartus without images and without roofs: I could not even learn to whom these temples were erected.

3. In the territory of Haliartus there is a river Lophis. It is 4 said that the district being originally parched and waterless, one of the rulers went to Delphi and inquired how they should find water in the land. The Pythian priestess commanded him to slay the first person he should meet on his return to Haliartus. On his arrival he was met by his son Lophis, and, without hesitation, he struck the young man with his sword. The youth had life enough left to run about, and where the blood flowed water gushed from the ground. Therefore the river is called Lophis.

4. Alalcomenae is a small village situated just at the foot of a 5 not very high mountain. Some say that the name is derived from Alalcomeneus, an aboriginal, who brought up Athena. Others say that Alalcomenia was one of the daughters of Ogygus. On the level ground at some distance from the village is a temple of Athena with an ancient ivory image. Sulla's treatment of Athens was 6 harsh and alien to the Roman character, and his treatment of Thebes and Orchomenus was similar; but he committed yet another

outrage at Alalcomenae by carrying off the very image of Athena. But after perpetrating these frantic outrages on Greek cities and Greek gods he was overtaken by the most loathsome of diseases: lice broke out over his body, and that was the miserable end of what the world had once esteemed his good fortune. Henceforth the
7 sanctuary at Alalcomenae, bereft of its goddess, was neglected. In my time another circumstance contributed to the dilapidation of the temple. A great strong ivy-tree growing on the walls loosened the jointing of the stones and was rending them asunder. 5. Here, too, there flows a small torrent. They name it the Triton, because there is a story that Athena was brought up beside a river Triton, which they suppose to be this Triton, and not the river in Libya which issues from the Tritonian lake and falls into the Libyan Sea.

XXXIV

1. Before reaching Coronea from Alalcomenae you come to the sanctuary of Itonian Athena: the name is derived from Itonus, son of Amphictyon, and here the Boeotians meet for their general assembly. In the temple there are bronze images of Itonian Athena and Zeus: they are works of Agoracritus, a pupil and favourite of Phidias; and in my time they dedicated images of the
2 Graces also. The following story is also told:—Iodama, priestess of the goddess, entered the precinct by night, and Athena appeared to her; but on the goddess's tunic was the head of the Gorgon Medusa, and when Iodama saw it she was turned to stone. Therefore a woman places fire every day on the altar of Iodama, and as she does so she says thrice in the Boeotian dialect that Iodama is alive and asks for fire.

3 2. Coronea contains the following notable objects. In the market-place there is an altar of Hermes Epimelius ('guardian of flocks'), and an altar of the Winds. A little lower down is a sanctuary of Hera with an ancient image, a work of Pythodorus the Theban. In her hand the goddess carries Sirens. For they say that the daughters of Achelous were induced by Hera to vie with the Muses in singing; and the Muses, being victorious, are said to have plucked off the Sirens' feathers, and to
4 have made crowns for themselves out of them. 3. About forty furlongs from Coronea is Mount Libethrius, on which are images of the Muses and Nymphs, surnamed Libethrian. Also there are springs like a woman's breasts, one named Libethrias and the other Petra; and water like milk wells up from them.

5 4. From Coronea to Mount Laphystius and the precinct of Laphystian Zeus is just twenty furlongs. The image is of stone. They say that here, when Athamas was about to sacrifice Phrixus and Helle, the ram with the golden fleece was sent by Zeus to the

children, and they escaped on the back of that ram. Higher up is a Hercules surnamed Bright-eyed: the Boeotians say that here Hercules came up bringing the hound of hell. As you go down from Laphystius to the sanctuary of Itonian Athena, there is a river Phalarus which falls into the Cephisian Lake.

5. Over against Mount Laphystius is Orchomenus, than which 6
there is no more famous city in Greece. After rising to the highest pitch of prosperity it was doomed to experience a fall scarcely less complete than that of Mycenae and Delos. All that is known of its ancient history is this. They say that Andreus, a son of the river Peneus, was the first person who settled here, and that the land was named Andreis after him. Being joined by Athamas he 7
assigned to him, out of his own lands, the district round about Mount Laphystius, together with what are now the lands of Coronea and Haliartus. Now Athamas believed that he had no male children left. For he had himself laid violent hands on Learchus and Melicertes; Leucon had sickened and died; and as to Phrixus, his father knew not whether he was alive or had left offspring. So Athamas adopted Haliartus and Coronus, the sons of Thersander, the son of Sisyphus; for Athamas was a brother of Sisyphus. But on the return from Colchis of Phrixus 8
himself or, according to others, of Presbon (the son of Phrixus by the daughter of Aeetes), the sons of Thersander allowed that the house of Athamas belonged to Athamas and his descendants, while they themselves founded Haliartus and Coronea, for Athamas gave them a portion of the land. Before these events Andreus had 9
received from Athamas the hand of Euippe, daughter of Leucon, and a son Eteocles was born to him. But, according to the local tradition, Eteocles was a son of the river Cephisus; hence some of the poets in their verses call him Cephisades. This 10
Eteocles, on coming to the throne, allowed the country to be still called after Andreus, but he instituted two tribes, of which he named the one Cephisias, and the other after himself. When Almus, son of Sisyphus, came to him, Eteocles gave him a small piece of land to dwell in, and the village was then called Almones, after Almus, but afterwards the name Olmones prevailed.

XXXV

1. The Boeotians say that Eteocles was the first person who sacrificed to the Graces. Further, they know that he instituted three Graces; but what names he gave them they do not remember. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, say that there are two Graces, that they were established by Lacedaemon, son of Taygete, and that he gave them the names of Cleta and Phaenna. These are 2
suitable names for Graces, and so are the names they go by at

Athens; for the Athenians also have worshipped from of old two Graces—Auxo and Hegemone. Carpo is the name, not of a Grace, but of a Season: the other Season is worshipped along with Pan-
3 drosus by the Athenians under the name of Thallo. It was Eteocles of Orchomenus who taught us to pray to three Graces; and Angelion and Tectaeus, the sons of Dionysus, in making the image of Apollo for the Delians, placed three Graces in his hand. Moreover, at Athens, in front of the entrance to the Acropolis, there are also three Graces; and beside them mysteries are celebrated which are
4 kept secret from the multitude. Pamphos is the first man we know of who sang of the Graces, but he gives no particulars as to their numbers or names. Homer, who also mentions the Graces, says that one was the wife of Hephaestus, and he simply calls her Grace. He says, too, that <Sleep> was a lover of Pasithea, [and in] the speech of Sleep this verse occurs:—

Verily to give me one of the younger Graces.

Hence some people have got a notion that Homer knew of other
5 elder Graces also. But Hesiod in the *Theogony* (the authenticity of which I leave an open question), says that the Graces are daughters of Zeus and Eurynome, and that their names are Euphrosyne, Aglaia, and Thalia. The same account is to be found in the verses of Onomacritus. Antimachus, without mentioning the number or names of the Graces, says that they are the daughters of Aegle and the Sun. Hermesianax, the elegiac poet, differs from his predecessors thus far that he represents Persuasion as also one of the Graces.

6 2. Who first represented the Graces naked, whether in sculpture or painting, I could not ascertain. Certainly at an earlier time they were habitually represented draped both by sculptors and painters. Thus at Smyrna, in the sanctuary of the Nemeses above the images there are figures of the Graces in gold, a work of Bupalus; and there is also at Smyrna in the Music Hall a painting of a Grace by Apelles. Similarly at Pergamus, in the chamber
7 of Attalus, there are images of the Graces, also by Bupalus; and at what is called the Pythium there is a picture of them by Pythagoras of Paros. And Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, wrought images of the Graces in front of the entrance to the Acropolis. All these are draped. But later artists, I know not why, changed the mode of representing them. Certain it is that at the present day the Graces are represented naked both in sculpture and painting.

XXXVI

1. On the death of Eteocles the kingdom devolved on the house of Almus. Almus had two daughters, Chrysogenia and

Chryse, and tradition runs that Chryse had by Ares a son Phlegyas, who, when Eteocles died childless, succeeded to the throne. The 2 name of the whole country was now changed from Andreis to Phlegyantis; and besides the original city of Andreis, Phlegyas founded another city, named after himself, whither he gathered all the best warriors of Greece. 2. In course of time the reckless and daring Phlegyans renounced their connection with Orchomenus and began to harry their neighbours, till at last they actually made a raid on the sanctuary at Delphi. On that occasion Philammon led a picked body of Argives against them; but he fell in the battle, he and his men. That the Phlegyans delighted in war beyond any of the 3 Greeks is proved also by the lines in the *Iliad* about Ares and Terror, the son of Ares:—

> The two were arming for battle to go forth to the Ephyrians
> Or to the great-hearted Phlegyans.

By the Ephyrians the poet, I think, here means the Ephyrians of Thesprotis. But the god utterly overthrew the Phlegyan race by continual thunderbolts and violent earthquakes; and the survivors were wasted by a pestilence, but a few of them escaped to Phocis.

3. As Phlegyas had no children he was succeeded by Chryses, a 4 son of Poseidon by Chrysogenia, daughter of Almus. Chryses had a son Minyas, after whom the people he ruled over are still named Minyans. So great were the revenues of Minyas, that he outdid his predecessors in riches, and he was the first man we know of who built a treasury to store his wealth in. It appears to be a character- 5 istic of the Greeks to admire what they see abroad more than what they see at home. For while distinguished historians have given us the minutest descriptions of the Egyptian pyramids, they have not even mentioned the treasury of Minyas and the walls of Tiryns, which are not a whit less wonderful.

4. Minyas had a son Orchomenus, in whose reign the city was 6 called Orchomenus and the people Orchomenians; nevertheless they continued to be called Minyans also, to distinguish them from the Orchomenians in Arcadia. To the court of King Orchomenus came Hyettus from Argos, exiled from his native land for the murder of Molurus, son of Arisbas, whom he had caught with his wedded wife. Orchomenus assigned to him all the land about what is now the village of Hyettus, together with the neighbouring territory. Hyettus is also mentioned by the author of the epic 7 which the Greeks call the *Great Eoeae*:—

> But Hyettus slew Molurus, the dear son of Arisbas,
> In the hall on account of his wife's bed;
> And he left his home and fled from horse-breeding Argos,
> And he came to Minyan Orchomenus, and the hero
> Received him and gave him a share of his possessions, as was meet.

8 This Hyettus is the first man who is known to have exacted punishment for adultery. Afterwards when Draco legislated for the Athenians, it was laid down in the code which he drew up during his term of office that vengeance inflicted on an adulterer should be one of the deeds to which no legal penalty was attached. So high did the dignity of the Minyans stand, that even Neleus, son of Cretheus, king of Pylus, took a wife from Orchomenus, to wit, Chloris, daughter of Amphion, son of Iasius.

XXXVII

1. But it was fated that the race of Almus should also become extinct; for Orchomenus left no child, and so the kingdom devolved on Clymenus, son of Presbon, son of Phrixus. Clymenus had sons, of whom the eldest was Erginus, next to him were Stratius, Arrhon, and Pyleus, and youngest of all was Azeus.

2. Clymenus was murdered at the festival of Onchestian Poseidon by some Thebans who had flown into a rage at a trifle; and his eldest son Erginus succeeded to the throne. The new king and his
2 brothers immediately mustered a force and marched against Thebes. They gained a victory, and an agreement was then concluded that the Thebans should pay an annual tribute for the murder of Clymenus. But when Hercules had grown up at Thebes, the Thebans were freed from the tribute, and the Minyans suffered a great reverse in the war. So, seeing that his people were ground
3 down to the lowest depths of misery, Erginus made peace with Hercules; but in the effort to retrieve his former wealth and his old prosperity he neglected everything else till, before he was aware, he was fallen on a wifeless and childless old age. But when he had amassed wealth he desired to have children born to him. So he
4 repaired to Delphi and asked about children, and the Pythian priestess answered him as follows:—

> Erginus, son of Clymenus Presboniades,
> Late art thou come to seek for offspring, but even now
> Put a new tip to the old plough-tree.

3. So he married a young wife according to the oracle, and had by her Trophonius and Agamedes. But Trophonius is said to have
5 been a son of Apollo, and not of Erginus, and I believe it, and so does every one who has gone to inquire of the oracle of Trophonius. It is said that when Trophonius and Agamedes were grown up they became skilful at building sanctuaries for gods and palaces for men; for they built the temple at Delphi for Apollo and the treasury for Hyrieus. In the treasury they contrived that one of the stones could be removed from the outside, and they always kept pilfering the hoard; but Hyrieus was speechless, seeing the keys and all the tokens undisturbed, but the treasures steadily decreasing.

Wherefore over the coffers in which were his silver and gold he set 6
traps, or at any rate something that would hold fast any one who
should enter and meddle with the treasures. So when Agamedes
entered he was held fast in the snare; but Trophonius cut off his
head, lest at daybreak his brother should be put to the torture and
he himself detected as an accomplice in the crime. The earth 7
yawned and received Trophonius at that point in the grove at
Lebadea where is the pit of Agamedes, as it is called, with a
monument beside it. But the kingdom of Orchomenus passed to
Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, said to be sons of Ares. Their mother
was Astyoche, daughter of Actor, son of Azeus, son of Clymenus.
Under their leadership the Minyans went to the Trojan war. The 8
Orchomenians also shared with the sons of Codrus in the expedition
to Ionia. They were driven from their homes by the Thebans, but
restored to Orchomenus by Philip, son of Amyntas. But it was
their fate to sink ever deeper into decay.

XXXVIII

1. At Orchomenus there has been made . . . and of Dionysus; but the oldest sanctuary is that of the Graces. They worship the natural stones most, and say that they fell to Eteocles from heaven. The artificial images were dedicated in my time, and they too are of stone. 2. There is also a fountain at Orchomenus which is worth seeing: they go down into it to draw water. The treasury of Minyas, than which there is no greater marvel either in Greece or elsewhere, is constructed as follows:—It is made of stone: its form is circular, rising to a somewhat blunt top, and they say that the topmost stone is the keystone of the whole building. 3. And there are graves of Minyas 3
and Hesiod. They say that they recovered the bones of Hesiod in
the following way. A plague had fallen on man and beast, so they
sent envoys to the god. The Pythian priestess, they say, answered
the envoys that their only remedy was to bring back the bones
of Hesiod from the land of Naupactus to the land of Orchomenus.
The envoys next inquired in what part of the Naupactian territory
they should find the bones, and the Pythian priestess answered them
again that a crow would show them the spot. So when the 4
messengers had landed, they saw, it is said, a rock not far from the
road with the bird perched on it; and they found the bones of
Hesiod in a cleft of the rock. And some elegiac verses are
inscribed on the tomb:—

Ascra with the many corn-fields was his father-land, but after his death
The land of the horse-beating Minyans holds the bones
Of Hesiod, whose glory will rise highest in Greece
When men are judged by the test of genius.

5 4. As to Actaeon the Orchomenians tell the following story. A spectre with a stone in its hand ravaged the land, and when they inquired at Delphi, the god bade them find out anything that was left of Actaeon and bury it. He bade them also make a bronze likeness of the spectre, and clamp it with iron to a rock. This image so fastened I saw myself. They sacrifice to Actaeon as to a hero every year.

6 5. Seven furlongs from Orchomenus is a temple of Hercules with a small image. Here are the springs of the river Melas, which is another of the streams that fall into the Cephisian Lake. Most of the territory of Orchomenus is covered at any season by the lake; but in winter, when the south wind generally prevails, the water 7 encroaches still farther on the land. The Thebans say that the river Cephisus was diverted by Hercules into the plain of Orchomenus, but that formerly it had passed out under the mountain into the sea, until Hercules blocked up the chasm through the mountain. But Homer knew that the Cephisian Lake existed of itself, and was not made by Hercules, and therefore he says:—

Sloping to the Cephisian Lake.

8 6. And it is improbable that the Orchomenians should not have found out the chasm, and by breaking down the work erected by Hercules have restored to the Cephisus its ancient passage, especially as they were opulent as late as the Trojan war. This is proved by Homer in the reply of Achilles to the ambassadors of Agamemnon:—

Nor all the wealth that flows into Orchomenus,

which clearly implies that even then the revenues of Orchomenus were great.

9 They say that Aspledon was abandoned by its inhabitants for lack of water. The name of the city is said to have been derived from Aspledon, a son of the nymph Midea and Poseidon. With this agree the verses of Chersias, an Orchomenian:—

To Poseidon and famous Midea
Was born a son Aspledon in the spacious city.

10 The poetry of Chersias is now lost, but these verses also are quoted by Callippus in the same work of his on Orchomenus. The Orchomenians attribute to this Chersias the epigram inscribed on Hesiod's grave.

XXXIX

1. Towards the mountains the land of Orchomenus is bounded by Phocis, but in the plain it is bounded by Lebadea. This city originally stood on high ground, and was named Midea after the

mother of Aspledon; but when Lebadus came to it from Athens the people descended to the low ground, and the city was called Lebadea after him. Who was his father, and why he came, they do not know: all they know is that his wife was Laonice. 2. In style and splendour the city is equal to the most flourishing cities in Greece. It is separated from the grove of Trophonius by <the river Hercyna>. They say that Hercyna, while playing here with the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, had a goose in her arms, which she involuntarily let go. It flew into a hollow cave and hid itself under a stone, and the Maid entered and caught the bird as it lay under the stone. They say that water flowed from the spot where the Maid lifted up the stone, and that the river was therefore named Hercyna. There is a temple of Hercyna on the bank of the river, and in the temple is an image of a girl with a goose in her arms. In the grotto are the sources of the river and standing images, with serpents coiled round their sceptres. These images might be supposed to be Aesculapius and Health, but they may also be Trophonius and Hercyna, for they think that serpents are as sacred to Trophonius as to Aesculapius. Beside the river is the tomb of Arcesilaus, whose bones are said to have been brought back from Troy by Leitus. 3. The most celebrated things in the grove are a temple and image of Trophonius: the image resembles Aesculapius, and is by the hand of Praxiteles. There is also a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Europa, and an image of Rainy Zeus in the open air. If we ascend to the oracle, and thence proceed forward on the mountain, we come to what is called the Maid's Chase and a temple of King Zeus. This temple they have left half finished, by reason either of its size or of a succession of wars. But in another temple there are images of Cronus, Hera, and Zeus. There is also a sanctuary of Apollo.

4. As to the oracle, the procedure is as follows. When a man has resolved to go down to the oracle of Trophonius, he first of all lodges for a stated number of days in a certain building which is sacred to the Good Demon and Good Fortune. During his sojourn there he observes rules of purity, and, in particular, refrains from warm baths. His bath is the river Hercyna; and he gets plenty of flesh from the sacrifices; for he who goes down sacrifices both to Trophonius himself and to the children of Trophonius, also to Apollo, Cronus, Zeus surnamed King, Charioteer Hera, and Demeter, whom they surname Europa, and say she was Trophonius' nurse. At every sacrifice a soothsayer is present, who inspects the inwards of the victim, and, having done so, foretells the person descending whether Trophonius will receive him kindly and graciously. Now the inwards of all the other victims put together do not reveal the disposition of Trophonius so well as do those of a ram which, on the night when the man

goes down, they sacrifice over a pit, calling upon Agamedes. Though all the former sacrifices may have been favourable, it is no matter unless the inwards of this ram tell the same tale: if they do, then the man goes down with good hope. The way in
7 which he goes down is this. First of all, in the course of the night two burgess boys, about thirteen years old, lead him to the river Hercyna, and there anoint him with oil and wash him. These boys are called Hermae: it is they who wash him and perform all needful offices for him. Next he is led by the priests, not at once to the oracle, but to certain springs of water, which are very near each
8 other. Here he must drink what is called the water of Forgetfulness (*Lethe*), in order that he may forget everything he has hitherto thought of. After that he drinks another water, to wit, the water of Memory, whereby he remembers what he sees down below. Then after having beheld the image which they say Daedalus made (it is not shown by the priests except to such as are about to visit Trophonius), having seen and worshipped it and prayed, he comes to the oracle clad in a linen tunic girt with ribbons and shod with
9 boots of the country. 5. The oracle is above the grove on the mountain. It is surrounded in a circle by a basement of white marble, the circumference of which is about that of a threshing-floor of the smallest size, and the height less than two ells. On the basement are set bronze spikes connected by cross-rails, which are also of bronze, and there are gates in the railing. Inside the enclosure is a chasm in the earth, not a natural chasm, but built in the exactest
10 style of masonry. The shape of this structure is like that of a pot for baking bread in. Its breadth across may be guessed at four ells, while its depth cannot be estimated at more than eight. There is no passage leading down to the bottom; but when a man goes to Trophonius they bring him a narrow and light ladder. When he has descended he sees a hole between the ground and the masonry: the breadth of the hole appeared to be two spans and its height one.
11 So he lays himself on his back on the ground, and holding in his hand barley cakes kneaded with honey, he thrusts his feet first into the hole and follows himself, endeavouring to get his knees through the hole. When they are through, the rest of his body is immediately dragged after them and shoots in, just as a man might be caught and dragged down by a swirl of a mighty and rapid river. Once they are inside the shrine the future is not revealed to all in one and the same way, but to one it is given to see, and to another to
12 hear. They return through the same aperture feet foremost. They say that none of those who went down died, except one of Demetrius' bodyguard, who, they say, observed none of the rules of the sanctuary, and went down, not to consult the god, but in the hope of carrying off gold and silver from the shrine. It is said that his dead body appeared at another place, and was not cast out at the sacred open-

ing. There are other stories about the fellow, but I have told the chief. When a man has come up from Trophonius the priests 13
take him in hand again, and set him on what is called the chair of Memory, which stands not far from the shrine; and, being seated there, he is questioned by them as to all he saw and heard. On being informed, they hand him over to his friends, who carry him, still overpowered with fear, and quite unconscious of himself and his surroundings, to the building where he lodged before, the house of Good Fortune and the Good Demon. Afterwards, however, he will have all his wits as before, and the power of laughter will come back to him. I write not from mere hearsay: I have myself con- 14
sulted Trophonius, and have seen others who have done so. All who have gone down to Trophonius are obliged to set up a tablet containing a record of all they heard or saw. The shield of Aristomenes still remains here: its history has been given by me above.

XL

1. This oracle was formerly unknown to the Boeotians: they discovered it on the following occasion. No rain had fallen for more than a year, so they despatched envoys to Delphi from every city. When they asked a remedy for the drought, the Pythian priestess bade them go to Trophonius at Lebadea and get the cure from him. But when they were come to Lebadea, and could not 2
find the oracle, Saon of Acraephnium, the oldest of the envoys, saw a swarm of bees, <and he advised> that they should follow the bees wherever they went. Straightway he observed the bees flying into the earth here, and <followed> them to the oracle. They say that this Saon learned from Trophonius the ritual and observances as they are now practised.

2. Of the works of Daedalus there are two in Boeotia, the image 3
of Hercules at Thebes, and the image of Trophonius at Lebadea. There are two other wooden images by him in Crete, namely, a Britomartis at Olus and an Athena at Cnosus. At Cnosus there is also Ariadne's Dance, which Homer mentions in the *Iliad*, wrought in relief on white marble. At Delos, too, there is a small wooden image of Aphrodite: time has damaged the right hand, and instead of feet the lower end of the image is square. I am persuaded that 4
Ariadne received this image from Daedalus, and took it with her from home when she followed Theseus; and the Delians say that when Theseus was bereft of Ariadne he dedicated the wooden image of the goddess to the Delian Apollo, lest by bringing it home with him he should be drawn into remembering Ariadne, and thus find the sorrows of his love for ever new. I know no other extant works of Daedalus; for the images which were dedicated by the Argives in

the sanctuary of Hera, and those which were brought from Omphace to Gela in Sicily, have vanished in the course of ages.

5 3. Next to Lebadea is Chaeronea. The city was called Arne of old. They say that Arne was a daughter of Aeolus, and that another city in Thessaly was also called after her, but that the present name of the city is derived from Chaeron, whom they allege to be a son of Apollo by Thero, daughter of Phylas. This is attested also by the author of the epic poem, the *Great Eoeae*:—

6 And Phylas wedded a daughter of famed Iolaus,
Lipephile: in form she was like the Olympian goddesses,
And she bore him a son Hippotes in the halls,
And lovely Thero, like the moonbeams.
And Thero fell into the arms of Apollo,
And she bore mighty Chaeron, the tamer of steeds.

Homer, it seems to me, knew that Chaeronea and Lebadea were already so called in his time, but purposely employed the old names for them, just as he spoke of the river Egypt, not the Nile.

7 4. In the territory of Chaeronea there are two trophies which the Romans under Sulla set up for their victory over the army of Mithridates under Taxilus. But Philip, the son of Amyntas, set up no trophy, neither at Chaeronea nor for any other victory that he won over barbarians or Greeks; for it was not a Macedonian custom to 8 erect trophies. It is said by the Macedonians that Caranus, reigning in Macedonia, defeated in battle Cisseus, a neighbouring chief. Caranus set up a trophy of his victory in the Argive way; but they say that a lion came from Olympus and upset the trophy, 9 [and] vanished . . . and that it was unwise of Caranus to incur the mortal hatred of the barbarians round about; for that neither Caranus himself nor any king of Macedonia after him ought to set up a trophy if they were ever to win the goodwill of their neighbours. A proof of this story is that Alexander set up no trophies, neither for the conquest of Darius nor for his Indian victories.

10 5. As we approach the city we see the common tomb of the Thebans who fell in the battle with Philip. No inscription is carved on the tomb, but a lion is placed on it, perhaps in allusion to the spirit of the men. The reason why there is no inscription I take to be that their fortune did not match their valour.

11 6. The god whom the Chaeroneans honour most is the sceptre which Homer says Hephaestus made for Zeus, and Zeus gave to Hermes, and Hermes to Pelops, and Pelops bequeathed to Atreus, and Atreus to Thyestes, from whom Agamemnon had it. This sceptre they worship, naming it a spear; and that there is something divine about it is proved especially by the distinction 12 it confers on its owners. The Chaeroneans say that it was found on the borders of their territory and of Panopeus in Phocis,

and that the Phocians found gold along with it, but that they themselves were glad to get the sceptre instead of the gold. I am persuaded it was brought to Phocis by Electra, daughter of Agamemnon. There is no public temple built for it, but the man who acts as priest keeps the sceptre in his house for the year; and sacrifices are offered to it daily, and a table is set beside it covered with all sorts of flesh and cakes.

XLI

1. Of all the objects which poets have declared and obsequious public opinion has believed to be works of Hephaestus, none is genuine save the sceptre of Agamemnon. True it is that in the temple of Apollo at Patara the Lycians show a bronze bowl, which they allege to be a votive offering of Telephus and a work of Hephaestus: probably they were not aware that the first to fuse bronze were two Samians, Theodorus and Rhoecus. The Patreans 2
in Achaia give out that the chest which Eurypylus brought from Ilium is a work of Hephaestus, but they do not, in fact, produce it for inspection. 2. There is a city Amathus in Cyprus, in which there is an ancient sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite. They say that in it is preserved the necklace which was originally given to Harmonia, but was called the necklace of Eriphyle, because she accepted it as a bribe to betray her husband. The necklace was dedicated at Delphi by the sons of Phegeus: how they acquired it I have already shown in my account of Arcadia. But it was carried off by the Phocian tyrants. Nevertheless I do not think that it is in 3
the sanctuary of Adonis at Amathus. For the necklace at Amathus is of green stones fastened together with gold; but Homer in the *Odyssey* says that the necklace which was given to Eriphyle was made of gold. The passage runs thus:—

> Who took precious gold as the price of her dear lord. 1

Not that Homer was ignorant of the necklaces composed of various 4
materials. Thus in the speech of Eumaeus to Ulysses before Telemachus has returned to the court from Pylus, he says:—

> There came a cunning man to the house of my father
> With a golden necklace, and it was strung at intervals with amber beads.

Again, among the gifts which Penelope received from the wooers he 5
has represented Eurymachus giving her one:—

> And straightway Eurymachus brought a necklace, cunningly wrought,
> Golden, strung with amber beads, like the sun.

But he does not say that Eriphyle received a necklace curiously

wrought of gold and stones. Probably, therefore, the sceptre is the only work of Hephaestus.

6 3. Above the city is a crag called Petrachus. They profess that here Cronus was beguiled when he received from Rhea a stone instead of Zeus; and there is a small image of Zeus 7 on the top of the mountain. Here in Chaeronea they distil unguents from certain flowers, to wit, the lily, the rose, the narcissus, and the iris. These unguents are balms for the pains of men. The unguent of roses, if you smear it on wooden images, keeps them from rotting. The iris grows in marshes: it is as large as a lily, but is not white, and does not smell so sweet.

BOOK TENTH

PHOCIS

I

1. It is well known that the part of Phocis round about Tithorea and Delphi received the name of Phocis at a very remote time from a man of Corinth, Phocus, son of Ornytion; and not many years afterwards, when a body of Aeginetans under Phocus, son of Aeacus, had sailed to the country, the name came into general use as the designation of the whole region now known as Phocis. Opposite to 2
Peloponnese, and in the direction of Boeotia, Phocis reaches to the sea, touching it on the one side at Cirrha, the port of Delphi, and on the other at the city of Anticyra. But in the direction of the Lamian Gulf the Hypocnemidian Locrians intervene between Phocis and the coast; for their territory bounds Phocis in this direction, Scarphea lying beyond Elatea, while Opus and its port Cynus are situated beyond Hyampolis and Abae.

2. The most famous passages in the general history of the 3
Phocians are these. They took part in the Trojan war, and before the Mede marched against Greece, they waged war with the Thessalians, in the course of which they performed some memorable exploits. For at Hyampolis, where they expected that the Thessalians would invade their country, they buried earthen water-pots in the ground, heaped soil over them, and then awaited the Thessalian cavalry. The Thessalians, not being apprised of the Phocian stratagem, rode their horses blindly on the water-pots. Then crash went the horses' legs into the pots, the horses were lamed, and their riders were slaughtered or thrown. But when the Thessalians, more exasperated 4
than ever at the Phocians, mustered out of all their cities and took the field against them, the latter, greatly alarmed at the Thessalian armament, and especially at the multitude of their disciplined cavalry, sent to Delphi to pray the god that they might escape the impending danger. They received an oracle:—

> I will set a mortal and an immortal to fight,
> And I will give victory to both, especially to the mortal.

5 3. When this oracle was reported to them, the Phocians sent out an officer, named Gelo, with three hundred picked men in the direction of the enemy. Night was falling, and his orders were to observe the Thessalians as quietly as he could, to return to headquarters by the least known path, and not to act on the offensive. These picked men, with their captain Gelo, were destroyed by the Thessalians, who trampled them under the
6 hoofs of their horses and sabred them to a man. The blow struck such consternation into the Phocian camp, that they gathered together their women and children, and all their movable property, together with their raiment, their gold and silver, and the images of their gods, and having made a vast pyre, they left thirty men in
7 charge, with orders that if it went ill with the Phocians in the battle, they were first to put the women and children to the sword, then place them and the valuables, like sacrifices, on the pyre, set fire to it, and then seek death themselves, either at each other's hands or by charging home on the Thessalian cavalry. Hence all ruthless resolutions are named by the Greeks 'Phocian despair.'
4. On that occasion the Phocians immediately marched out against
8 the Thessalians. The horse was commanded by Daiphantes of Hyampolis, the foot by Rhoeus of Ambrosus. But the command-in-chief was held by a soothsayer, <Tellias> the Elean, and on him
9 the Phocians rested their hopes. When they joined battle, the Phocians had in their mind's eye the fate they had reserved for their women and childen; they saw, too, that their own lives trembled in the balance; hence they performed prodigies of valour, and with the favour of the gods they won the most glorious victory
10 of the age. Then all Greece understood the oracle that had been vouchsafed to the Phocians by Apollo. For the word invariably given in battle by the commanders was, on the Thessalian side, Itonian Athena, and on the Phocian side, Phocus, from whom the Phocians took their name. From the fruits of this victory the Phocians sent votive offerings to Apollo at Delphi, consisting of statues of Tellias the soothsayer, and of the other generals who led them in the fight, together with images of local heroes. These statues and images were by Aristomedon, an Argive.

11 5. Afterwards the Phocians again hit upon a stratagem quite as ingenious as their former ones. For when the armies lay encamped over against each other at the pass leading into Phocis, five hundred picked Phocians waited till the moon was full, then rubbed themselves over with chalk, and putting on white armour over the chalk fell upon the Thessalians by night. It is said that a great slaughter was wrought among the Thessalians, who deemed this night affair too weird to be an attack of the enemy. It was the Elean Tellias who instigated the Phocians to play this trick also on the Thessalians.

II

1. When the Persian army crossed into Europe, it is said that the Phocians were compelled to side with the Persian king, but that they deserted from the Medes and ranged themselves on the Greek side at the battle of Plataea. At a later time it came to pass that they were fined by the Amphictyons. I am unable to discover the truth of the matter, whether the fine was really incurred by misconduct, or whether the Thessalians wreaked their old grudge by causing the fine to be inflicted on the Phocians. The 2 amount of the fine dismayed them; but Philomelus, son of Theotimus, a Phocian of the highest rank, a native of Ledon in Phocis, took them in hand, showed that to pay the money was beyond their power, and endeavoured to persuade them to seize the sanctuary at Delphi. Amongst other specious arguments he asserted that Athens and Lacedaemon had always been favourable to them, and that if the Thebans or any one else went to war with them, their valour and treasures would secure them the victory. The 3 majority of the Phocian people listened without reluctance to the proposals of Philomelus, perhaps because God had unsettled their judgment, or because it was their nature to think more of gain than godliness. 2. The seizure of Delphi by the Phocians took place when Heraclides was president at Delphi, and Agathocles was archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, in which Prorus of Cyrene won the foot-race. No sooner had they 4 seized the sanctuary than the best mercenary troops in Greece flocked to their standards; and the Thebans, who had been estranged from them before, now openly declared war. They fought for ten years without a break; and in this long war the Phocians and their mercenaries were often victorious, and often victory inclined to the side of Thebes. But in an engagement at the town of Neon the Phocians were routed, and in the flight Philomelus cast himself down a high precipice and expired. It chanced that this was the very punishment to which the Amphictyons had condemned the robbers of the temple. 3. After his death the command 5 was conferred by the Phocians on Onomarchus. But Philip, son of Amyntas, joined the Thebans, and was victorious in the engagement. Onomarchus fled and made his way to the sea, where he was shot down by his own men, who imputed their defeat to his cowardice and incapacity. 4. Such was the end of the ill- 6 starred Onomarchus. His brother Phaylus was elected to the supreme command. Scarcely, <it is said,> had he entered on the command when he saw a vision in a dream, and it was this. Amongst Apollo's votive offerings was a bronze effigy of a mouldering <corpse>, the flesh all wasted away, nothing left but

the bones. It was said by the Delphians to be an offering of Hippocrates the physician. Now, in his dream Phaylus thought that he resembled this effigy; and immediately he was attacked by
7 a wasting sickness that fulfilled the augury of the dream. 5. On his death the supreme power in Phocis devolved on his son Phalaecus, who being accused of embezzling some of the sacred treasures was deposed. He sailed to Crete with a detachment of the mercenaries and with such of the Phocians as cast in their lot with him. There he sat down before Cydonia, which had refused his demand for money. But he lost most of his army and perished himself.

III

1. In the ninth year after the seizure of the sanctuary Philip put an end to the Phocian, or, as it is also called, the Sacred War: this was when Theophilus was archon at Athens, in the first year of the hundred and eighth Olympiad, in which Polycles of Cyrene won the foot-race. 2. The cities of Phocis were taken and razed to the ground: they were Lilaea, Hyampolis, Anticyra, Parapotamii, Pano-
2 peus, and Daulis. These cities were renowned of old, chiefly through the verses of Homer. Others again—Erochus, Charadra, Amphiclea, Neon, Tithronium, and Drymaea—became more generally known in Greece from having been burned down by the army of Xerxes. The other cities, with the exception of Elatea, were previously unknown to fame, namely, Phocian Trachis, Phocian Medeon, Echedamia, Ambrosus, Ledon, Phlygonium, and Stiris. All the cities I have enumerated were now levelled with the ground, and their inhabitants dispersed in villages: Abae alone was excepted, because its inhabitants had kept clear of sacrilege, and had taken no part either in the
3 seizure of the sanctuary or in the war. The Phocians were also deprived of their share in the Delphic sanctuary and in the general assembly of Greece, and their votes were transferred by the Amphictyons to the Macedonians. In course of time, however, the cities of Phocis were rebuilt, and the inhabitants were brought back from the villages to the homes of their fathers, though some cities were not rebuilt because they had always been weak, and were then too poor to afford it. It was the Athenians and Thebans who brought back the Phocians before the overthrow of the Greeks at Chaeronea. 3.
4 The Phocians took part in the battle of Chaeronea, and afterwards they fought at Lamia and Crannon against the Macedonians under Antipater. In repelling the Gauls and the Celtic host, none of the Greeks were more strenuous than the Phocians; for they felt that they drew sword for the god of Delphi, and they wished, too, I suppose, to wipe out the old stains on their honour. Such were the memorable deeds of the Phocians.

IV

1. It is twenty furlongs from Chaeronea to Panopeus, a city of Phocis, if city it can be called that has no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water conducted to a fountain, and where the people live in hovels, just like highland shanties, perched on the edge of a ravine. Yet its territory is marked off by boundaries from that of its neighbours, and it even sends members to the Phocian parliament. The inhabitants say that the city got its name from the father of Epeus, and that they themselves are not Phocians, but are descended from Phlegyans who fled to Phocis from the land of Orchomenus. Viewing the ancient circuit 2 of Panopeus, we guessed it to be just seven furlongs in extent; and we were reminded of Homer's verses about Tityus, where he speaks of the city of the Panopeans with its fair dancing-grounds, and how in the fight for the dead body of Patroclus he says that Schedius, son of Iphitus, who reigned over the Phocians and was slain by Hector, dwelt in Panopeus. It seemed to me that the reason why the king dwelt here was the fear of the Boeotians, for the easiest pass from Boeotia into Phocis is at this point; so the king lived here and used Panopeus as a garrisoned fort. But I could not understand why 3 Homer spoke of the fair dancing-grounds of Panopeus till it was explained to me by the women whom the Athenians call Thyiads. 2. These Thyiads are Attic women who go every other year with the Delphian women to Parnassus, and there hold orgies in honour of Dionysus. It is the custom for these Thyiads to dance at various places on the road from Athens, and one of these places is Panopeus. Thus the epithet which Homer applies to Panopeus seems to allude to the dance of the Thyiads. 3. At 4 Panopeus there is beside the road a small building of unburnt brick, and in it is an image of Pentelic marble, which some say is Aesculapius and others Prometheus. In proof of the latter view they produce evidence. At the edge of the ravine lie two stones, each big enough to load a cart. Their colour is that of clay, not an earthy clay, but such as you would find in a ravine or a sandy torrent; and they smell very like the flesh of a man. They say that these stones are remains of the clay out of which the whole race of man was moulded by Prometheus. 4. Here at the ravine is also 5 the tomb of Tityus. The circumference of the mound is just about a third of a furlong. They say that the verse of the *Odyssey*—

> Lying on the ground; and he lay over nine roods,

does not refer to the size of Tityus, but that Nine Roods was <the name> of the place where he was laid. Cleon of Magnesia, the city 6 beside the Hermus, used to aver that people who have not happened

in the course of their own lives to see extraordinary sights are incredulous about marvels. Whereas he himself, he said, believed that Tityus and others had been just as tradition describes them. For he chanced, he tells us, to be in Cadiz, and he sailed away from the island with the rest of the multitude in obedience to the command of Hercules, and when they came back to Cadiz they found a man of the sea stranded on the beach: that man, said he, covered just five roods, and he was burning, for God had struck him with a thunderbolt. So said Cleon.

7 5. About seven furlongs from Panopeus is Daulis. The people of Daulis are not many, but to this day they are still reputed the tallest and strongest in Phocis. They say that the city got its name from a nymph Daulis, a daughter of the Cephisus. But others say that the site of the city was a thicket, and that woody or shaggy places (*dasea*) were called *daula* by the ancients, and that, they say, is why Aeschylus called the beard of Glaucus, the Anthedonian, a *hupene* 8 *daulos*. 6. Here in Daulis the women are said to have dished up to Tereus his own boy, and this was the beginning of pollutions at table among mankind. The hoopoe into which, as the story goes, Tereus was changed, is a bird a little bigger than a quail, and the 9 feathers on its head rise in the form of a crest. It is wonderful that in this country swallows neither lay eggs nor hatch them; indeed, a swallow would not even build its nest on the roof of a house. The Phocians say that even in her bird-form Philomela has a dread of Tereus and of Tereus' native land. At Daulis there is a sanctuary of Athena with an ancient image: the still older wooden image is said by the Daulians to have been brought by Procne from Athens.

10 7. In the land of Daulis there is a place called Tronis, where there is a shrine of the hero-founder. Some say that this hero is Xanthippus, a famous warrior; but others say that he is Phocus, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphus. However that may be, he is worshipped every day, and the Phocians bring victims, and the blood they pour through a hole into the grave, but the flesh it is their custom to consume on the spot.

V

1. There is a way up through Daulis to the top of Parnassus; the ascent is longer than that from Delphi, but not so difficult. Returning from Daulis to the straight road to Delphi, and going forward, you come to a building on the left of the road called the Phocicum, where the deputies from all the Phocian cities meet. 2 The edifice is large. In the interior are pillars running along the length of the building, and from these pillars steps rise to each wall. On these steps the Phocian deputies sit. At the end of the building there are neither pillars nor steps, but images of Zeus,

Athena, and Hera. Zeus is seated on a throne, Hera is represented standing on his right, and Athena on his left.

2. Going on from here you will come to what is called the 3
Cleft Way. On this road was perpetrated Oedipus' murder of his father. It was decreed, apparently, that memorials of the woes of Oedipus should be left all over Greece. At his birth they ran goads threw his ankles, and exposed him on Mount Cithaeron in the land of Plataea. He was nurtured at Corinth and in the country about the Isthmus; and Phocis and the Cleft Way were stained with the blood of his murdered father. Thebes is still more famous for the wedlock of Oedipus and the crime of Eteocles. To Oedipus 4
the Cleft Way and the dark deed he did there were the beginning of sorrow. The tombs of Laius and of the servant who attended him are at the very middle of the place where the three roads meet: unhewn stones are heaped upon them. They say that Damasistratus, king of Plataea, found the bodies lying and buried them.

3. From this point the high road to Delphi grows steeper and 5
more difficult to a man on foot. Many and diverse are the tales told about Delphi, and still more about the oracle of Apollo. For they say that in the most ancient times the oracle was an oracle of Earth, who appointed Daphnis, one of the nymphs of the mountain, to be her prophetess at the oracle. In a certain Greek poem called 6
Eumolpia, and attributed to Musaeus, son of Antiophemus, it is said that the oracle belonged to Poseidon and Earth in common, that Earth gave the oracles in person, but that Poseidon employed a certain Pyrcon to give the oracles. The verses run thus:—

> And straightway the Earth goddess spake a wise word,
> And with her Pyrcon, the attendant of the famed Earth-shaker.

In after time, they say, Earth resigned her share to Themis, and Themis made a present of it to Apollo, and Apollo gave Poseidon the island of Calauria off Troezen in exchange for the oracle. I 7
have also heard that shepherds feeding their flocks lit upon the oracle, and that they were inspired by the vapour, and prophesied at the prompting of Apollo. 4. But the most generally received opinion is that Phemonoe was the first prophetess of the god, and first sang in hexameters. But Boeo, a woman of the country, in a hymn which she composed for the Delphians, says that the oracle of the god was instituted by Olen and others who came from the land of the Hyperboreans, and that Olen was the first to give oracles and sing in hexameters. The verses of Boeo run 8
thus:—

> Here verily a mindful oracle was established
> By Pagasus and divine Agyieus, sons of the Hyperboreans;

and in enumerating other Hyperboreans she names Olen at the end of the hymn:—

And Olen, who was the first prophet of Phoebus,
And first composed a song in ancient verses.

But as far back as tradition goes it mentions no other man, but only women as the mouth-pieces of the oracle.

9 5. They say that the most ancient temple of Apollo was made of laurel, and that the boughs were brought from the laurel in Tempe. This temple must have been in the shape of a shanty. The Delphians say that the second temple was made by bees out of wax and feathers, and that it was sent to the Hyperboreans by
10 Apollo. Another story is that the temple was built by a man of Delphi named Pteras, and that hence the temple got its name from its builder. They say that a city in Crete was named Apteraei after this Pteras, with the addition of a letter. As to the story that they made a temple out of the fern that grows on the mountains by twining the stalks together while they were still fresh and green,
11 I do not admit it for a moment. Touching the third temple, it is no marvel that it was made of bronze, since Acrisius made a bronze chamber for his daughter; and the Lacedaemonians have a sanctuary of Athena of the Bronze House to this day; and the Forum at Rome, a miracle of size and style, has a roof of bronze. So it cannot be improbable that Apollo should have had
12 a temple of bronze. However, as to the rest of the legend, I do not believe that the temple was a work of Hephaestus, nor the story about the golden songstresses which the poet Pindar mentions in speaking of this particular temple:—

And from above the gable
Sang charmers all of gold.

Here, it seems to me, Pindar merely imitated the Sirens in Homer. Again, as to the way in which the temple vanished, I found that accounts differed. Some say it fell into a chasm in the earth, others
13 that it was melted down by fire. The fourth temple was built by Trophonius and Agamedes, and tradition says that it was made of stone. But it was burnt down when Erxiclides was archon at Athens, in the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad, in which Diognetus of Crotona was victorious. The present temple was built for the god by the Amphictyons out of the sacred treasures: the architect was Spintharus of Corinth.

VI

1. They say that the oldest city here was founded by Parnasus, son of a nymph Cleodora. Like other heroes, as they are called, he is credited with a divine and a human father, his divine father being Poseidon, his human father being Cleopompus. They say

that Mount Parnassus and the Parnassian glen were named after him. Further, the taking of auguries from the flight of birds is said to have been an invention of Parnasus. 2. This city is said to have 2
been flooded by the rains that fell in Deucalion's time; but the people who were able to escape the storm were led safe to the peaks of Parnassus by the howlings of wolves, these beasts acting as their guides, and therefore they called the city which they founded Lycorea. A different legend is that Apollo had a son Lycorus by a 3
nymph Corycia, and that the city of Lycorea was named after Lycorus, and the Corycian cave after the nymph. Another legend is that Hyamus, son of Lycorus, had a daughter Celaeno, and that Delphus, from whom the present name of the city is derived, was a son of Celaeno and Apollo. Some will have it that there was a man 4
Castalius, an aboriginal, who had a daughter Thyia, and that she was the first priestess of Dionysus, and held orgies in honour of the god; and they say that afterwards all women who rave in honour of Dionysus have been called Thyiads after her. At any rate, Delphus is believed by them to have been a son of Apollo and Thyia. Others say his mother was Melaena, a daughter of Cephisus. 3. In after time the people round about called the city Pytho as 5
well as Delphi, as Homer has done in the list of the Phocians. Those who would find genealogies for everything think that Pythes was a son of Delphus, and that from his reign the city got the name of Pytho. But the prevalent tradition is that he whom Apollo shot with his arrows rotted away here, and that hence the city got the name of Pytho, for the word meaning to rot was in those days *puthesthai;* and therefore Homer represented the island of the Sirens as full of bones, because the men who listened to their song rotted away (*eputhonto*). He whom Apollo slew is said by the poets 6
to have been a dragon set by Earth to guard the oracle. But it is also said that he was an over-bearing son of Crius, a chieftain of Euboea, and that he rifled the sanctuary of the god and the houses of wealthy men. But when he marched against Delphi the second time the Delphians besought Apollo to ward off the impending danger, and Phemonoe, who was then the prophetess, gave them 7
the following oracle in hexameter verse:—

> At close quarters Phoebus will shoot a grievous shaft at the man
> Who robs Parnassus; and men of Crete
> Shall cleanse his hands from blood; and the glory shall never die.

VII

1. It seems that from the beginning the sanctuary at Delphi has been the object of innumerable plots. Thus it was attempted by the Euboean robber whom I have mentioned above, and some years

afterwards it was attempted by the Phlegyan race; also by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, by a division of the army of Xerxes, by the Phocian chiefs (whose attacks on the treasures of the god were the most prolonged and determined), and by the Gallic host. It was destined, too, not to escape the all-comprehensive disdain of Nero, who robbed Apollo of five hundred bronze statues of gods and men together.

2 2. They say that the most ancient contest and the one for which prizes were first offered, was the singing of a hymn in honour of the god. Chrysothemis of Crete sang and won the prize: it was his father Carmanor who is said to have purified Apollo. After Chrysothemis, they say that Philammon won the prize for singing, and after him his son Thamyris. But Orpheus, they say, gave himself such airs on account of the mysteries, and was altogether so proud that he would not enter the lists; and Musaeus, who laid himself 3 out to copy Orpheus, followed his example. They say that Eleuther won a Pythian victory by his strong sweet voice alone, for the song was not his own. It is said, too, that Hesiod was excluded from the competition because he had not learned to accompany himself on the lyre. Homer came to Delphi to inquire of the oracle; but even if he had learned to play the lyre, the loss of his sight 4 would have rendered the accomplishment useless. 3. In the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, in which Glaucias of Crotona was victorious, the Amphictyons offered prizes for minstrelsy as hitherto, and added competitions in flute-playing both with and without the accompaniment of the voice. The victors proclaimed were Melampus, a Cephallenian, in minstrelsy; Echembrotus, an Arcadian, in singing to the flute; and Sacadas, an Argive, in flute-playing. This same Sacadas was also victorious in the next two 5 Pythiads. On the same occasion they for the first time offered prizes for athletes, the events being the same as at Olympia, except the four-horse-chariot-race: they also added foot-races for boys in the long and the double courses. But in the second Pythiad the prizes were discontinued, and crowns were substituted. They also discontinued the singing to the flute, because they deemed the music was inauspicious. For the tunes were most doleful, and the 6 words sung to them were dirges. This is proved by the votive-offering of Echembrotus: it is a bronze tripod dedicated to Hercules at Thebes, and bears this inscription:—

> Echembrotus, an Arcadian, dedicated to Hercules
> This pleasing gift for a victory which he gained at the games of the Amphictyons,
> Singing tunes and dirges to the Greeks.

So the contest in singing to the flute was discontinued. But they added a chariot-race, and the victor was Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon.

In the eighth Pythiad they added a competition in playing on the 7
lyre, unaccompanied by the voice; and Agelaus of Tegea was crowned. In the twenty-third Pythiad they added a race in armour, and in it Timaenetus of Phlius won the laurel, five Olympiads after the victory of Damaretus of Heraea. In the forty-eighth Pythiad they instituted a race for two-horse chariots, and the chariot of Execestides, a Phocian, was victorious. In the fifth Pythiad afterwards they instituted a race for chariots drawn by foals, and the chariot of Orphondas, a Theban, distanced all competitors. A pan- 8
cratium for boys, a race for chariots drawn by pairs of foals, and a foal-race, were borrowed many years later from the Eleans. The first was instituted in the sixty-first Pythiad, and Iolaidas of Thebes was the victor. At the next Pythiad but one they introduced the foal-race, and in the sixty-ninth Pythiad they established the race for chariots drawn by pairs of foals. In the foal-race Lycormas of Larisa was declared victor, and in the race for chariots drawn by pairs of foals the winner was Ptolemy, the Macedonian; for the kings of Egypt loved to be called Macedonians, as indeed they were. 4. The reason why the prize for a Pythian victory is a laurel wreath, seems to me to be simply the common story that Apollo loved the daughter of Ladon.

VIII

1. Some think that the council of the Greeks which meets here was instituted by Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, and that the members of the council were called Amphictyons after him. But Androtion, in his history of Attica, says that originally the council at Delphi was composed of deputies from the neighbouring peoples, and that the members of the council were named Amphictions, but that in course of time their present name prevailed. 2. Amphictyon 2
himself is said to have formed a union, represented by a common council, of the following Greek tribes: — Ionians, Dolopians, Thessalians, Aenianians, Magnesians, Malians, Phthiotians, Dorians, Phocians, and the Locrians who border on Phocis, dwelling at the foot of Mount Cnemis. The seizure of the sanctuary by the Phocians, and the conclusion of the war nine years afterwards, wrought a change in the constitution of the Amphictyonic League. For the Macedonians contrived to join the League, whereas the Phocian nation and a branch of the Dorian race, namely, the Lacedaemonians, were struck out of it—the Phocians on the ground of their daring crime, the Lacedaemonians as a penalty for their alliance with the Phocians. When Brennus had led the Gallic host to Delphi, the Phocians 3
displayed more enthusiasm for the war than any other of the Greeks, and, as a result of this affair, they were reinstated in their position as members of the Amphictyonic League, and retrieved their ancient

reputation. It was the will of the Emperor Augustus that Nicopolis, near Actium, should join the Amphictyonic League, that the Magnesians, Malians, Aenianians, and Phthiotians should be included among the Thessalians, and that their votes, together with those of the Dolopians (who had ceased to exist as a people), should be
4 exercised by the Nicopolitans. 3. At present the Amphictyons are thirty in number. Nicopolis, Macedonia, and Thessaly each send six: the Boeotians (who anciently inhabited Thessaly, and were then called Aeolians), Phocians, and Delphians each send
5 two; and ancient Doris sends one. The Ozolian Locrians, and the Locrians opposite Euboea, send one apiece; and there is one for Euboea. Of the Peloponnesian states Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth, with Megara, contribute one; and there is one for Athens. The cities of Athens, Delphi, and Nicopolis send members to every session of the Amphictyonic council; but out of the nations enumerated above, each city has its turn, at periodic intervals, of sending members to the Amphictyonic council.

6 4. On entering the city you come to a row of temples. The first of them was in ruins, and the next was empty both of images and statues. The third contained portrait statues of a few Roman emperors; and the fourth is called the temple of Forethought Athena. The image in the fore-temple is an offering of the Massiliots, and is larger than the image in the interior. Massilia is a colony of Phocaea in Ionia, founded by some of those who fled from Phocaea to avoid Harpagus the Mede. Having beaten the Carthaginians at sea they made themselves masters of the land which they now hold,
7 and attained to a high pitch of prosperity. The votive offering of the Massiliots is of bronze. The golden shield given by Croesus the Lydian to Forethought Athena was said by the Delphians to have been carried off by Philomelus. Beside the sanctuary of Forethought is a precinct of the hero Phylacus, who is commonly said by the Delphians to have stood by them at the time of the Persian
8 invasion. They say that in the open part of the gymnasium there once grew a wild wood, and that when Ulysses, during his visit to Autolycus, was hunting with the sons of Autolycus he here received from the boar the wound above the knee. 5. Turning to the left from the gymnasium and descending not more, I think, than three furlongs, you come to a river named Plistus, which flows into
9 the sea at Cirrha, the port of Delphi. On the way up from the gymnasium to the sanctuary you have on the right of the road the water of Castaly, and it is sweet to drink. Some say that a native woman, others that a man Castalius, gave the spring its name. But Panyasis, son of Polyarchus, author of an epic poem on Hercules, says that Castaly was a daughter of Achelous; for of Hercules he says:—

And having traversed snowy Parnassus on his swift feet
He came to the immortal water of Castaly, daughter of Achelous.

I have also heard another story that the water was a gift to Castaly 10
from the river Cephisus; and so Alcaeus also had represented it in his hymn to Apollo. This is especially confirmed by the evidence of the Lilaeans, who on certain stated days throw cakes of the country, and other things prescribed by custom, into the spring of the Cephisus, and they say that they appear again in Castaly.

IX

1. The city of Delphi stands wholly on a slope, and not only the city, but also the sacred close of Apollo. The close is very spacious, and is situated at the highest part of the city. There are passages through it at short intervals. I will mention what seemed to me the most noteworthy of the votive offerings. As to the 2
athletes and musical competitors who have attracted no notice from the majority of mankind, I hold them hardly worthy of attention; and the athletes who have made themselves a name have already been set forth by me in my account of Elis. There is a statue of Phaylus the Crotonian at Delphi. He did not win a victory at Olympia, but won two Pythian victories in the pentathlum and one in the foot-race; he also fought against the Medes at sea in a ship of his own, which he had equipped and manned with the Crotonians who were then sojourning in Greece. 2. On entering the precinct 3
you see a bronze bull made by Theopropus, an Aeginetan, and dedicated by the Corcyraeans. It is said that in Corcyra a bull used to leave the herd and the pasture to go down and bellow by the sea-shore. The same thing happened every day, till the herdsman went down to the shore and beheld a countless shoal of tunnies. He told the Corcyraeans in the city, and they, after labouring in 4
vain to catch them, sent envoys to Delphi, and in consequence they sacrificed the bull to Poseidon, and immediately after the sacrifice they caught the fish; and with the tithe of their take they dedicated the offerings at Olympia and Delphi.

3. Next are offerings of the Tegeans from booty taken from 5
the Lacedaemonians: they consist of an image of Apollo, an image of Victory, and images of the heroes of their land, to wit, Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, Arcas, who gave his name to the country, and his sons, Elatus, Aphidas, Azan, and also Triphylus. The mother of Triphylus was not Erato, but Laodamia, daughter of Amyclas, king of Lacedaemon. There is also a statue of Erasus, son of Triphylus. The artists who made the images are these: 6
Pausanias of Apollonia made the Apollo and the Callisto; Daedalus of Sicyon made the Victory and the statue of Arcas; Samolas, an

Arcadian, made the statues of Triphylus and Azan; and Antiphanes of Argos made the statues of Elatus, Aphidas, and Erasus. These offerings were sent by the Tegeans to Delphi after they had made prisoners of the Lacedaemonians, when the latter marched against Tegea.

7 4. Opposite them are offerings of the Lacedaemonians from booty taken from the Athenians: they consist of images of the Dioscuri, Zeus, Apollo, and Artemis; also Poseidon crowning Lysander, son of Aristocritus, and a statue of Agias, who acted as soothsayer to Lysander, and a statue of Hermon who steered
8 Lysander's flag-ship. This statue of Hermon was probably made by Theocosmus the Megarian, since the Megarians had enrolled Hermon among their citizens. The Dioscuri are by Antiphanes of Argos, and the soothsayer is a work of Pison, a native of Calauria, which belongs to Troezen. The Artemis, Poseidon, and Lysander are by Dameas; and the Apollo and Zeus are by Athenodorus. Both
9 Dameas and Athenodorus were Arcadians, natives of Clitor. Behind the offerings I have mentioned are statues of the men, whether Spartans or allies, who helped Lysander to win the victory of Aegospotami. They are these:—Aracus, a Lacedaemonian, and Erianthes, a Boeotian . . . above Mimas; from there came Astycrates. And the Chians, Cephisocles, Hermophantus, and Hicesius; the Rhodians, Timarchus and Diagoras; the Cnidian Theodamus; the Ephesian Cimmerius; and the Milesian Aeantides.
10 The statues of all these are by Tisander. The next are by Alypus of Sicyon, and represent Theopompus the Myndian, Cleomedes the Samian, two Euboeans, Aristocles of Carystus, and Autonomus of Eretria, the Corinthian Aristophantus, the Troezenian Apollodorus, and Dion of Epidaurus in Argolis. Next to these are statues of the Achaean Axionicus of Pellene, Theares of Hermion, the Phocian Pyrrhias, the Megarian Comon, the Sicyonian Agasimenes, the Leucadian Telycrates, the Corinthian Pythodotus, and the Ambraciot Euantidas; and, lastly, the Lacedaemonians, Epicyridas and Eteonicus. They are said to be works of Patrocles and Canachus.
11 5. The Athenians do not admit that they were fairly beaten at Aegospotami, alleging that they were betrayed by their generals, Tydeus and Adimantus, who had taken bribes from Lysander. In proof of this statement they quote from the oracles of the Sibyl:—

> Then Zeus, the High-Thunderer, whose might is greatest,
> Shall send on the Athenians lamentable sorrows,
> Battle and fighting on the war-ships
> Which perish in wily ways by the baseness of the leaders.

The other prediction which they quote is from the oracles of Musaeus:—

For on the Athenians comes a wild shower
By the baseness of the chiefs. But there shall be a certain consolation
For the defeat; for they shall not escape the notice of the citizens, and shall pay penalty.

But enough of this.

6. The combat between the Lacedaemonians and Argives for the district called Thyrea was also foretold by the Sibyl, who declared that it would be a drawn battle. But the Argives claimed to have had the best of it, and sent to Delphi a bronze horse supposed to represent the Wooden Horse. It is a work of Antiphanes, an Argive. 12

X

1. On the pedestal below the Wooden Horse is an inscription stating that the statues were made out of a tithe of the spoils taken at the battle of Marathon. The statues are those of Athena, Apollo, and one of the generals, Miltiades. Of the heroes, as they are called, there are Erechtheus, Cecrops, Pandion, Leos, and Antiochus, the son of Hercules by Meda, daughter of Phylas, also Aegeus and Acamas, one of the sons of Theseus. These gave names to tribes at Athens, in accordance with a Delphic oracle; but Codrus, son of Melanthus, Theseus, and Phyleus are not of the number of the heroes who gave their names to tribes. The statues I have 2
enumerated were made by Phidias, and they really do form part of the tithe of the battle-spoils. But the statues of Antigonus, his son Demetrius, and Ptolemy the Egyptian, were sent to Delphi by the Athenians at a later time; that of the Egyptian was sent out of friendship for him, but the statues of the Macedonians were sent because they were feared.

2. Near the horse are other offerings of the Argives, representing 3
the leaders of the army that marched to Thebes with Polynices, namely, Adrastus, son of Talaus, and Tydeus, son of Oeneus, and the descendants of Proetus, to wit, Capaneus, son of Hipponous, and Eteoclus, son of Iphis, also Polynices, and Hippomedon, a son of Adrastus' sister. Near them is represented the chariot of Amphiaraus with Baton, the charioteer and kinsman of Amphiaraus, standing in it. Last of all is Alitherses. These are works of Hypato- 4
dorus and Aristogiton, and they were made, as the Argives themselves declare, from the spoils of the victory which the Argives and their Athenian allies won over the Lacedaemonians at Oenoe in Argolis. From the spoils of the same battle, I believe, were made the statues of the Epigoni, as the Greeks call them, which the Argives dedicated. For there are statues of the Epigoni also, namely Sthenelus and Alcmaeon, who, I suppose, was preferred to Amphilochus on the ground of his age; also Promachus, Thersander, Aegialeus, and Diomede; and between Diomede and Aegialeus is

5 Euryalus. Opposite them are other statues, dedicated by the Argives for the share they took with Epaminondas and the Thebans in founding Messene: they are statues of heroes, namely, Danaus, the most powerful king who ever reigned in Argos, and Hypermnestra, because she alone of all her sisters kept her hands clean of blood; and beside her is 'Lynceus, and the whole race from them up to Hercules, and still further back to Perseus.

6 3. The bronze horses and the captive women are offerings of the Tarentines from spoils taken from the Messapians, a barbarous people on the borders of the Tarentine territory: the statues are works of Agelades the Argive. Tarentum is a Lacedaemonian colony: the founder was Phalanthus, a Spartan. As he was setting out to found a colony, an oracle came to him from Delphi telling him that he would gain a country and a city when he should 7 feel rain under a cloudless sky (*aithra*). At first, without inquiring into the meaning of the oracle himself, or communicating it to one of the interpreters, he put in with his ships to Italy. But when, in spite of his victories over the barbarians, he could not take any of their cities, or make himself master of the country, he remembered the oracle, and thought that the god had predicted what could never come to pass; for never surely could rain fall under a clear bright sky. In his despondency his wife, who had followed him from home, caressed him: in particular she laid his head on her lap and loused him; and somehow for the love she bore him, she fell 8 a-weeping to see that his fortunes were at a standstill. Now, as she shed tears freely and wetted her husband's head, he perceived the meaning of the oracle, for his wife's name was Aethra; and that very night he took Tarentum, the greatest and wealthiest of all the cities of the barbarians on the sea. 4. They say that the hero Taras was a son of Poseidon and a native nymph, and that both the city and the river were named after him; for, like the city, the river is called Taras.

XI

1. Near the offering of the Tarentines is a treasury of the Sicyonians; but neither in this nor in any other of the treasuries are there treasures to be seen. The Cnidians brought images to Delphi, to wit, an image of Triopas, founder of Cnidus, standing beside a horse, an image of Latona, and images of Apollo and Artemis shooting arrows at Tityus, who is represented wounded in various places. These images stand beside the treasury of the Sicyonians.

2 2. The Siphnians also made a treasury for the following reason: —There were gold mines in the island of Siphnus, and the god bade them bring a tithe of the profits to Delphi; so they built the treasury and brought the tithe. But when out of avarice they ceased to bring the tribute, the sea flooded and buried the mines.

3. The Liparaeans also dedicated statues for a naval victory 3
which they won over the Tyrrhenians. These Liparaeans were colonists from Cnidus, and they say that the leader of the colony was a Cnidian: his name was Pentathlus, according to the statement of Antiochus the Syracusan, son of Xenophon, in his Sicilian history. The historian further says that they founded a city on Cape Pachynum in Sicily, but were hard put to it in war and finally expelled by the Elymi and Phoenicians, so they took possession of the islands which still bear the Homeric name of the Islands of Aeolus. They either found the islands uninhabited or expelled the inhabitants. Of these islands they inhabit Lipara, where they 4
founded a city: the islands of Hiera, Strongyle, and Didymae they till, crossing to them in ships. In Strongyle fire may be seen rising up out of the earth; and in Hiera fire blazes up spontaneously on the highest point of the island, and there are baths beside the sea, which are well enough if you let yourself gently into the water, but to plunge into the water is painful on account of the heat.

4. The treasury of the Thebans was built with the spoils of war, 5
and so was the treasury of the Athenians. The Theban treasury was built with the spoils of the battle of Leuctra, the Athenian treasury with the spoils taken from the army which landed at Marathon under the command of Datis. But I do not know whether the Cnidians built their treasury to commemorate a victory or to display their wealth. The Cleonaeans, like the Athenians, suffered from the pestilence, and, in obedience to an oracle from Delphi, sacrificed a he-goat to the rising sun. So, finding that the plague was stayed, they sent a bronze he-goat to Apollo. The Potidaeans in Thrace and the Syracusans have also treasuries: the latter was built from the spoils taken in the great overthrow of the Athenians; the former was erected out of reverence for the god.

5. The Athenians also built a colonnade out of the treasures 6
which they took from the Peloponnesians and their Greek allies in the war. They also dedicated the figure-heads of ships and bronze shields. The inscription enumerates the states from the spoils of which the Athenians sent the first-fruits: the states are Elis, Lacedaemon, Sicyon, Megara, Pellene in Achaia, Ambracia, Leucas, and Corinth itself. It also states that from the spoils of these sea-fights a sacrifice was offered to Theseus and to Poseidon at Rhium. The inscription seems to me to refer to Phormio, son of Asopichus, and to his exploits.

XII

1. There is a rock rising above the ground. The Delphians say that on this rock Herophile, surnamed Sibyl, used to stand and chant her oracles. . . . The earlier Sibyl belonged, I find, to the most

ancient times. She is said by the Greeks to have been a daughter of Zeus and Lamia, daughter of Poseidon, and to have been the first woman who chanted oracles; and they say that she was named
2 Sibyl by the Libyans. Herophile was younger, but still even she is known to have been born before the Trojan war; and she foretold in her oracles that Helen would grow up at Sparta to be the bane of Asia and Europe, and that Ilium would be taken by the Greeks on her account. The Delians remember a hymn which she composed on Apollo, and in which she calls herself not only Herophile, but likewise Artemis; also she says sometimes that she is Apollo's wedded
3 wife, sometimes that she is his sister, or again his daughter. These poetical statements she made under the influence of frenzy and the inspiration of the god. But elsewhere in her oracles she says that her mother was an immortal, one of the nymphs of Ida, but that her father was a man. The verses run thus:—

By birth I am half a mortal and half a goddess,
For my mother was an immortal nymph, but my father was a corn-eating man.
By my mother's side I am Ida-born, but my fatherland was red
Marpessus (sacred to the Mother) and the river Aidoneus.

4 2. On Trojan Ida there are still ruins of the city of Marpessus with a population of about sixty souls. The soil of the country all round about Marpessus is reddish and exceedingly parched; and the fine and porous nature of the soil in this part of Ida is, as it seems to me, the cause why the river Aidoneus sinks into the earth, and rises again only to sink again till it finally disappears underground. Marpessus is distant two hundred and forty furlongs
5 from Alexandria in the Troad. 3. The people of this city of Alexandria say that Herophile was keeper of the temple of Sminthian Apollo, and that, in reference to Hecuba's dream, she predicted in an oracle the things which we know came to pass. This Sibyl dwelt most of her life in Samos, but she also came to Clarus in the district of Colophon, and to Delos, and to Delphi; and whenever she came
6 to Delphi, she used to stand on this rock and sing. However, she died in the Troad, and her tomb is in the grove of the Sminthian god with an elegiac inscription on the monument:—

Here am I, the plain-speaking Sibyl of Phoebus,
Hidden under this tomb of stone;
A voiceful maiden once, now voiceless for ever,
Here fettered by strong fate.
But I lie under the sod near the Nymphs and this Hermes,
As a reward for having kept the temple of the Far-Shooting god.

The Hermes stands beside the tomb: it is a stone figure of the square shape. On the left there is water falling into a basin and

images of the nymphs. 4. The Erythraeans, who urge their claim to 7
Herophile with more warmth than any other Greek people, point to a Mount Corycus and a cave in it, in which they say that Herophile was born, she being a child of Theodorus, a shepherd of the country, and a nymph. The only reason, say they, why the nymph got the surname of Idaean was that wooded places were called in those days *idai*. They strike out of the oracles the verse about Marpessus and the river Aidoneus.

The next woman who similarly gave oracles is said by the 8
historian Hyperochus of Cumae to have been a native of Cumae, in the land of the Opici, and to have been called Demo. The Cumaeans have no oracle of hers to produce, but they point to a small stone urn in a sanctuary of Apollo, alleging that in it are deposited the bones of the Sibyl.

5. After the time of Demo there lived amongst the Hebrews 9
who dwell above Palestine a prophetess of the name of Sabbe: they say that her father was Berosus, and her mother Erymanthe; but some call her a Babylonian, others an Egyptian Sibyl.

Phaennis, daughter of a king of the Chaonians, and the Peleae 10
('doves') at Dodona, also prophesied by divine inspiration, but were not called Sibyls. To ascertain the date of Phaennis and read her oracles . . . for Phaennis was born at the time when Antiochus came to the throne immediately after the capture of Demetrius. But the Peleads ('doves'), they say, were still older than Phemonoe, and were the first women who sang these verses:—

> Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be: O great Zeus!
> The Earth yields fruits, therefore glorify mother Earth.

They say that there have been the following prophetic men: 11
Euclus, a Cyprian; Musaeus, an Athenian, son of Antiophemus; Lycus, son of Pandion; and a Boeotian Bacis who was possessed by the nymphs. I have read the oracle of all of them except Lycus.

Such is the list of women and men down to my time who are said to have prophesied by the inspiration of God. But in the long course of time such things may happen again.

XIII

1. The bronze head of a bison or Paeonian bull was sent to Delphi by Dropion, king of the Paeonians, son of Leon. 2. These bisons are the most difficult of all beasts to take alive, and no nets could be made strong enough <to resist> their charge. They are hunted as follows. When the hunters find a place sloping down to a hollow, they first of all enclose it with a strong fence; next they cover the slope and the flat ground at the end of the slope with fresh skins, or if they have no fresh skins they use dried

2 hides lubricated with oil. Next, the best horsemen drive the bisons together to the place I have described. The beasts slip on the first skins they come to and roll down the slope till they reach the flat.
3 Here they are at first left lying. But by the fourth or fifth day, when hunger and exhaustion have mostly subdued their spirit, the professional tamers bring them where they lie the fruit of the cultivated pine-tree, having first peeled the husk off, for at first the beasts will touch no other food. Lastly, the men fasten ropes round the animals and lead them away. That is how they catch them.

4 3. Opposite the bronze head of the bison is a statue clad in a breast-plate with a cloak thrown over the breast-plate. The Delphians say that it is an offering of the Andrians, and represents Andreus the founder of Andros. The images of Apollo, Athena, and Artemis are offerings of the Phocians, the fruit of spoils taken by them from their perpetual enemies the Thessalians, whose territory marches with their own except where that of the Hypocnemidian Locrians
5 intervenes. The Thessalians of Pharsalus dedicated a statue of Achilles on horseback with Patroclus running beside the horse. The Macedonians of Dium, a city at the foot of Mount Pieria, dedicated the statue of Apollo grasping the deer. The Greeks of Cyrene, in Libya, dedicated the chariot with the image of Ammon on it. The Dorians of Corinth also built a treasury, and the gold from
6 Lydia used to be kept there. The image of Hercules is an offering of the Thebans, sent by them at the time when they waged the Sacred War, as it is called, with the Phocians. There are also bronze images dedicated by the Phocians when they had routed the Thessalian cavalry in the second encounter. The Phliasians brought to Delphi a bronze Zeus, and along with it an image of Aegina. 4. There is a bronze Apollo, an offering from Mantinea in Arcadia: it stands not far from the treasury of the Corinthians.

7 There is a group representing Hercules and Apollo, both grasping the tripod and about to fight for it. Latona and Artemis are trying to soothe the rage of Apollo, and Athena is doing the same by Hercules. This is another offering of the Phocians, made by them at the time when Tellias the Elean led them against the Thessalians. The Athena and Artemis are by Chionis, the other figures of the group are the joint work of Diyllus and Amyclaeus: all three
8 artists are said to be Corinthians. It is said by the Delphians, that when Hercules, the son of Amphitryo, came to the oracle, the prophetess Xenoclea would not give him a response on account of the murder of Iphitus, but that he lifted the tripod and carried it out of the temple, whereupon the prophetess said:—

So Hercules of Tiryns is a different person from him of Canopus.

For the Egyptian Hercules had come to Delphi before. But at the time I speak of the son of Amphitryo gave the tripod back to Apollo,

and learned from Xenoclea all that he wanted to know. The poets have taken up this story, and have sung of a fight between Hercules and Apollo for the tripod.

5. From the spoils of the battle of Plataea the Greeks dedicated 9
a national offering in the shape of a golden tripod resting on a bronze serpent. The bronze part of the offering is preserved to this day; but the Phocian captains did not leave the gold in quite the same condition. The Tarentines sent another tithe to Delphi from the 10
spoils of the barbarous Peucetians. The offerings are the works of Onatas the Aeginetan, and Calynthus . . . they comprise images of footmen and horsemen, to wit, Opis, king of the Iapygians, come to fight for the Peucetians. He is represented slain in the fight, and over his prostrate body are standing the hero Taras and Phalanthus of Lacedaemon; and not far from Phalanthus is a dolphin. For before Phalanthus reached Italy they say that he was cast away in the Crisaean Sea, and was brought to land by a dolphin.

XIV

1. The axes are an offering of Periclytus, son of Euthymachus, a native of Tenedos, and refer to an old legend. 2. They say that Cycnus was a son of Poseidon, and reigned in Colonae, which was a town in the Troad opposite the island of Leucophrys. Cycnus had a 2
daughter named Hemithea, and a son called Tennes by Proclea, who was a daughter of Clytius, and sister of Caletor. Homer, in the *Iliad*, says that this Caletor was killed by Ajax in the act of setting fire to the ship of Protesilaus. But Proclea died before her husband; and his second wife Phylonome, daughter of Cragasus, fell in love with Tennes, and being foiled, she told her husband falsely that Tennes had made love to her against her will. Cycnus believed the lying tale, put Tennes and his sister in a chest, and flung them into the sea. The brother and sister reached the island of Leucophrys safely, 3
and the island got its present name from Tennes. But Cycnus, who was not to be hoodwinked for ever, sailed to find his son, intending to confess his mistake, and ask forgiveness for his error. However, when he had put into the island and had fastened the cables from his ship to a rock or tree, Tennes in a rage cut the cables with an axe. Hence the proverb applied to people who deny anything 4
stoutly: 'So and so has cut such and such a thing with an axe of Tenedos.' The Greeks say that Tennes was slain by Achilles in the act of defending his native land; and in course of time the Tenedians were constrained by their weakness to attach themselves to Alexandria, the city on the mainland of the Troad.

3. The Greeks who fought against the king dedicated not only 5
a bronze Zeus at Olympia, but also an Apollo at Delphi, from the spoils of the sea-fights at Artemisium and Salamis. It is said, more-

over, that Themistocles came to Delphi bringing some of the spoils of the Medes to Apollo. But when he inquired whether he should dedicate them inside the temple, the Pythian priestess bade him take them out of the sanctuary altogether. The passage in question of the oracle is as follows:—

> The beauteous splendour of the Persian's spoils do not
> Deposit in my temple; send them away home with all speed.

6 I was amazed that Themistocles should have been the only person at whose hands the god refused to accept the spoils of the Medes. Some think that the god would similarly have rejected all spoils taken from the Persians, if only, like Themistocles, every one before dedicating had inquired the pleasure of the god. Others say that the god, knowing that Themistocles would yet throw himself on the protection of the Persians, refused to accept the gifts, lest by suffering Themistocles to dedicate them he should render the resentment of the Medes against Themistocles implacable. The expedition of the barbarians against Greece may be found foretold in the oracles of Bacis; and still earlier are the verses of Euclus about it.

7 4. There is an offering dedicated by the Delphians themselves near the great altar: it consists of a bronze wolf. They say that a man stole some of the god's treasures, and hid himself and the gold in the thickest part of the forest on Mount Parnassus; but that while he slept a wolf fell upon him and killed him, and then went daily to the city and howled. So thinking that the hand of God was in it they followed the beast; and thus they found the sacred gold, and dedicated a bronze wolf to the god.

XV

1. The gilded statue of Phryne is a work of Praxiteles, one of her lovers, but was dedicated by Phryne herself. Next to it are two images of Apollo: one of them was dedicated by the Epidaurians of Argolis out of spoils taken from the Medes; the other was dedicated by the Megarians for a victory which they won over the Athenians at Nisaea. There is an ox dedicated by the Plataeans at the time when, along with the rest of the Greeks, they defended themselves against Mardonius, son of Gobryas, in their own territory. Next there are two more images of Apollo, one dedicated by the people of Heraclea on the Euxine, the other by the Amphictyons at the time when they imposed a fine on
2 the Phocians for cultivating the territory of the god. This last Apollo is called Sitalcas by the Delphians, and is five-and-thirty ells high. Also there are statues of the Aetolian generals, an image of Artemis, one of Athena, and two of Apollo: these were offered by the Aetolians when they had brought their affair with the Gauls to an

end. 2. That the Celtic host would cross from Europe into Asia to destroy the cities had been foretold by Phaennis in her oracles a generation before the event took place:—

Then having crossed the narrow strait of the Hellespont 3
The destructive army of the Gauls shall pipe; they shall lawlessly
Ravage Asia; and God shall make it yet worse
For all who dwell by the shores of the sea
For a little while. But soon the son of Cronus shall stir up a helper for them,
A dear son of a Zeus-reared bull,
Who shall bring a day of doom on all the Gauls.

By the son of a bull she meant Attalus, king of Pergamus, who is also described in an oracle as bull-horned. The statues of cavalry 4
officers on horseback were set up by the Pheraeans in the sanctuary of Apollo after they had routed the Attic cavalry. 3. The bronze palm-tree and the gilt image of Athena on it were dedicated by the Athenians out of the spoils of the two battles—the battle on land and the naval battle on the river—which they won on the same day at the Eurymedon. I observed that in some places the gilding on the image was damaged. I laid the blame on evil-doers 5
and thieves. But Clitodemus, the oldest of all the writers who have described Attica, says in his work on Attica, that when the Athenians were fitting out their armament to attack Sicily, an innumerable flock of crows flew to Delphi, pecked this image, and tore the gold off it with their beaks. He says, too, that they broke off the spear and the owls and the mimic fruit on the palm. He also describes other omens which warned the Athenians 6
not to set sail for Sicily. 4. The Cyrenians dedicated at Delphi a statue of Battus on a chariot: it was Battus who led them in ships from Thera to Libya. The charioteer is Cyrene, and in the chariot are Battus and Libya, who is in the act of crowning him. The work is by Amphion, a Cnosian, son of Acestor. When 7
Battus had founded Cyrene it is said that he was cured of his stammer in the following way. As he was traversing the district of Cyrene he beheld in the utmost parts of it, which were still uninhabited, a lion, and terror at the sight forced from his lips a loud articulate cry. Not far from the statue of Battus is another statue of Apollo, erected by the Amphictyons out of the fine paid by the Phocians for their sacrilege.

XVI

1. Of the offerings sent by the kings of Lydia nothing now remains except the iron stand of Alyattes' bowl. This stand is a work of Glaucus the Chian, who invented the welding of iron. Each

plate of the stand is fastened to another plate, not by bolts or nails,
but simply by the welding which holds them together and acts as
2 a ligature to the iron. The shape of the stand is like that of a tower,
broader at the base and rising to a truncated top. The sides of
the stand are not each in a single piece, but the iron cross-bands
are arranged like the rungs of a ladder; while the upright plates of
iron are bent outward at the top, thus forming the rest for the bowl.
3 2. What the Delphians call the Navel (*omphalos*) is made of
white marble, and is said by them to be at the centre of the whole
4 earth, and Pindar in one of his odes agrees with them. There is
here an offering of the Lacedaemonians: it is a work of Calamis,
and represents Hermione, daughter of Menelaus, who married
Orestes, son of Agamemnon, after having been previously married
to Neoptolemus, son of Achilles. The statue of Eurydamus, an
Aetolian general who led his countrymen against the Gallic host,
was dedicated by the Aetolians.
5 3. Among the mountains of Crete there is still in my time a
city Elyrus. The people of that city sent a bronze goat to Delphi.
The goat is suckling the infants Phylacides and Philander, who,
according to the Elyrians, were the children of Apollo by a nymph
Acacallis, whom Apollo visited in the city of Tarrha and in the
house of Carmanor.
6 The Carystians of Euboea also set up a bronze ox in the
sanctuary of Apollo from the spoils of the Medic war. The reason
why the offerings both of the Carystians and Plataeans took the
form of oxen was, I think, that one of the benefits which they
secured by having repelled the barbarians was freedom to till the
ground. Statues of generals and an image of Apollo, and another
of Artemis, were sent by the Aetolian nation after they had sub-
dued their neighbours the Acarnanians.
7 4. I was told of a most extraordinary success achieved by the
Liparaeans over the Tyrrhenians. The Liparaeans were bidden by
the Pythian priestess to fight the Tyrrhenians with the fewest
possible ships. So they put to sea with five galleys to meet the
Tyrrhenians. The latter, thinking shame if they were not a match
for the Liparaeans at sea, put out to meet them with the same
number of ships. So the Liparaeans captured these ships, and
when other five afterwards put to sea against them, they captured
them too, and they conquered a third, and likewise a fourth squadron
of five ships each. Therefore they dedicated at Delphi as many
8 images of Apollo as they had captured ships. The small Apollo
was dedicated by Echecratides of Larisa: the Delphians say that
this was the first of all the offerings.

XVII

1. Of the barbarians of the west, the inhabitants of Sardinia sent to Delphi a bronze statue of the hero after whom they are named. 2. In size and wealth Sardinia is a match for the most celebrated islands. What the ancient name given to it by the natives may have been I know not; but the Greeks who made trading voyages thither called it Ichnusa, because the shape of the island is very like a man's footstep (*ichnos*). Its length is one thousand one hundred and twenty furlongs, and its breadth four hundred and twenty. The first to cross over to the island in ships are said to 2 have been Libyans: their leader was Sardus, a son of that Maceris whom the Egyptians and Libyans surname Hercules. Maceris himself was chiefly famed for his journey to Delphi; but Sardus had the distinction of leading the Libyans to Ichnusa, and the island received its new name from him. However, the Libyan invaders did not expel the aborigines, who suffered the newcomers to settle among them, not because they wished them well, but because they could not help it. Neither the Libyans nor the natives knew how to build cities: they lived dispersed, as chance directed, in huts and caves. 3. Years after the advent of the 3 Libyans there came to the island Aristaeus and his company from Greece. They say that Aristaeus was a son of Apollo and Cyrene, and that being exceedingly distressed at the sad end of Actaeon, and disgusted with Boeotia and the whole of Greece, he migrated to Sardinia. Some think that Daedalus at that 4 time had fled from Camicus, because of the Cretan invasion, and joined Aristaeus in colonising Sardinia. But it would be utterly irrational to suppose that Daedalus, a contemporary of Oedipus, king of Thebes, could have participated in a colony or anything else with Aristaeus, who married Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus. However that may be, certain it is that neither did the Greek colonists found a city, I suppose because their numbers and strength were not equal to it. 4. After Aristaeus the Iberians crossed into Sardinia, 5 under the command of Norax, and founded a city Nora, which tradition affirms to have been the earliest city in the island. They say that Norax was a son of Hermes, by Erythea, daughter of Geryon. A fourth element of the population was formed by an army from Thespiae and Attica, which landed in Sardinia, under the command of Iolaus, and founded a city Olbia. The Athenians, however, founded a city by themselves, and called it Ogryle, either in memory of one of their townships at home, or because one Ogrylus actually shared in the expedition. At all events, in my time there are still places in Sardinia called Iolaia, and Iolaus is worshipped by the inhabitants. When Ilium was taken, amongst 6

the Trojans who escaped were the fugitives who accompanied Aeneas: some of them were driven by gales to Sardinia, and blended with the Greek population which they found in the island. But the barbarians were prevented from fighting the Greeks and Trojans; for, being well matched, and the river Thorsus flowing between
7 their lands, both sides were equally afraid to cross it. However, many years afterwards the Libyans crossed over once more to the island in greater force than before, and attacked the Greek population. The Greeks were utterly annihilated, or the remnant of them was small. But the Trojans fled to the highlands and occupied precipitous mountains, which they strengthened still further by palisades. In my time they still retain the name of Ilians, but in features, in the style of their weapons, and in their whole way of
8 life, they resemble Libyans. 5. There is an island at no great distance from Sardinia, known to the Greeks as Cyrnus, but called by the Libyans who inhabit it Corsica. A considerable part of the population of that island, oppressed by faction, migrated to Sardinia, and having appropriated a part of the mountainous district, settled there; but the Sardinians still call them by their
9 original name of Corsicans. When the Carthaginians were at the height of their naval power they subdued the whole population of Sardinia, except the Ilians and Corsicans, who were saved from slavery by the natural strength of their mountains. Like some of their predecessors, the Carthaginians founded cities in the island, namely, Caralis and Sulci. Some of the Carthaginian auxiliaries, either Libyans or Iberians, fell out about the booty, and, in a rage, revolted and withdrew to the highlands, where they, too, settled. Their name in the Corsican tongue is Balari, that being the Corsican for fugitives.

10 6. Such are the different races that inhabit Sardinia, and such was the mode of their settlement. The northern side of the island and the side towards the Italian mainland are occupied by an unbroken chain of rugged mountains; and, as you coast along, there is no anchorage for ships in this part of the island, and from the tops of the mountains fitful and furious squalls come sweeping down to the
11 sea. Another lower range of hills runs through the middle of the island. The air there is generally close and sickly, in consequence of the salt that crystallises in these parts, and of the suffocating blast of the sirocco; while the height of the mountains on the Italian side of the island hinders the north winds in summer from cooling the air and the earth. But some say that Corsica, which is mountainous and lofty throughout, and is divided from Sardinia by a strait not more than eight furlongs wide, hinders the west and
12 north winds from reaching that island. Snakes, whether of the noxious or of the harmless sort, will not live in the island, nor will wolves. The rams are not larger than rams elsewhere, but their

shape is such as a wild ram would have in Aeginetan sculpture, though their breasts are too shaggy for Aeginetan art. Their horns do not stand out from the head, but curl up beside the ears: in fleetness of foot they surpass all animals. 7. The island is also 13
free from all deadly poisons, with the exception of a single plant. This fatal herb resembles celery; and it is said that those who taste it die of laughing. Hence Homer, and people since his time, have named sinister laughter sardonic. The herb grows especially near springs, but it does not, however, impart its poison to the water. My reason for introducing this account of Sardinia into my description of Phocis is that the island is but little known to the Greeks.

XVIII

1. The inscription on the horse which stands next to the statue of Sardus states that it was dedicated by an Athenian, Callias, son of Lysimachides, from spoils which he had himself taken in the Persian war. 2. The Achaeans dedicated an image of Athena after they had besieged and taken an Aetolian city named Phana. They say that the siege lasted some time, and that, when they could not take the town, they sent messengers to Delphi, and received an oracle:—

Ye dwellers in Pelops' land and in Achaia, who have come to Pytho 2
To inquire how ye shall take a city,
Come, observe what daily rations of water,
Drunk by the people, save the city which has drunk them.
For thus shall ye take the towered village of Phana.

Not perceiving the meaning of the oracle, they were thinking of 3
raising the siege and sailing away home. The people in the town, too, made light of them, and a woman came forth from the walls to draw water from a spring at the foot of the wall. But some soldiers ran at the woman and took her prisoner, and from her the Achaeans learned that the scanty supply of water from the spring, fetched night by night, was measured out among the besieged, who had no other means of quenching their thirst. So the Achaeans choked up the spring and took the town.

3. Beside this image of Athena there is an image of Apollo, set 4
up by the Rhodians of Lindus. The Ambraciots dedicated a bronze ass for a nocturnal victory over the Molossians. The Molossians had laid an ambush for them by night. But, as luck would have it, a lusty ass, being driven home from the field, gave chase to a she-ass, braying hoarsely, while his driver bawled in a thick, coarse voice. Up jumped the Molossian ambush in a panic, and thus the Ambraciots discovered the trap that had been set for them, and, falling upon the Molossians in the dark, discomfited them.

5 4. The people of Orneae in Argolis, being hard put to it by the Sicyonians in war, vowed to Apollo that if they should drive the Sicyonian army out of their native country they would institute a procession in his honour every day at Delphi, and would sacrifice such and such animals in such and such numbers. Well, they beat the Sicyonians in battle; but, finding that the expense of fulfilling their vow daily was great, and the trouble still greater, they hit upon the device of dedicating to the god bronze figures representing a sacrifice and a procession.

6 5. There is here also a representation of one of the labours of Hercules, to wit, his combat with the hydra: the group is at once an offering and a work of Tisagoras. Both the hydra and Hercules are of iron. Now, to make images out of iron is a most difficult and laborious process. The work of Tisagoras (whoever he was) is therefore wonderful. And wonderful, too, in a high degree, are the heads of a lion and wild boar at Pergamus, which are also of iron: they were made as offerings to Dionysus.

7 6. The Phocians of Elatea sent a bronze lion to Apollo at Delphi, because, with the aid of Olympiodorus from Athens, they had stood a siege by Cassander. The Apollo, close to the lion, is an offering of the Massiliots, the first-fruits of the sea-fight with the Carthaginians. 7. There is a trophy, erected by the Aetolians, together with an image of an armed woman, no doubt representing Aetolia. These offerings were dedicated by the Aetolians after they had chastised the Gauls for their cruelty to the Callians. There is a gilt statue, an offering of Gorgias of Leontini, representing Gorgias himself.

XIX

1. Beside the statue of Gorgias is an offering of the Amphictyons representing Scyllis of Scione, of whom fame says that he dived to the deepest depths of every sea; and he taught his daughter Hydna
2 to dive too. When the fleet of Xerxes was overtaken by a hurricane off Mount Pelion, these two completed the disaster by dragging away the anchors and moorings of the galleys from below. For this service the Amphictyons dedicated statues of Scyllis and his daughter; but the statue of the latter went to make up the tale of statues carried off by Nero from Delphi. [Of womankind it is only chaste maidens that can dive into the sea.]

3 2. I will now tell a Lesbian tale. Some fishermen at Methymna brought up out of the sea in their nets a face made of olive-wood. The features had something divine about them, yet they were foreign, not the usual features of Grecian gods. So the Methymnians asked the Pythian priestess of what god or hero it was a likeness, and she bade them worship Dionysus Phallen. Therefore the Methymnians kept the wooden image that was fished out of the

sea, and honoured it with sacrifices and prayers; but they sent a bronze copy of it to Delphi.

3. The sculptures in the gables represent Artemis, Latona, 4
Apollo, the Muses, the setting of the Sun, and Dionysus with the Thyiad women. The first of them were wrought by an Athenian, Praxias, pupil of Calamis; but as the building of the temple lasted some time, Praxias died in the meanwhile, and the rest of the decorations in the gables were executed by Androsthenes, also an Athenian by birth, but a pupil of Eucadmus. On the architrave are golden shields: some of them were dedicated by the Athenians from the spoils of the battle of Marathon; but the shields at the back and on the left are Gallic shields, dedicated by the Aetolians: in shape they closely resemble the Persian bucklers.

4. In my description of the Council House at Athens I have 5
already noticed the invasion of Greece by the Gauls; but I wished to treat the subject in more detail in my account of Delphi, because Delphi was the scene of the greatest exploits of the Greeks against the barbarians. The first foreign expedition of the Celts was made under the leadership of Cambaules. They advanced as far as Thrace, but did not dare to push on any farther, conscious that they were too few in numbers to cope with the Greeks. But when 6
they resolved a second time to carry their arms into an enemy's country—a step to which they were chiefly instigated by the men who had been out with Cambaules, and in whom the experience of marauding had bred a love of plunder and booty—a large force of infantry assembled, and there was no lack of recruits for the cavalry. So the leaders divided the army into three parts, and each was ordered to march against a different country. Cerethrius was to lead 7
his force against the Thracians and the Triballian tribe: Brennus and Acichorius commanded the army destined to attack Paeonia; while Bolgius marched against the Macedonians and Illyrians, and engaged in conflict with Ptolemy, then king of Macedonia. It was this Ptolemy who first sought the protection of Seleucus, son of Antiochus, and then assassinated his protector, and whose excessive daring earned him the nickname of Thunderbolt. Ptolemy himself fell in the battle, and the Macedonian loss was heavy; but again the Celts had not the courage to march against Greece, and so the second expedition returned home again. 5. Hereupon Brennus, at 8
public assemblies and in private interviews with the leading men, energetically urged an expedition against Greece, pointing to the present weakness of Greece, to the wealth of her public treasuries, and to the still greater wealth stored up in her sanctuaries in the shape of offerings and of gold and silver coin. So he prevailed on the Gauls to march against Greece, and amongst his colleagues in command whom he chose from among the leading men was Acichorius. 6. The assembled army numbered one hundred 9

and fifty-two thousand foot, and twenty thousand four hundred horse. But though that was the number of the cavalry always on service, the real number was sixty-one thousand two hundred; for every trooper was attended by two servants, who were themselves good
10 riders and were provided with horses. When the cavalry was engaged, the servants kept in the rear and made themselves useful thus. If a trooper had his horse killed, the servant brought him a fresh mount; if the trooper himself was slain, the slave mounted his master's horse; but if both horse and man were killed, the slave was ready mounted to take their place. If the master was wounded, one of the slaves brought the wounded man off the field to the camp,
11 while the other took his place in the ranks. These tactics, it seems to me, were copied by the Gauls from the Persian corps of the Ten Thousand, known as the Immortals. The difference was that in the Persian corps the places of the dead were filled up by enlistment after the action, while with the Gauls the squadron was brought up to its full strength on the field of battle. This organisation they called *trimarcisia* in their own tongue; for you must
12 know that the Celtic name for a horse is *marca*. Such was the force, and such the intentions with which Brennus marched against Greece.

XX

1. The spirit of the Greeks had fallen very low, but the very excess of their fear roused them to the necessity of defending Greece. They saw that the struggle would not now be for freedom as it had been in the Persian war, and that safety was not to be had by a gift of water and earth; for the fate that had overtaken the Macedonians, Thracians, and Paeonians in the former inroad of the Gauls was still fresh in their memory, and reports were reaching them of the atrocities that even then were being perpetrated on the Thessalians. Death or victory, that was the alternative that every man and every state prepared to face.

2. We may, if we please, compare the numbers that mustered at Thermopylae to meet King Xerxes with those that now gathered to face the Gauls. To meet the Mede there came the following Greek forces:—Lacedaemonians under Leonidas, not more than three hundred; Tegeans, five hundred; the same number from Mantinea; from Orchomenus, in Arcadia, one hundred and twenty; from the other cities in Arcadia, one thousand; from Mycenae, eighty; from Phlius, two hundred; double that number of Corinthians; and of the Boeotians there came forward seven hundred from Thespiae, and four hundred from Thebes. One thousand Phocians guarded the path on Mount Oeta: their number should be added to
2 the total of the Greek force. The numbers of the Locrians who dwell under Mount Cnemis is not stated by Herodotus, though he

says that they came from every city; but it is possible to estimate their numbers with a very close approximation to the truth. For the number of Athenians who marched to Marathon, inclusive of slaves and of those whose age rendered them unfit for active service, did not exceed nine thousand; therefore, the fighting force of Locrians which marched to Thermopylae cannot be reckoned at more than six thousand. Thus the whole army may have numbered eleven thousand two hundred. But even that force notoriously did not remain the whole time guarding Thermopylae; for, with the exception of the Lacedaemonians themselves, the Thespians, and the Mycenaeans, they did not wait to see the issue of the fight. 3. To 3
meet the barbarians who had come from the Ocean the following Greek forces marched to Thermopylae. Ten thousand heavy infantry and five hundred horse from Boeotia: the Boeotarchs were Cephisodotus, Thearidas, Diogenes, and Lysander. From Phocis, five hundred horse and infantry to the number of three thousand, under the command of Critobulus and Antiochus. The Locrians 4
who dwell opposite the island of Atalanta were led by Midias: their number was seven hundred: they had no cavalry. From Megara there came four hundred heavy infantry: the Megarian cavalry was led by Megareus. The Aetolian force was very numerous and included every arm. The strength of their cavalry is not given. Their light infantry numbered ninety and . . . their heavy infantry numbered seven thousand. The Aetolians were led by Polyarchus, Polyphron, and Lacrates. The general of the Athenians was 5
Callippus, son of Moerocles, as I have mentioned before; and the Athenian forces consisted of all their seaworthy galleys, five hundred horse, and one thousand foot. In virtue of their ancient prestige they held the command. The kings of Macedonia and Asia contributed five hundred mercenaries each: the contingent sent by Antigonus was commanded by Aristodemus, a Macedonian: the Asiatic force sent by Antiochus was under Telesarchus, a native of the district of Syria on the Orontes.

4. When the Greeks who were assembled at Thermopylae 6
learned that the Gallic army had already reached Magnesia and the district of Phthiotis, they resolved to send a detachment, consisting of the cavalry and a thousand light infantry, to the Spercheus to dispute the passage of the river. On reaching the river the detachment broke down the bridges and encamped on the bank. But Brennus was no fool, and had, for a barbarian, a pretty notion of strategy. Accordingly that very night he despatched a force, not to the places 7
where the old bridges had stood, but lower down the river, in order that they might effect the passage unperceived by the Greeks. At this point the Spercheus spread its waters over the plain, forming a marsh and a lake instead of a narrow rushing stream. Thither, then, Brennus sent some ten thousand Gauls who could swim, or

were taller than their fellows; and the Celts are by far the tallest
8 race in the world. This force passed the river in the night by swimming the lagoon, the men using their national bucklers as rafts. The tallest of them were able to cross the water on foot. No sooner were the Greeks on the Spercheus informed that a detachment of the enemy had passed the marsh than they immediately fell back on the main body.

XXI

1. Brennus ordered the people who dwell round the Malian Gulf to bridge the Spercheus. They executed the task with alacrity, actuated at once by a fear of Brennus, and by a desire to get the barbarians out of their country, and thus to save it from further devastation. When he had led his army across the bridges he marched on Heraclea. The Gauls plundered the district, and butchered all whom they caught in the fields, but failed to take the city. For the year before the Aetolians had compelled Heraclea to join their confederacy; so now they bestirred themselves in defence of a town which they regarded as belonging as much to them as to its inhabitants. Brennus himself cared little about Heraclea, but was bent on dislodging the enemy from the passes, and penetrating into the interior of Greece, south of Thermopylae.

2. He had been informed by deserters of the strength of the Greek contingents assembled at Thermopylae, and the information inspired him with a contempt for the enemy. So advancing from Heraclea, he offered battle the next morning at sunrise. He had no Greek soothsayer with him, and he consulted no sacrificial omens after the manner of his people, if indeed the Celts possess an art of divination. The Greeks came on in silence and in order. On engaging the enemy, the infantry did not disturb their formation by charging out from the ranks; and the skirmishers, standing their
2 ground, hurled darts and plied their bows and slings. The cavalry on both sides was useless; for the ground at Thermopylae is not only narrow, but also smooth by reason of the natural rock, and mostly slippery owing to the numerous streams. The Gauls were the worse equipped, their national shields being their only defensive weapon; and in military skill they were still more
3 inferior. They advanced on the foe with the blind rage and passion of wild beasts. Hacked with axes or swords, their fury did not desert them so long as they drew breath: run through with darts and javelins, they abated not of their courage while life remained: some even tore from their wounds the spears with which they had been hit and hurled them at the Greeks, or
4 used them at close quarters. Meanwhile the Athenian fleet, with much difficulty and at some risk, stood close in to the shore, through the mud which pervades the sea for a great distance, and

laying the ships, as nearly as might be, alongside the enemy, raked his flank with a fire of missiles and arrows. The Celts were now unspeakably weary: on the narrow ground the losses which they suffered were double or fourfold what they inflicted; and at last their leaders gave the signal to retreat to the camp. Retiring in disorder and without any formation, many were trampled under foot by their comrades, many fell into the swamp and disappeared beneath the mud; and thus their losses in the retreat were as heavy as in the heat of action.

3. On that day the Attic troops outdid all the Greeks in 5
valour; and amongst them the bravest was Cydias: he was young, and it was his first battle. He was slain by the Gauls, and his kinsmen dedicated his shield to Zeus of Freedom with the following inscription:—

I hang here, missing sadly the bloom of Cydias' youth,
I, the shield of a glorious man, and an offering to Zeus;
I was the first shield through which he thrust his left arm
When rushing Ares raged against the Gaul.

The inscription remained till the shields in the colonnade of Zeus 6
of Freedom, with other things at Athens, were removed by the soldiers of Sulla. 4. After the battle at Thermopylae the Greeks buried their dead and spoiled the barbarians. The Gauls sent no herald to request permission to take up their dead, and deemed it a matter of indifference whether they were laid in earth or were devoured by wild beasts and the birds that prey upon corpses. Their apathy as to the burial of the dead resulted, it 7
seems to me, from two motives: a wish to strike awe into the enemy, and an habitual callousness towards the deceased. Forty of the Greeks fell in the battle: the exact loss of the barbarians could not be ascertained, for the number that sank under the mud was great.

XXII

1. On the sixth day after the battle a corps of the Gauls attempted to ascend Mount Oeta from Heraclea; for here, too, a narrow footpath leads up the mountain just beyond the ruins of Trachis. In those days there was also a sanctuary of Athena above the territory of Trachis, with offerings in it. So they hoped to ascend Oeta by this footpath, and to secure the treasures of the sanctuary by the way . . . the guard . . . to Telesarchus. They defeated the barbarians; but Telesarchus himself fell—a Greek patriot if ever there was one.

2. All the barbarian leaders except Brennus now stood in 2
terror of the Greeks, and were perplexed as to the future, seeing that their enterprise made no progress. But it occurred to Brennus

that if he could force the Aetolians to return home to Aetolia, his operations against the Greeks would be much facilitated. So he detached from his army a force of forty thousand foot and some eight hundred horse, and placed it under the command of Ores-
3 torius and Combutis. These troops marched back by the bridges over the Spercheus, retraced their steps through Thessaly, and invaded Aetolia. The sack of Callium by Combutis and Orestorius was the most atrocious and inhuman in history. They put the whole male sex to the sword: old men and babes at their mothers' breasts were butchered alike; and after killing the fattest of the
4 sucklings, they even drank their blood and ate their flesh. All matrons and marriageable maidens who had a spark of spirit anticipated their fate by despatching themselves when the city was taken; but the survivors were forcibly subjected to every kind of outrage by beings who were equal strangers to pity and to love. Such women as chanced to find an enemy's sword laid hands on themselves: the rest soon perished from want of food and sleep, the ruthless barbarians outraging them in turn, and glutting their
5 lust on the persons even of the dying and dead. 3. Apprised by messengers of the disasters that had befallen them, the Aetolians immediately set out from Thermopylae, and hastened with all speed to Aetolia, moved with rage at the sack of Callium, but still more with a desire to save the towns which had not yet fallen. From all their towns, too, poured forth the men of military age; even the old men, roused by the emergency, were to be seen in the ranks. The very women marched with them as volunteers, their ex-
6 asperation at the Gauls exceeding even that of the men. 4. After pillaging the houses and sanctuaries, and firing the town of Callium, the barbarians set out to return. Here they were met by the Patreans, the only Achaeans who came to the aid of the Aetolians. Being trained infantry, the Patreans attacked the barbarians in front, but suffered heavily from the numbers and desperation of the Gauls. The Aetolians, on the other hand, men and women, lined the whole road, and kept up a fire of missiles on the barbarians, and as the latter had nothing but their national shields few shots were thrown away. Pursued by the Gauls they easily escaped, and then, when their enemies were returning from the
7 pursuit, they fell upon them again with vigour. Hence, dreadful as had been the fate of the people of Callium,—so dreadful, indeed, that in the light of it even Homer's account of the Laestrygones and the Cyclops appears not to be exaggerated,—yet they were amply avenged; for out of the forty thousand eight hundred barbarians less than half returned alive to the camp at Thermopylae.

8 5. Meanwhile the Greeks at Thermopylae fared as follows. There are two paths over Mount Oeta: one, starting above Trachis, is exceedingly steep and in most places precipitous; the other,

leading through the territory of the Aenianians, is more passable for an army. It was by this latter path that Hydarnes, the Mede, once fell on the rear of Leonidas and his men, and by it the Heracleots 9
and Aenianians now offered to lead Brennus, not from any ill-will they bore the Greeks, but merely because they would give much to rid their country of the destroying presence of the Celts. Pindar, it seems to me, is again right when he says that every man is weighed down by his own troubles, and is callous to the sorrows of others. Incited by the promise held out to him by the 10
Aenianians and Heracleots, Brennus left Acichorius in command of the army, with orders to advance to the attack the moment the Greeks were surrounded. Then at the head of a detachment of forty thousand men he set off by the path. It happened that on 11
that day the mist came down thick on the mountain, darkening the sun, so that the Phocian pickets stationed on the path did not perceive the approach of the barbarians till they were close upon them. Attacked by the enemy, they stood bravely to their arms, but were at last overpowered and driven from the path. Nevertheless they succeeded in running down to their friends, and bringing them word of what was taking place before they were completely surrounded. This gave the Athenian fleet time to withdraw the Greek 12
army from Thermopylae; and so the troops dispersed to their several homes.

XXIII

1. Brennus lost not a moment, but, without waiting to be joined by the army he had left under Acichorius in the camp, marched on Delphi. The trembling inhabitants betook themselves to the oracle, and the god bade them have no fear, 'For,' said he, 'I will myself guard my own.' 2. The Greeks who rallied in the defence of the god were these:—the Phocians, who came forth from every city, four hundred infantry from Amphissa, and a handful from Aetolia. This small force was despatched by the Aetolians as soon as they heard of the advance of the barbarians: afterwards they sent twelve hundred men under Philomelus. But the flower of the Aetolian troops advanced against the army of Acichorius, and without giving battle hung on his rear, capturing his baggage trains and killing the men. This was the chief cause of the slowness of his march. Besides, he had left behind at Heraclea a corps to guard the camp baggage.

3. Meantime the Greeks who had mustered at Delphi drew out in order of battle against the army of Brennus, and soon to confound the barbarians the god sent signs and wonders, the plainest that ever were seen. For all the ground occupied by the army of the 2
Gauls quaked violently most of the day, and thunder rolled and lightning flashed continually, the claps of thunder stunning the Celts and hindering them from hearing the words of command, while

the bolts from heaven set fire not only to the men upon whom they fell, but to all who were near them, men and arms alike. Then, too, appeared to them the phantoms of the heroes Hyperochus, Laodocus, Pyrrhus; some add to these a fourth, to wit, Phylacus, a local hero
3 of Delphi. Of the Phocians themselves many fell in the action, and amongst them Aleximachus, who on that day above all the Greeks did everything that youth and strength and valour could do in slaying the barbarians. The Phocians had a statue of him made,
4 and sent it to Apollo at Delphi. Such were the sufferings and terrors by which the barbarians were beset all that livelong day; and the fate that was in store for them in the night was more dismal far. For a keen frost set in, and with the frost came snow, and great rocks slipping from Parnassus, and crags breaking off, made straight for the barbarians, crushing to death not one or two, but thirty or more at a blow, as they chanced to be
5 grouped together on guard or in slumber. 4. At sunrise the Greeks advanced upon them from Delphi. All except the Phocians came straight on; but the Phocians, more familiar with the ground, descended the precipices of Parnassus through the snow, and getting in the rear of the Celts unperceived, showered their darts
6 and arrows on the barbarians in perfect security. At first, despite the cross-fire of missiles and the bitter cold which told on them, and especially on the wounded, not less cruelly than the arrows of the enemy, the Gauls made a gallant stand, notably Brennus' own company, the tallest and most stalwart of them all. But when Brennus himself was wounded and carried fainting from the field, the barbarians, beset on every side, fell sullenly back, butchering as they went their comrades, whom wounds or sickness disabled from attending the retreat.

7 5. They encamped on the spot where night overtook them on the retreat; but in the night a panic fear fell upon them. (Causeless fears, they say, are inspired by Pan.) It was late in the evening when the confusion arose in the army, and at first it was a mere handful who lost their heads, fancying they heard the trampling of charging horses and the onset of foemen; but soon the delusion
8 spread to the whole army. So they snatched up their arms, and, taking sides, dealt death and received it. For they understood not their mother tongue, nor perceived each other's forms and the shapes of their bucklers, both sides alike in their present infatuation fancying that their adversaries were Greeks, that their arms were Greek, and that the language they spoke was Greek. So the god-sent madness wrought a very great slaughter among the Gauls at the hands of
9 each other. The Phocians who were left in the fields to watch the herds were the first to perceive and report to the Greeks what had befallen the barbarians in the night. Then the Phocians took heart and pressed the Celts more vigorously than ever, keeping a stricter

watch on their encampments, and not suffering them to forage unresisted. This immediately produced a dreadful scarcity of corn and all other necessaries throughout the whole Gallic army. 6. Their losses in Phocis amounted to a little under six thousand in 10
action, over ten thousand in the wintry night and the subsequent panic, and as many more by famine.

7. The Athenians sent scouts to see what was doing at Delphi. 11
When these men returned and reported all that had befallen the barbarians, and what the god had done to them, the Athenians took the field, and on the march through Boeotia were joined by the Boeotians. Their united forces followed the barbarians, lying in wait for and cutting off the hindmost. The fugitives under Brennus 12
had been joined by the army of Acichorius only the night before; for the march of the latter had been retarded by the Aetolians, who pelted them freely with darts and anything else that came to hand, so that only a small part of them escaped to the camp at Heraclea. 8. Brennus' hurts still left him a chance of life; but they say that, from fear of his countrymen, and still more from wounded pride as the author of the disastrous campaign in Greece, he put an end to himself by drinking neat wine. After that the barbarians made 13
their way with difficulty to the Spercheus, hotly pressed by the Aetolians. But from the Spercheus onward the Thessalians and Malians lay in wait and swallowed them up so completely that not a man of them returned home.

9. The expedition of the Celts against Greece and their destruc- 14
tion happened when Anaxicrates was archon at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad, in which Ladas of Aegium won the foot-race. Next year, in the archonship of Democles at Athens, the Celts crossed into Asia. Such was the course of events.

XXIV

1. In the fore-temple at Delphi there are inscribed useful maxims for the conduct of life. They were inscribed by those whom the Greeks call the Sages. These were two Ionians, Thales of Miletus and Bias of Priene; one Aeolian of Lesbos, Pittacus of Mitylene; a Dorian of Asia, Cleobulus of Lindus; Solon of Athens; Chilon of Sparta; the seventh place is assigned by Plato, son of Aristo, to Myson of Chenae instead of to Periander, son of Cypselus. Chenae was a village on Mount Oeta. These men, then, came to Delphi and dedicated to Apollo the famous maxims 'Know thyself,' and 'Nothing in excess.'

2. You may also see a likeness of Homer in bronze on a monu- 2
ment, and may read the oracle which is said to have been given to him:—

Blest and unhappy, for thou wert born to be both,
Thou seekest thy father-land; but thou hast a mother-land and no father-land.
The isle of Ios is the father-land of thy mother, and it in death
Shall receive thee; but beware of the riddle of young children.

3. The people of Ios show Homer's tomb in the island, and in another place the tomb of Clymene, who, say they, was Homer's
3 mother. But the Cyprians, who also claim Homer, say that his mother was Themisto, a native of their island, and that the birth of Homer was predicted by Euclus in the following lines:—

And then in sea-girt Cyprus a singer great shall be,
Whom Themisto, that fair lady, shall give birth to in the fields,
Far away from wealthy Salamis, and famous shall he be.
He shall leave Cyprus and be tossed on the billows and wetted with the spray,
And having been the first and only bard to sing the woes of spacious Greece
He shall be deathless and ageless for aye.

I have heard all this and read the oracles, but express no views of my own as to the native land or age of Homer.

4 4. In the temple there is an altar of Poseidon, because the possession of the oldest oracle was shared by Poseidon. There are also images of two Fates; but instead of the third Fate there stand beside them an image of Zeus, Guide of Fate, and an image of Apollo, Guide of Fate. Here, too, you may see the hearth on which the priest of Apollo slew Neoptolemus, son of Achilles: the story of the
5 death of Neoptolemus has been mentioned by me elsewhere. Not far from the hearth stands the chair of Pindar. It is of iron, and they say that whenever Pindar came to Delphi he used to sit on it and sing his songs to Apollo. Into the inmost part of the temple few enter: there is there another image of Apollo made of gold.

6 5. Quitting the temple and turning to the left you come to an enclosure, inside of which is the grave of Neoptolemus, son of Achilles. The Delphians offer sacrifice to him annually as to a hero. Ascending from the tomb you come to a small stone. On this stone they pour oil every day, and at every festival they put unspun wool on it. There is also a notion that this stone was given to Cronus instead of the child, and that Cronus spewed it out again.

7 On our way back to the temple after seeing the stone, we come to the spring Cassotis: there is a small wall at it, and the ascent to the spring is through the wall. They say that the water of this Cassotis goes down underground and inspires the women with the spirit of prophecy in the shrine of the god. She who gave her

name to the fountain is said to have been one of the nymphs of Parnassus.

XXV

1. Above the Cassotis is a building with paintings by Polygnotus: it was dedicated by the Cnidians, and is called by the Delphians the Club-room (*Lesche*, 'place of talk'), because here they used of old to meet and talk over both mythological and more serious subjects. That there were many such places all over Greece is shown by Homer in the passage where Melantho rails at Ulysses:—

> And you will not go sleep in the smithy,
> Nor yet in the club-room, but here you prate.

2. On entering this building you perceive that all the painting 2
on the right represents Ilium after its capture, and the Greeks setting sail. Menelaus' crew is making ready to put to sea: the ship is painted with the sailors on board, and children amongst them: in the middle of the ship is the pilot Phrontis with two punting-poles in his hands. Homer represents Nestor talking with Telemachus, and saying, amongst other things, that Phrontis was a son of Onetor and pilot to Menelaus, that he was esteemed a master of his craft, and that he met his end as he was sailing past Sunium in Attica. Up to that point Menelaus had been sailing in company with Nestor, but then he stayed behind to bury Phrontis and pay him funeral rites. Phrontis, 3
then, is seen in Polygnotus' painting, and below him is a certain Ithaemenes carrying raiment, and Echoeax going down the gangway with a bronze urn. Polites, Strophius, and Alphius are taking down Menelaus' hut, which stands not far from the ship; and Amphialus is taking to pieces another hut. Under the feet of Amphialus is seated a boy; but there is no inscription at the boy. Phrontis is the only man with a beard. He is also the only figure whose name Polygnotus has taken from the *Odyssey*: the names of the rest, I suppose, he invented. Briseis is represented standing, 4
Diomeda is above her, and Iphis is in front of both: all three seem to be scrutinising Helen's form. Helen herself is seated, and so is Eurybates near her. We surmised that the latter was Ulysses' herald, though he had no beard. Beside Helen stands her handmaid, Panthalis, while Electra, another handmaid, is putting on her mistress' sandals. These names are also different from the names in the *Iliad*, where Homer represents Helen, accompanied by her slave-women, going to the city-wall. 3. Above Helen, a man clad in a 5
purple mantle is seated in an attitude of profound dejection: you might guess it to be Helenus, son of Priam, even before reading the inscription. Near Helenus is Meges, who is wounded in the

arm, just as he is described by Lescheos of Pyrrha, son of Aeschylinus, in his poem, *The Sack of Ilium:* the poet says he was wounded by Admetus, son of Augeas, in the battle which the
6 Trojans fought by night. Lycomedes, son of Creon, is also depicted beside Meges with a wound on his wrist: Lescheos says that he was so wounded by Agenor. Clearly Polygnotus could not thus have depicted their wounds unless he had read the poem of Lescheos; however, he has given Lycomedes in addition a wound on the ankle and another on the head. Euryalus, son
7 of Mecisteus, is also wounded on the head and wrist. These figures are higher up than Helen in the painting. Next to Helen is the mother of Theseus, with her hair closely cropped, and Demophon, one of the sons of Theseus: to judge from his atttitude, Demophon is considering whether it will be in his power to rescue Aethra. The Argives say that Theseus had also a son Melanippus by the daughter of Sinis, and that Melanippus won a race when the Epigoni, as they are called, celebrated the Nemean games for the first time since the
8 original celebration of them by Adrastus. As to Aethra, Lescheos says that when Ilium was taken she stole out to the Greek camp, and was recognised by the sons of Theseus, and that Demophon asked her from Agamemnon. Agamemnon said he was willing to gratify him, but would not do so till he had obtained Helen's consent; so he sent a herald, and Helen granted the favour. Accordingly, in the painting Eurybates appears to have come to Helen about Aethra,
9 and to be delivering Agamemnon's message. 4. The Trojan women are depicted as captives and lamenting. Andromache is painted, and in front of her stands the boy grasping her breast: this child, says Lescheos, was killed by being hurled from the tower, not that he was doomed by the Greeks, but that Neoptolemus took it on himself to murder him. Medisicaste is also painted: she was another of the bastard daughters of Priam. Homer says that she left Troy to go to the city of Pedaeum as the wife of Imbrius, son of Mentor.
10 Andromache and Medisicaste wear hoods; but Polyxena has her hair braided after the manner of maidens. Poets tell how Polyxena was slain on Achilles' tomb, and both at Athens and at Pergamus on the
11 Caicus I have seen pictures of her tragic fate. Nestor is painted with a cap on his head and a spear in his hand; and there is a horse in an attitude as if it were about to roll on the ground. As far as the horse the scene is the sea-shore, and pebbles may be distinguished on it; but from that point the scene is no longer the sea.

XXVI

1. Above the women grouped between Aethra and Nestor are other captive women, Clymene, Creusa, Aristomache, and Xenodice. Stesichorus, in his *Sack of Ilium*, reckons Clymene among the

captive women; also in the *Returns* (*Nostoi*) he represents Aristomache as a daughter of Priam and wife of Critolaus son of Hicetaon; but I know of no poet or prose writer who mentions Xenodice. Touching Creusa, they say that the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite rescued her from Greek slavery because she was the wife of Aeneas. But Lescheos and the author of the epic called the *Cypria* say that Aeneas' wife was Eurydice. Above these 2
are painted sitting on a couch, Deinome, Metioche, Pisis, and Cleodice. Of these, Deinome alone is mentioned in the *Little Iliad*, as it is called: the names of the others, I suppose, were invented by Polygnotus. Epeus is painted naked, in the act of razing to the ground the wall of Troy: above the wall appears the head alone of the Wooden Horse. Polypoetes, son of Pirithous, is represented with a fillet tied round his head, and beside him is Acamas, son of Theseus, wearing a helmet on his head, and there is a crest on the helmet. Ulysses is also represented . . . and 3
Ulysses is clad in a corselet. And Ajax, son of Oileus, holding a shield, is standing beside an altar, taking an oath with regard to the outrage on Cassandra. Cassandra herself is seated on the ground and is holding the image of Athena, for she overturned the wooden image from its pedestal when Ajax dragged her out of sanctuary. The sons of Atreus are also depicted wearing helmets. Menelaus holds a shield, and on the shield is wrought a serpent, in allusion to the prodigy which appeared at Aulis. They are swearing Ajax on the sacrificial victims. In a straight line with the horse 4
which stands by Nestor's side, is Neoptolemus: he has just slain Elasus, whoever Elasus may be. Elasus is represented still faintly breathing. Astynous, who is also mentioned by Lescheos, has fallen on his knees, and Neoptolemus is smiting him with his sword. Neoptolemus is the only one of the Grecian host whom Polygnotus depicted as still engaged in slaughtering the Trojans, and the reason is that the whole painting was to be executed over the grave of Neoptolemus. The son of Achilles is always named Neoptolemus by Homer; but in the epic called the *Cypria* it is said that he was named Pyrrhus by Lycomedes, and Neoptolemus ('young warrior') by Phoenix, because Achilles began to make war at an early age. 2.
In the painting is seen an altar and a little boy clinging to it for fear, 5
and on the altar is a bronze corselet. Corselets of the sort represented are scarce nowadays, but they were worn in the olden time. They consisted of two bronze pieces called *gualà*: one fitted the breast and the parts about the belly; the other was meant to protect the back. One was put on in front, the other behind; then they were joined by buckles. Such a corselet was thought to be a 6
sufficient protection even without a shield; hence Homer represents Phorcys, the Phrygian, without a shield, because he had one of these corselets. I have seen a corselet of this sort depicted, not

only in Polygnotus' painting, but also in a painting by Calliphon the Samian in the temple of Ephesian Artemis, where women are represented buckling on the *guala* of Patroclus' corselet. 3. 7 On the farther side of the altar Laodice is painted standing. I do not find Laodice included by any poet in the list of captive Trojan women, and probability appears to me entirely in favour of the supposition that she was released by the Greeks. For Homer in the *Iliad* describes the hospitable reception of Menelaus and Ulysses in the house of Antenor, and how Laodice was the wife 8 of Antenor's son Helicaon. And Lescheos says that Helicaon, wounded in the nocturnal battle, was recognised by Ulysses and carried alive out of the fray. Hence the regard which Menelaus and Ulysses had for the house of Antenor would make it natural that Agamemnon and Menelaus should do no ill turn to the wife of Helicaon. The tale which Euphorion, a Chalcidian poet, tells about 9 Laodice is wholly improbable. Next to Laodice in the picture is a bronze wash-basin on a stone stand. Medusa is seated on the ground grasping the stand in both hands. She, if we were to follow the ode of the Himeraean poet, would have to be reckoned among the daughters of Priam. Beside Medusa is an old woman or eunuch, with closely cropped hair, holding a naked child on his or her knees. The child is represented holding its hand before its eyes for fear.

XXVII

1. Of dead bodies there are the following. The naked man, Pelis by name, is flung on his back. Below Pelis lie Eioneus and Admetus, both still clad in their corselets. Lescheos says that Eioneus was slain by Neoptolemus and Admetus by Philoctetes. Other corpses lie higher up. Under the wash-basin is Leocritus, son of Pulydamas, slain by Ulysses. Above Eioneus and Admetus is Coroebus, son of Mygdon. This Mygdon has a famous tomb at the boundaries of the territory of Stectorium in Phrygia, and after him poets have been wont to give to the Phrygians the name of Mygdones. Coroebus came to wed Cassandra and was killed, according to the general account, by Neoptolemus, but according to 2 Lescheos by Diomede. Above Coroebus are Priam, Axion, and Agenor. Lescheos says that Priam was not killed on the hearth of the God of the Courtyard, but that he was dragged from the altar and made short work of by Neoptolemus at his own door. As for Hecuba, Stesichorus, in *The Sack of Ilium*, represents her as conveyed to Lycia by Apollo. Lescheos says that Axion was a son of Priam, and was slain by Eurypylus, son of Euaemon. Agenor, according to the same poet, was butchered by Neoptolemus; and thus it would appear that Agenor's son Echeclus was slaughtered by Achilles, 3 but Agenor himself by Neoptolemus. Sinon, a comrade of Ulysses,

and Anchialus are bringing out the corpse of Laomedon. Another dead man is painted, Eresus by name. But no poet, so far as we know, has sung of the fate of Eresus and Laomedon. 2. The house of Antenor is seen with a leopard's skin hung over the entrance, as a sign to the Greeks to spare the house. Theano is painted with her children, Glaucus being seated on a corselet composed of back-piece and breast-piece, and Eurymachus on a rock. Beside Eurymachus stands Antenor, and next Antenor is his 4 daughter Crino, with a baby in her arms. The expression on all their faces is sorrowful. Servants are putting a coffer and other gear upon an ass; and on the ass is seated a little child. At this part of the picture there is also a couplet of Simonides:—

> Polygnotus, a Thasian by birth, son of Aglaophon
> Painted the sack of Ilium's citadel.

XXVIII

1. The other portion of the painting, that on the left hand, represents Ulysses in hell, whither he has descended to consult the soul of Tiresias about his return home. The painting is as follows. There is water to indicate a river, obviously the Acheron: reeds are growing in the river, and so dim are the outlines of the fish that you would take them for shadows rather than fish. There is a bark on the river, and the ferryman at the oars. Polygnotus, it seems to 2 me, followed the poem called the *Minyad*; for in the *Minyad* there is a passage about Theseus and Pirithous:—

> Then the bark of the dead, which the ancient
> Ferryman, Charon, was wont to guide, they found not at its moorings.

Accordingly Polygnotus has represented Charon as an aged man. The passengers on board the bark are not very famous personages. 3 Tellis appears as a lad, and Cleoboea as still a maid, holding on her knees a box such as they make for Demeter. All I heard about Tellis was that the poet Archilochus was his grandson. As for Cleoboea, they say that she was the first who brought the orgies of Demeter to Thasos from Paros. On the bank of Acheron, just 4 below Charon's bark, is a man who had once ill-used, and is now being throttled by his father. 2. For the men of old set the greatest store by their parents, as we may judge by the example, amongst others, of the so-called Pious Folk at Catana, who, when the stream of fire poured down from Aetna on Catana, recked nothing of gold and silver, but picked up, this one his mother, that one his father, and fled. As they toiled onwards, the flames came scudding along and overtook them. But even then they did not drop their parents; so the stream of lava, it is said, parted in two, and the fire

passed on without scathing either the young men or their parents.
5 Hence these pious folk are still worshipped at the present day by the Catanians. In Polygnotus' picture, near the man who maltreated his father and is suffering for it in hell, there is a man punished for sacrilege. The woman who is chastising him is skilled in drugs,
6 especially baleful ones. 3. Hence we see that in those days men were still exceedingly pious, as the Athenians showed when they captured the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus at Syracuse, for they disturbed none of the votive offerings, and left the Syracusan priest in charge of them. Datis the Mede also showed it, not only in the words he spoke to the Delians, but also in his conduct; for finding an image of Apollo in a Phoenician ship, he restored it to the Tanagraeans at Delium. Thus all men feared God in those days, and that is why Polygnotus painted the punishment of the sacrilegious man. 4.
7 Higher up than the figures I have enumerated is Eurynomus; the Delphian guides say that he is one of the demons in hell, and that he eats the flesh of the corpses, leaving only the bones. But Homer's *Odyssey*, and the poem called the *Minyad*, and the one called *The Returns*, though they all speak of hell and its terrors, know of no demon Eurynomus. However I will describe his appearance and attitude in the painting. His colour is between blue and black, like that of the flies that settle on meat: he is
8 showing his teeth, and is seated on a vulture's skin. Next after Eurynomus are Auge from Arcadia, and Iphimedea. Auge went to the court of Teuthras in Mysia, and of all the women with whom Hercules is said to have consorted none bore a son so like his father as did Auge. Iphimedea receives great marks of honour from the Carians of Mylasa.

XXIX

1. Higher up than the figures I have enumerated are Perimedes and Eurylochus, the comrades of Ulysses, bringing sacrificial victims, and the victims are black rams. 2. After them is a man seated: an inscription sets forth that the man is Indolence (*Oknos*). He is represented plaiting a rope, and beside him stands a she-ass furtively eating the rope as fast as he plaits it. They say that this Indolence was an industrious man who had a spendthrift wife, and as fast as he
2 earned money she spent it. Hence people hold that in this picture Polygnotus alluded to Indolence's wife. I know, too, that when the Ionians see a man toiling at a fruitless task they say he is splicing the cord of Indolence. The same name of Indolence (*oknos*) is also given to a certain bird by the soothsayers who observe birds of omen: it is the largest and handsomest of the
3 herons, and is amongst the rarest of birds. Tityus, too, is painted: his punishment is over, but the prolonged torture has worn him

quite away, and he appears as a dim and mangled spectre. Continuing our survey of the picture, we see Ariadne close to the man who is twisting the rope. She is seated on a rock, and is looking at her sister Phaedra, who is in a swing and is grasping the rope on each side with both hands. The posture, though graceful enough, suggests the manner of Phaedra's death. Ariadne was wrested from Theseus by Dionysus, who bore down 4
with a larger fleet: the encounter may have been accidental, or Dionysus may have lain in wait for her. This Dionysus is, in my opinion, no other than he who first led an army against India, and first bridged the Euphrates. Zeugma ('joining,' 'bridge') was the name given to a city at the point where the Euphrates was bridged; and to this day the rope is there preserved wherewith he spanned the river: it is plaited of vine and ivy branches. Many are the 5
tales told of Dionysus both by Greeks and Egyptians. 3. Underneath Phaedra is Chloris leaning on Thyia's knees. It is safe to say that the two women were friends in their lifetime; for one of them, Chloris, belonged to Orchomenus in Boeotia, and the other . . . They told another story about them, that Poseidon had connection with Thyia, and that Chloris was the wife of Neleus, son of Poseidon. Beside Thyia stands Procris, daughter of Erech- 6
theus, and after her is Clymene, who is turning her back to Procris. In the poem called *The Returns*, it is said that Clymene was a daughter of Minyas and married Cephalus, son of Deion, and that they had a son Iphiclus. But the story of Procris is in every one's mouth—how she was the wife of Cephalus before he married Clymene, and how she was slain by her husband. Inward 7
from Clymene you will perceive Megara of Thebes. This Megara was taken to wife by Hercules, but dismissed by him in course of time because he lost the children whom he had by her, and so concluded that his marriage with her had been inauspicious. Over the heads of the aforesaid women is the daughter of Salmoneus seated on a rock, and Eriphyle is standing by her, holding up the tips of her fingers through the neck of her tunic, and you may guess that in the folds of the tunic she is grasping the famous necklace with the other hand. 4. Above 8
Eriphyle are depicted Elpenor and Ulysses. Ulysses is crouching and holding his sword over the trench, and the soothsayer Tiresias is advancing towards the trench. Behind Tiresias is Anticlea, the mother of Ulysses, on a rock. Instead of a coat, Elpenor is clad in a mat, such as is commonly worn by sailors. Lower down than Ulysses 9
are Theseus and Pirithous seated on chairs. Theseus is holding the swords in both hands, the sword of Pirithous and his own, while Pirithous is gazing at them: you may guess that he is vexed at the swords for proving useless and unavailing in their bold emprise. The poet Panyasis says that Theseus and Pirithous were

not pinioned to their chairs, but that the rock growing to their flesh held them as in a vice. The famous friendship of Theseus and
10 Pirithous is alluded to by Homer in both his poems. Thus Ulysses is represented saying to the Phaeacians:—

> And now should I have seen yet others of the men of old, whom I longed to see,
> Theseus and Pirithous, famed children of the gods.

Again in the *Iliad* he has represented Nestor admonishing Agamemnon and Achilles in the following verses amongst others:—

> For never saw I yet, nor am I like to see such men
> As Pirithous and Dryas, shepherd of the people,
> And Caeneus and Exadius, and god-like Polyphemus,
> And Theseus, son of Aegeus, like to the immortals.

XXX

1. Next Polygnotus has painted the daughters of Pandareos. Homer, in a speech of Penelope, says that the parents of the damsels perished by the wrath of the gods, and that the orphan girls were brought up by Aphrodite, and received gifts from other goddesses, from Hera wisdom and beauty, from Artemis tall stature, and from
2 Athena instruction in women's work. But Aphrodite (he goes on) went up to heaven to obtain a happy marriage for the girls from Zeus, and in her absence they were snatched away by the Harpies, and by them given over to the Furies. Such is Homer's account of them. Polygnotus has painted the damsels crowned with flowers and playing at dice: their names are Camiro and Clytie. You must know that Pandareos was a native of Miletus in Crete, and that he was an accomplice in Tantalus' theft and in the stratagem of the
3 oath. After the daughters of Pandareos there is Antilochus, with one foot on a rock and his face and head resting on both his hands. After Antilochus there is Agamemnon leaning on his sceptre, which is under his left armpit, while he holds up a rod in his hands. Protesilaus is looking at Achilles, who is seated. Such is the attitude of Protesilaus. Above Achilles is Patroclus standing.
4 All these except Agamemnon are beardless. 2. Above them is Phocus, depicted as a lad, and Iaseus, the latter well bearded. Iaseus is represented taking a ring off the left hand of Phocus, which is explained by the following legend. When Phocus, son of Aeacus, crossed from Aegina to what is now called Phocis, and was desirous of acquiring sovereignty over the people of that part of the mainland, and of settling there himself, Iaseus struck up a fast friendship with him, and gave him amongst other presents a signet-stone set in gold; but when Phocus returned to Aegina not long afterwards, Peleus immediately plotted his death.

Therefore, in memory of that friendship Iaseus is represented wishing to look at the signet, and Phocus is allowing him to take it. 3. Above them is Maera seated on a rock. In the *Returns* it is 5
said that she died a maid, and was a daughter of Proetus, son of Thersander, who was a son of Sisyphus. Next to Maera is Actaeon, son of Aristaeus, with his mother: they hold a fawn in their arms, and are seated on a deer-skin. A hound is stretched at their side in token of the life that Actaeon led and the death he died. Casting your eye back again to the lower part of the picture you 6
perceive, next to Patroclus, Orpheus seated as it were on a sort of hill. With his left hand he grasps the lute, while with his other hand he touches some willow-branches, and he is leaning against the tree. The grove seems to be the grove of Proserpine, where, as Homer thinks, black poplars and willows grow. The aspect of Orpheus is Greek: neither his dress nor head-covering is Thracian. On the other side of the willow leans Promedon. Some think that 7
the name Promedon was invented by Polygnotus by a sort of poetical fiction; but others say that he was a Greek with a love for music, and especially for the singing of Orpheus. 4. At 8
this part of the painting is Schedius, who led the Phocians to Troy. After him is Pelias seated on a chair, with hoary beard and head: he is looking at Orpheus. Schedius holds a dagger in his hand, and is crowned with grass. Near Pelias sits Thamyris with his sightless eyes and lowly mien: long are his locks and long, too, his beard: at his feet is flung a lyre, its sides and strings broken. 5. Above him is Marsyas seated on a rock, and beside Marsyas is 9
Olympus in the likeness of a blooming boy learning to play the flute. The Phrygians of Celaenae maintain that the river which flows through their city was once the famous flute-player, and that the Mother's Air on the flute was composed by Marsyas. They say, too, that they repulsed the Gallic army by the help of Marsyas, who defended them against the barbarians by the water of the river and by the music of his flutes.

XXXI

1. If you look back to the upper part of the picture you see that next to Actaeon are Ajax of Salamis, Palamedes, and Thersites, amusing themselves with dice, the invention of Palamedes. The other Ajax is looking at them as they play. The complexion of the latter Ajax is like that of a castaway, the brine forming a scurf on his skin. Polygnotus has purposely grouped together the enemies of Ulysses. 2
Ajax, son of Oileus, bore Ulysses a grudge, because Ulysses advised the Greeks to stone him for his outrage on Cassandra; and Palamedes, as I have read in the epic called the *Cypria*, was drowned by Ulysses and Diomede when he went out a-fishing. Meleager, son 3

of Oeneus, is higher up in the painting than Ajax, son of Oileus, and appears to be looking at Ajax. All these except Palamedes are bearded. 2. As to the death of Meleager, Homer says that the Fury hearkened to the curses of Althaea, and that was the cause of Meleager's death. But the poem called the *Eoeae* and the *Minyad* agree in saying that Apollo helped the Curetes against the Aetolians,
4 and that Meleager was slain by him. The legend of the fire-brand, how the brand was given by the Fates to Althaea, and Meleager was not to die till the brand was consumed by fire, and how Althaea in a rage burnt it—this legend was first dramatised by Phrynichus, son of Polyphradmon, in his play of *The Pleuronian Women*:—

> For chilly doom
> He did not escape, but a swift flame consumed him
> While the brand was being destroyed by his grim mischievous mother.

But Phrynichus, as we see, has not worked out the story in detail, as an author would do with a creation of his own: he has merely
5 touched on it as a story already famous all over Greece. In the lower part of the picture, after the Thracian Thamyris, is Hector seated: his hands are clasped round his left knee, and his attitude speaks of sorrow. After him is Memnon seated on a rock, and Sarpedon next to Memnon: Sarpedon's face is buried in his hands, and one of Memnon's hands is laid on Sarpedon's shoulder.
6 All are bearded. On Memnon's cloak are wrought birds, called Memnonides. The people of the Hellespont say that every year on certain days these birds go to Memnon's grave, and where the tomb is bare of trees and grass the birds sweep it and sprinkle it with their
7 wings which are wet with the water of the Aesepus. Beside Memnon stands a naked Ethiopian boy, because Memnon was king of the Ethiopian race. However, he came to Ilium, not from Ethiopia, but from Susa in Persia, and from the river Choaspes, having subjugated all the intervening nations. The Phrygians still show the road by which he led his army, choosing the short cuts: there
8 are halting-places at intervals along the road. 3. Above Sarpedon and Memnon is Paris, beardless as yet: he is clapping his hands just as a churl might do; you would say that he was calling Penthesilea to himself by the noise. Penthesilea is there also, looking at him; but by the toss of her head she seems to disdain him and hold him of no account. She is depicted as a maiden armed with a bow of the Scythian sort, and with a leopard's skin
9 on her shoulders. The women above Penthesilea are carrying water in broken pitchers. One of them is represented in the bloom of youth, the other advanced in years. Neither of them has a separate inscription, but an inscription common to them both sets
10 forth that they are of the uninitiated. Higher up than these women

is Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, also Nomia, and Pero, daughter of Neleus: it was as the price of Pero's hand that Neleus demanded the kine of Iphiclus. Callisto has a bearskin for a mat, and her feet rest on the knees of Nomia. I have already mentioned the statement of the Arcadians that Nomia is one of their local nymphs. The poets say that the nymphs live a great many years, but are not quite beyond the pale of mortality. After Callisto and the women with her is the outline of a cliff, and Sisyphus, son of Aeolus, is struggling to shove the stone up the cliff. 4. In the picture you may also see 11
a wine-jar, and an elderly man, a boy, and two women: one of the women is young, and is under the rock; the other is beside the elderly man, and is, like him, elderly. All the others are carrying water, but the old dame's pitcher appears to be broken: all the water that is left in the potsherd she is pouring into the wine-jar. We inferred that these persons also were of the number of those who held the Eleusinian rites of no account. For the Greeks of an earlier age esteemed the Eleusinian mysteries as much superior to all other religious exercises, as they esteemed gods superior to heroes. Under 12
this wine-jar is Tantalus suffering all the torments that Homer has described, and added to them all is the terror inspired by the stone hung over him. Clearly Polygnotus has followed Archilochus' account; but whether Archilochus borrowed the incident of the stone or invented it himself, I do not know.

So varied and beautiful is the painting of the Thasian artist.

XXXII

1. Abutting on the sacred close is a theatre which is worth seeing. Ascending from the close . . . And here there is an image of Dionysus, an offering of the Cnidians. There is a stadium in the highest part of the city: it was made of the common stone of Parnassus, until Herodes the Athenian rebuilt it of Pentelic marble. Such were the notable objects left at Delphi in my time.

2. Going from Delphi towards the peaks of Parnassus you come, 2
after about sixty furlongs, to a bronze image of Delphus. The ascent to the Corycian cave is easier for a man on foot than for mules and horses. This cave, as I pointed out a little above, got its name from a nymph Corycia; and of all the grottos I have seen it appeared to me the most worth seeing. 3. The total number of 3
caves that open upon the beach or on the deep sea is past finding out; but the most famous caverns in Greece and in foreign lands are these. The Phrygians who dwell by the river Pencalas, and who migrated thither originally from Azania in Arcadia, point out a cave called Steunos: it is circular and of a stately height, and is sacred to the Mother, of whom there is an image. Themisonium, above 4
Laodicea, is also inhabited by Phrygians. When the army of the

Gauls was ravaging Ionia and the border lands, the Themisonians say that Hercules, Apollo, and Hermes came to their help by revealing the existence of a cave to the magistrates in dreams, and bidding the Themisonians hide in it with their wives and children. 5 For this reason there stand in front of the grotto small images of Hercules, Hermes, and Apollo, which they call the Gods of the Grotto. It is distant about thirty furlongs from the city: there are springs of water in it, but there is no way into it, and the sunlight does not penetrate far in, and most of the roof is close to the floor. 6 4. Again, in the territory of Magnesia, on the river Lethaeus, there is a place called Hylae, where is a grotto consecrated to Apollo. There is nothing very wonderful in the size of the grotto, but the image of Apollo is very old, and it imparts strength equal to any labour. Men sacred to the god leap down precipices and high rocks, tear exceedingly lofty trees from their roots, and walk with 7 their burdens along the narrowest footpaths. 5. But the Corycian cave is larger than those I have mentioned, and you can go a very great way through it even without lights. The roof rises to a sufficient height above the floor; and there is water, some welling up from springs, but still more dripping from the roof, so that all through the cave the marks of droppings are visible on the floor. The inhabitants of Parnassus believe that it is sacred to the Corycian nymphs, and especially to Pan. From the Corycian cave it is hard even for a man on foot to reach the peaks of Parnassus. The peaks are higher than the clouds, and the Thyiad women rave on them in honour of Dionysus and Apollo.

8 6. Tithorea is distant, I should guess, eighty furlongs from Delphi by the path over Parnassus. The other road, which is not mountainous the whole way, and is even suitable for vehicles, was said to be some furlongs longer. I am aware that different statements as to the name of the city have been made by Herodotus in his account of the Persian invasion, and by Bacis in his oracles. 9 Bacis calls the men of the place Tithoreans; but Herodotus' account of them is that when the barbarian was advancing the inhabitants fled to the summit, and that Neon was the name of the city, and Tithorea the name of the peak of Parnassus. It appears, therefore, that at first the whole district was called Tithorea, and that afterwards, when the people migrated from their villages, the city also came to be known by the name of Tithorea instead of Neon. The natives say that Tithorea received <its name> from Tithorea, a nymph such as, the poets say, grew out of trees, 10 especially oaks, in days of yore. A generation before me the fortune of Tithorea declined. There is the structure of a theatre, and the enclosure of a somewhat ancient market-place. But the most notable things in the city are a grove of Athena with a temple and image; also there is the tomb of Antiope and Phocus.

7. In my account of Thebes I showed how Antiope went mad in consequence of the anger of Dionysus, and why she had brought down on herself the wrath of the god. Also I showed how Phocus, 11
son of Ornytion, loved her, and how she married him and was buried with him, and what the prophet Bacis said about this grave in connection with the grave of Zethus and Amphion at Thebes. There were no objects of note in the town except those I have mentioned. Past the city of Tithorea flows a river which supplies the people with drinking-water: they get it by going down to the banks and drawing water. The name of the river is Cachales.

8. Seventy furlongs from Tithorea is a temple of Aesculapius 12
who is called Founder. He is worshipped by the Tithoreans, and not less by the rest of the Phocians. Inside the close are dwellings for the suppliants and for the slaves of the god; and in the middle is the temple with a bearded image made of stone, over two . . . feet high. A couch stands on the right of the image. They are accustomed to sacrifice to the god all animals except goats.

9. About forty furlongs from the temple of Aesculapius is an 13
enclosure and sacred shrine of Isis, the holiest of all the sanctuaries made by Greeks for the Egyptian goddess. For the Tithoreans deem it not lawful to dwell round about it, and there is no admission to the shrine save for those whom Isis herself has favoured with an invitation in a dream. The same thing is done also by the nether gods in the cities on the Maeander: they send visions in dreams to whomsoever they wish to enter their shrines. In the 14
territory of Tithorea festivals are held twice a year in honour of Isis, one in spring and one in autumn. Two days before each festival the persons who are free to enter the shrine clean it out in a certain secret way; and whatever remains they find of the sacrificial victims which were cast in at the previous festival, they always carry to the same spot and bury them there. The distance of this spot from the shrine we judged to be two furlongs. That is what they do to the 15
sanctuary on this day. On the next day the hucksters set up booths of reeds and other improvised material; and on the last of the three days they hold a fair for the sale of slaves and all kinds of cattle, also garments, and silver and gold. After noon they betake them- 16
selves to sacrificing. The richer people sacrifice oxen and deer, the poorer folk sacrifice geese and guinea fowl. But it is against the custom to use swine, sheep, and goats for this sacrifice. Those whose <duty it is> to burn the victims, and bring them into the shrine . . . must wrap the victims in bandages of linen, either common linen or fine linen: the mode of dressing them is the Egyptian. All the animals sacrificed are led in procession: some convey 17
the victims into the shrine, others burn the booths in front of it and depart in haste. They say that once upon a time, when the pyre began to burn, a profane fellow who had no right to go down into

the shrine rashly entered it out of curiosity. The whole place seemed to him full of spectres; and scarcely had he returned to Tithorea and told what he had beheld when he gave up the
18 ghost. 10. I have heard a like story from a Phoenician man. He said that the Egyptians hold the festival of Isis at the time when they say she is mourning for Osiris. At that time the Nile begins to rise, and it is a common saying among the natives that it is the tears of Isis that cause the river to rise and water the fields. Well, then, my informant said that at that season the Roman governor of Egypt bribed a man to go down to the shrine of Isis at Coptus. The man who was thus sent in returned from the shrine; but after he had told all that he had beheld, he, too, I was informed, immediately expired. Thus it appears to be a true saying of Homer's, that it is ill for mankind to see the gods in bodily shape.

19 11. The olive oil of Tithorea is not so plentiful as that of Attica and Sicyonia, but in colour and sweetness it is superior to the Iberian oil and the oil from the island of Istria. They make all sorts of unguents out of it and send the oil to the Emperor.

XXXIII

1. Another road from Tithorea leads to Ledon. In its day Ledon also ranked as a city, but in my time it had been abandoned by its scanty inhabitants, and some seventy souls dwelt beside the Cephisus. Still their habitations go by the name of Ledon, and, like the Panopeans, they have the privilege of sending members to the Phocian parliament. Forty furlongs up from this hamlet on the Cephisus are the ruins of ancient Ledon. They say the city
2 took its name from an aboriginal man. Other cities have suffered irreparable injuries from the wickedness of their inhabitants; but Ilium was brought to utter ruin by the outrage which Alexander offered to Menelaus; and Miletus fell through the fickleness of Histiaeus, who at one time hankered after the city in the land of the Edonians, at another time craved to be taken into the councils of Darius, and at another time longed to return to Ionia. In like manner the impiety of Philomelus was visited on the heads of the people of Ledon.

3 2. Lilaea is a winter day's journey from Delphi: the way lies across and down Parnassus. We judged the distance to be one hundred and eighty furlongs. Even after Lilaea had been rebuilt its inhabitants were destined to suffer a second time at the hands of the Macedonians. For, being besieged by Philip, son of Demetrius, they surrendered, and a garrison was introduced into the city, till a townsman, named Patron, banded the citizens of military age against the garrison, and defeating the Macedonians compelled them to capitulate and march out. For this service the Lilaeans dedicated

a statue of him at Delphi. In Lilaea there is a theatre, a market- 4
place, and baths. There are also sanctuaries of the gods, one of Apollo and one of Artemis. The images are in a standing posture, the workmanship is Attic, the material Pentelic marble. They say that Lilaea was one of the so-called Naiads, and a daughter of the Cephisus, and that the city got its name from the nymph. The 5
river has its source here. The water does not always well up quietly; generally it rises just at midday with a sound which you might compare to the bellowing of a bull. The climate of Lilaea is good in autumn, summer, and spring, but owing to Mount Parnassus its winters are not correspondingly mild.

3. Twenty furlongs off is Charadra, perched on a high crag. 6
The inhabitants are ill off for water. Their drinking supply is furnished by the river Charadrus, but they have to go down about three furlongs to fetch it. The Charadrus falls into the Cephisus, and it seems to me that the name of the city was derived from that of the river. In the market-place of Charadra there are altars of heroes, as they are called. Some say they are altars of the Dioscuri, others say they are altars of local heroes.

4. The valley of the Cephisus is decidedly the best land in 7
Phocis for planting, sowing, and pasture, and no part of the country is so carefully cultivated as this. Hence there is a saying that the verse,

> And they who dwelt by a river (*par potamon*), the divine Cephisus,

refers, not to a city named Parapotamii, but to the husbandmen beside the Cephisus. But this opinion runs counter to the history 8
of Herodotus as well as to the record of the victors in the Pythian games. For these games were first held by the Amphictyons, and on that occasion a Parapotamian, called Aechmeas, won the prize for boxing in the boys' match. Likewise Herodotus, enumerating the cities of Phocis which were burned by King Xerxes, includes in the list the city of Parapotamii. However, Parapotamii was not rebuilt by the Athenians and Boeotians; but the inhabitants, being few and poor, were distributed among the other cities. No ruins of Parapotamii remained in my time, and the very spot on which the city stood is forgotten.

5. The distance to Amphiclea from Lilaea is sixty furlongs. 9
The name Amphiclea was corrupted by the natives. Herodotus, following the oldest tradition, called it Amphicaea; but the Amphictyons, when they published their decree for the destruction of the Phocian cities, gave it the name of Amphiclea. The natives tell the following tale about it. A certain prince suspected that his enemies were plotting against his baby boy, so he put him in a vessel and hid him in the part of the country where he knew the child would be safest. A wolf tried to get at the child, but a serpent coiled

10 itself round the vessel and kept strict watch. But when the father of the child came, he thought that the serpent had had designs on the child, so he let fly his javelin and killed the child and the serpent together. But being told by the shepherds that he had killed the kind serpent that had guarded his child, he made a pyre for the serpent and the child together. They say that the place still resembles a burning pyre, and they hold that the city was named Ophitea after the
11 serpent. Most remarkable are the orgies which they celebrate in honour of Dionysus. There is no entrance to the shrine, nor have they any visible image. The Amphicleans say that this god gives them oracles and is their helper in sickness. He communicates cures to the Amphicleans and their neighbours in dreams: the priest acts as the god's mouthpiece, and gives oracles by the inspiration of the god.

12 6. Fifteen furlongs from Amphiclea is Tithronium, situated in a plain. It contains nothing worth mentioning. From Tithronium it is twenty furlongs to Drymaea. At the point where this road meets the straight road which runs from Amphiclea to Drymaea by the bank of the Cephisus, there is a grove and altars of Apollo in Tithronian territory. There is also a temple, but no image. Drymaea is distant eighty furlongs from Amphiclea. Turning to the left, . . . according to the statement of Herodotus, but more anciently Naubolenses. The people of the place say that the founder was Phocus, son of Aeacus. There is an old sanctuary of Lawgiver (*Thesmophoros*) Demeter at Drymaea, with an image in a standing posture made of stone. And they hold a yearly festival in her honour, called the Thesmophoria.

XXXIV

1. Elatea is, next to Delphi, the largest city in Phocis. It lies opposite Amphiclea, from which the distance by road is one hundred and eighty furlongs, mostly over level ground, though for a short distance close to the town of Elatea the way is up hill. The Cephisus flows in the plain, and the birds that chiefly frequent its
2 banks are the bustards. 2. The Elateans succeeded in repulsing Cassander and his army of Macedonians, and they also contrived to baffle Taxilus, the general of Mithridates. For this service the Romans granted them freedom and immunity from burdens. They claim to be of foreign race, and assert that they were Arcadians originally. For they say that when the Phlegyans marched against the sanctuary at Delphi, Elatus, son of Arcas, defended the god, and
3 settling with his army in Phocis founded Elatea. Elatea is to be reckoned among the Phocian cities burned by the Medes. Some of the calamities which befell the people of Elatea were shared by the rest of the Phocians, but fortune brought on them

special troubles of their own at the hands of the Macedonians. In Cassander's war it was chiefly due to Olympiodorus that the Macedonians had to raise the siege. But Philip, son of Demetrius, terrified the populace of Elatea to the last degree, and at the same time seduced by bribes the more influential citizens. Titus, the Roman general, who had been sent from 4
Rome to give freedom to the whole Greek race, promised to restore to the Elateans their ancient constitution, and proposed to them by envoys that they should revolt from Macedonia. But through the folly either of the populace or of the magistrates, Elatea remained faithful to Philip, and was besieged and taken by the Romans. Afterwards it held out against Taxilus, general of Mithridates, and his Pontic barbarians, and for this service the Romans granted the inhabitants their freedom. The robber horde of the 5
Costobocs, who overran Greece in my time, came to Elatea, among other places; but here a certain Mnesibulus collected a band of men, and, after slaughtering many of the barbarians, fell in the fight. This Mnesibulus won various victories in running; in particular, at the two hundred and thirty-fifth Olympiad he won the foot-race and also the double race with the shield. There is a bronze statue of him at Elatea in the Street of the Runner.

3. The market-place is worth seeing, and so is the figure of Elatus, 6
wrought in relief on a slab. I am not sure whether the people of Elatea caused the slab to be put up simply as a gravestone, or because they revere Elatus as their founder. There is a temple of Aesculapius with a bearded image. The artists who made the image are named Timocles and Timarchides: they are of Attic race. At the right hand extremity of the city there is a theatre and an old bronze image of Athena. They say that this goddess helped them against Taxilus and his barbarians.

4. About twenty furlongs from Elatea is a sanctuary of 7
Cranaean Athena. The road rises so gently that the slope is not tiring, and, indeed, is almost imperceptible. At the end of the road is a hill, mostly precipitous, though neither very large nor very high. On this hill stands the sanctuary, and there are colonnades with dwellings opening off them, where the attendants of the goddess reside, especially the priest. They choose the priest from among boys 8
under the age of puberty, taking care that the term of his priesthood shall expire before he reaches puberty. He acts as priest for five successive years, during which he lodges with the goddess, and bathes in tubs after the ancient fashion. The image is another work of the sons of Polycles: it represents the goddess equipped as for battle, and on her shield is carved in relief a copy of the reliefs on the shield of the Virgin, as they call her, at Athens.

XXXV

1. To reach Abae and Hyampolis from Elatea, you follow a mountain road on the right of the town. The high road from Orchomenus to Opus also leads to these cities. If, then, you take the road that leads from Orchomenus to Opus, and turn off a short way to the left, you reach Abae. The people of Abae say that they came to Phocis from Argos, and that their city took its name from Abas its founder, who was a son of Lynceus and Hypermnestra, daughter of Danaus. 2. Abae is one of the places which has been deemed sacred to Apollo from of old, and there was an oracle of
2 Apollo there. But the god at Abae did not receive the same respectful treatment from the Persians as from the Romans. For whereas the Romans, out of reverence for Apollo, allowed the Abaeans to retain their independence, the army of Xerxes burned down the very sanctuary at Abae. The Greeks, who withstood the barbarian, resolved not to restore the burnt sanctuaries, but to leave them for all time as records of hate. That is why the temples in the land of Haliartus, and the temple of Hera at Athens on the road to Phalerum, and the temple of Demeter at Phalerum, remain
3 half-burnt even in my time. Such, I take it, was the aspect also of the sanctuary at Abae until in the Phocian war a band of defeated Phocians took refuge in Abae, whereupon the Thebans gave them, and the sanctuary in which they had sought shelter, to the flames. Thus the sanctuary was twice burnt, first by the Medes and, second, by the Thebans. However, it stood down to my time the most tumble-down building ever damaged by the flames, for the Boeotian fire completed the ruin which the Persian fire had begun.
4 3. Beside the great temple stands a smaller one, built by the Emperor Hadrian in honour of Apollo. The images are older, and were dedicated by the Abaeans themselves: they are of bronze, and all in standing attitudes. They represent Apollo, Latona, and Artemis. There is a theatre at Abae, also a market-place, both of ancient construction.

5 4. Having returned to the straight road which leads to Opus, you will come next to Hyampolis. The very name is enough to show the origin of the people, and the place from which they were driven when they came to this district. They were, in fact, the Hyantians of Thebes, who fled thither from Cadmus and his army. In earlier days the city was called by the people in the neighbourhood the city of the Hyantians, but in course of time the name
6 Hyampolis prevailed. The city was burnt down by King Xerxes, and afterwards razed to the ground by Philip, but nevertheless there are still left a market-place of ancient construction, and a Council House (a small building), and a theatre not far from the gates.

The Emperor Hadrian built a colonnade which is named after him. The town possesses one well which supplies the inhabitants with all their water for drinking and washing, for they have no other water except rain-water in winter. They worship chiefly Artemis, and 7
have a temple of her. I cannot describe the image; for it is their custom to open the sanctuary only twice a year. They say that whatever cattle they pronounce sacred to Artemis remain free from disease and fatter than the rest.

5. The straight road to Delphi, through Panopeus and past 8
Daulis and the Cleft Way, is not the only pass from Chaeronea into Phocis. There is another rough and mostly mountainous road from Chaeronea to Stiris, a city in Phocis: the distance by the road is a hundred and twenty furlongs. The people of Stiris say that they are not Phocians, but Athenians originally, and came from Attica with Peteos, son of Orneus, when he was chased from Athens by Aegeus; and because most of the people came with Peteos from the township of Stiria, the city was called Stiris. The town is on 9
high and rocky ground; hence the inhabitants are short of water in summer, for the wells in the place are few and their water bad. These wells supply the people with water for washing, and the beasts of burden with drinking-water; but the inhabitants fetch their own drinking-water from a spring about four furlongs down from the town. The spring is dug in the rocks, and they go down to it and draw water. There is a sanctuary of Stirian Demeter at Stiris: it is 10
made of unburnt brick, but the image is of Pentelic marble, and represents the goddess holding torches. Beside it is one of the most ancient images of Demeter, with ribbons tied to it.

XXXVI

1. From Stiris to Ambrosus is about sixty furlongs: the road is level, running through a plain with mountains on either hand. Most of the plain is covered with vines. In the land of Ambrosus there grows, though not so thickly as the vine, the shrub which the Ionians and the rest of the Greeks name *kokkos*, and which the Galatians above Phrygia call in their native tongue *kus*. This *kokkos* is about the size of what is called the *rhamnos*: its leaves are blacker and softer than those of the mastich-tree, which in all other respects it resembles. Its fruit is like the fruit of the night- 2
shade, and is about the size of the bitter vetch. In the fruit of the *kokkos* there is bred an insect which, if it makes its way to the air when the fruit is ripe, immediately takes wing and assumes the appearance of a gnat. But they gather the fruit of the *kokkos* before the insect begins to stir, and the blood of the insect is a dye for wools.

2. Ambrosus lies under Mount Parnassus, but on the opposite 3

side from Delphi. They say that the city was named after a hero Ambrosus. When the Thebans went to war with Philip and the Macedonians, they threw a double wall round Ambrosus. The walls are built of the local stone, which is black and exceedingly hard. The breadth of each of the two circuit-walls is a little less than a fathom, and the height is two and a half fathoms, where the wall
4 has not given way. The interval between the first circuit-wall and the second is a fathom. But towers, battlements, and other mural decorations were all omitted, since the walls were built solely for the purpose of immediate defence. There is a small market-place at Ambrosus: most of the stone statues in it are broken.

5 3. The road to Anticyra at first goes up hill; but after you have ascended about two furlongs the ground is level, and on the right of the road is a sanctuary of Dictynnaean Artemis. This goddess the Ambrosians hold in the highest honour: the image is of Aeginetan workmanship, and is made of black stone. From the sanctuary of the Dictynnaean goddess the road runs down hill the whole way to Anticyra. They say that in former days the name of the city was Cyparissus, and that Homer, in his list of the Phocians, purposely used this name, though the city was even then called Anticyra,
6 since Anticyreus was a contemporary of Hercules. The city lies over against the ruins of Medeon. At the beginning of my <description> of Phocis I mentioned that . . . . committed sacrilege on the sanctuary at Delphi. The people of Anticyra were driven from house and home by Philip, son of Amyntas, and a second time by Otilius, the Roman, because they were subjects of Philip, son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Otilius had been sent from Rome
7 to help the Athenians against Philip. 4. The mountains above Anticyra are very rocky, and hellebore grows in great abundance on them. Black hellebore purges by evacuation of the bowels: white hellebore purges by producing vomiting. It is the root of the
8 hellebore which is thus employed as a purge. There are bronze statues in the market-place of Anticyra. And at the harbour there is a small sanctuary of Poseidon built of unhewn stones: the interior is coated with stucco. The image is of bronze, and represents the god standing with one foot on a dolphin; on this side he has his hand
9 on his thigh, in the other hand he holds a trident. Over against the gymnasium, in which are the baths, is another old gymnasium, containing a bronze statue, the inscription on which states that Xenodamus, a pancratiast of Anticyra, won an Olympic victory in the men's match. If the inscription says true, Xenodamus must have won the wild olive in the two hundred and eleventh Olympiad; but that is the only Olympiad which is omitted in the Elean register.
10 Above the market-place is a spring of water in a well: the well is sheltered from the sun by a roof supported on pillars. A little higher up than the well is a tomb built of common stones. They

say that the sons of Iphitus are buried here: one of them, they say, returned safe from Ilium, and died in his native land; but Schedius perished in the land of Troy, and his bones were brought home.

XXXVII

1. On the right of the city, just two furlongs from it, is a high rock, forming part of a mountain, and on the rock is a sanctuary of Artemis. <Her image> is a work of Praxiteles. She has a torch in her right hand, and a quiver over her shoulders: at her left side is a dog. The image is taller than the tallest woman.

2. Bordering on Phocis is the district named after Bulon, the 2
leader of the colony. The town of Bulis was founded jointly by colonists from the cities of ancient Doris. The Bulians are said of Philomelus and the Phocians . . . . the parliament. To Bulis it is a distance of eighty furlongs by road from Thisbe in Boeotia. But from Anticyra, in Phocis, I doubt if there be a road by land at all, so impassable and rugged are the mountains between Anticyra and Bulis. However, to the port <of Bulis> it is <a sail> of a hundred furlongs from Anticyra; and the distance by road from the port to Bulis we guessed to be just seven furlongs. 3. A 3
torrent here falls into the sea: the natives name it Heracleus. Bulis stands on high ground, and vessels crossing from Anticyra to Lechaeum, the port of Corinth, sail past it. More than half the people here are fishers of the shell-fish which yields the purple dye. The buildings of Bulis are not very striking: they include two sanctuaries, one of Artemis, the other of Dionysus. The images are of wood, but we could not conjecture who made them. The god whom the Bulians worship most is named by them the Greatest God, which I suppose is a title of Zeus. There is a spring at Bulis called Saunium.

4. To Cirrha, the port of Delphi, is a distance by road of sixty 4
furlongs from Delphi. When you have descended into the plain you come to a hippodrome, and here they hold the horse and chariot races at the Pythian festival. In my description of Elis I have given an account of the Taraxippus at Olympia. Now, considering the mutability for better or worse of all human fortune, it is very possible that a charioteer may meet with a mishap in the hippodrome of Apollo also; but in the course itself there is nothing naturally calculated to startle the horses, whether in the shape of a hero or anything else. The plain all the way from Cirrha is bare, and the people will not 5
plant trees, either because a curse rests on the land, or because they know that the soil is not adapted to grow trees. It is said of Cirrha . . . . and they say that from Cirrha the place got its present name. Homer, however, calls the city by its original name of Crisa, both in the *Iliad* and in the hymn to Apollo. But afterwards the

people of Cirrha sinned against Apollo, and in particular they appro-
6 priated some of the god's land. So the Amphictyons resolved to make war on the Cirrhaeans, and they appointed Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, to the command, and fetched Solon from Athens to give them his advice. When they inquired how the victory would go, the Pythian priestess gave them this answer:—

> Ye shall not take and cast down the towers of this city,
> Till on my precinct blue-eyed Amphitrite's
> Wave, plashing o'er the darkling deep, shall break.

5. Hence Solon persuaded them to consecrate the territory of Cirrha to the god, in order that Apollo's precinct might be bounded
7 by the sea. He devised yet another stratagem against the Cirrhaeans. The water of the Plistus flowed into the city in a canal, and he diverted the water into another channel. But as the besieged still held out, subsisting on water from wells and on rain-water, he flung roots of hellebore into the Plistus, and when he saw that the water was sufficiently charged with the drug he turned it back into the canal. The Cirrhaeans drank so freely of the water that the sentinels on the walls were forced, by incessant diarrhoea,
8 to quit their posts. When the Amphictyons took the city they punished the Cirrhaeans on behalf of the god, and Cirrha is still the port of Delphi. The town can show a temple of Apollo, Artemis, and Latona: the images are colossal and of Attic workmanship. An image of Adrastea stands in the same place, but it is smaller than the other images.

XXXVIII

1. The land of the Ozolian Locrians, as they are called, adjoins Phocis in the direction of Cirrha. I have heard different explanations of the surname of these Locrians, all of which I will set down. When Orestheus, son of Deucalion, reigned in the land, a bitch of his littered a stick instead of a puppy. Orestheus buried the stick, but when spring came round, a vine, they say, grew out of the stick, and from the branches (*ozoi*) of the stick the people got their name.
2 Others think that while Nessus was acting as ferryman on the Evenus he was wounded by Hercules, but not killed outright, and that he escaped to this country, and when he died his body rotted unburied and tainted the atmosphere with its noisome smell (*osme*). The third explanation is that the exhalations and even the water of a certain river were fetid; while a fourth is that asphodel grows in
3 plenty, and when it is in flower . . . by the smell. It is also said that the first inhabitants were aborigines, and that, not knowing as yet how to weave garments, they made themselves coverings of untanned skins of wild beasts as a protection against the cold,

turning the shaggy side out for the sake of appearance. So their skin must have stunk like the hides.

2. A hundred and twenty furlongs from Delphi is Amphissa, 4
the largest and most famous city of the Locrians. But the people reckon themselves Aetolians, being ashamed of the name of Ozolians, and their contention derives a certain probability from the fact that when the Roman Emperor turned the Aetolians out of house and home in order to gather them into his new city of Nicopolis, the bulk of the population withdrew to Amphissa. Nevertheless, originally they are of the Locrian stock. They say that the city was named after Amphissa, daughter of Macar, son of Aeolus, and that Apollo was Amphissa's lover. 3. The city is handsomely 5
built. The most notable structures are the tombs of Amphissa and Andraemon: they say that with Andraemon was buried his wife Gorge, daughter of Oeneus. In the acropolis is a temple of Athena, with a standing image made of bronze. They say that the image was brought by Thoas from Ilium, and was part of the Trojan spoils; but they did not convince me. I showed before that the two 6
Samians, Rhoecus, son of Philaeus, and Theodorus, son of Telecles, were the first who discovered the art of founding bronze to perfection, and they were the first who cast it in a mould. I have not discovered any surviving work of Theodorus, at least in bronze. But in the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis, as you go to the building which contains the pictures, you come to a stone wall above the altar of First-seated Artemis, as she is called; and among the images on the wall there stands at the end the statue of a woman which is a work of Rhoecus: the Ephesians call it Night. That 7
image is plainly older and ruder in style than the image of Athena at Amphissa. The Amphissians also celebrate mysteries of the Boy Lords, as they are called. But what gods these Boy Lords are is not agreed. Some say they are the Dioscuri, others the Curetes, and those who think they know better say they are the Cabiri.

4. These same Locrians possess the following other cities. 8
Inland from Amphissa and up above it, at a distance of thirty furlongs, is Myonia. It was the people of this city who dedicated the shield to Zeus at Olympia. The town stands on high ground: it has a grove and an altar of the Gracious Gods. The sacrifices to the Gracious Gods are at night, and it is the custom to consume the flesh on the spot before the sun rises. There is a precinct of Poseidon above the city: it is called the Posidonium, and contains a temple of Poseidon, but the image was gone in my time.

5. Myonia, as I have said, is above Amphissa. On the coast 9
there is Oeanthea, and bordering on Oeanthea is Naupactus. All these towns except Amphissa are governed by the Achaeans of Patrae, who received the privilege from the Emperor Augustus. In Oeanthea there is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and a little above the

city is a grove of cypresses and pines, and in the grove is a temple of Artemis with an image. On the walls were paintings, but so
10 faded with time that nothing was left of them to see. I suppose that the city was called after a woman or nymph. But as to Naupactus, I know it is said that the Dorians who followed the sons of Aristomachus built here the vessels in which they crossed to Peloponnese; and that, they say, is why the place got its name. The history of Naupactus—how the Athenians wrested it from the Locrians, and gave it as a home to the rebels who retired to Ithome at the time of the earthquake at Lacedaemon, and how, after the defeat of the Athenians at Aegospotami, the Lacedaemonians drove the Messenians out of Naupactus—all this has been narrated by me more fully in my description of Messenia. When the Messenians were compelled to
11 quit it the Locrians assembled once more in Naupactus. 6. The epic poem which the Greeks call the *Naupactia* is commonly attributed to a Milesian author; but Charon, son of Pythes, says it was composed by Carcinus, a Naupactian. I agree with the opinion of the Lampsacenian historian, for why should an epic on women by
12 a native of Miletus get the name of *Naupactia*? At Naupactus there is a temple of Poseidon beside the sea, with a standing image made of bronze. There is also a sanctuary of Artemis with an image of white marble: the goddess is represented in the act of hurling a dart, and she is surnamed Aetolian. Aphrodite is worshipped in a grotto. People pray to her for various reasons, and, above all,
13 widows ask the goddess for husbands. 7. The sanctuary of Aesculapius was in ruins: it was originally built by a private man Phalysius. For when his eyes ailed him and he was nearly blind, the god at Epidaurus sent the poetess Anyte to him with a sealed tablet. The woman thought the message only a dream, but soon it turned out a waking reality; for she found in her hands a sealed tablet, and sailed to Naupactus, and bade Phalysius remove the seal and read the contents. To him it appeared impossible that with his eyes as they were he could see the writing. But hoping for some benefit from Aesculapius he removed the seal, and when he had looked at the wax he was made whole, and gave to Anyte what was written in the tablet, and that was two thousand golden staters.

CRITICAL NOTES

THE following notes are made on J. H. C. Schubart's recension of the text of Pausanias, published by Teubner (Leipsic, 1853–54). The other editions used are those of Kuhn (Leipsic, 1696); Facius (Leipsic, 1794–96); Siebelis (Leipsic, 1822–28); Bekker (Berlin, 1826–27); Schubart and Walz (Leipsic, 1838–39); and L. Dindorf (Paris, 1845).

ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED.

Herwerden = H. van Herwerden, 'Notulae Criticae ad Pausaniam,' *Mnemosyne*, N.S. 15 (1887).

Hitzig, *Beiträge* = H. Hitzig, *Beiträge zur Texteskritik des Pausanias*. Heidelberg, 1873.

Hitzig, *W. B.* = H. Hitzig, *Weitere Beiträge zur Texteskritik des Pausanias*. Bern, 1876.

Schubart, *Methodologie* = J. H. C. Schubart, *Bruchstücke zu einer Methodologie der diplomatischen Kritik*. Cassel, 1855.

SW = Schubart and Walz's edition of Pausanias.

Valckenaer = H. Hitzig, 'Ludwig Caspar Valckenaer's kritische Studien zu Pausanias,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 35 (= *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 139) (1889).

Z. f. A. = *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*.

The manuscripts of Pausanias are referred to by the symbols employed in Schubart and Walz's edition.

BOOK I

1. 1. **Πτολεμαῖος ὁ (Πτολεμαίου) τοῦ Λάγου.** The conjectural insertion of Πτολεμαίου is probably right. See Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 495; Hitzig, *Beiträge*, pp. 9 *sq.*

4. **παίδων τῶν Θησέως.** *παίδων τῶν μετὰ Θησέως* C. Robert, *Hermes*, 20 (1885), p. 356.

2. 1. **ἐπεί τε.** This is Herodotean Greek for *ἐπεί* (Bähr, on Herodotus i. 119): it occurs again in i. 20. 3 and i. 22. 3. Examples of Pausanias's imitations of Herodotus's use of conjunctions are collected by J. O. Pfundtner (*Pausanias Periegeta imitator Herodoti*, pp. 37 *sqq.*); but this use of *ἐπεί τε* seems to have escaped him.

4. **ὁ μῦθος περὶ τῆς ἄκρας.** *ὁ μῦθος ὁ περὶ τῆς ἄκρας* H. Hitzig, *Weitere Beiträge zur Texteskritik des Pausanias*, p. 12. But the omission of the article in such

cases is far too common in Pausanias's text to allow us to attribute it always to the mistake of a scribe. Hitzig would restore it in many, if not all, cases. In doing so he is probably correcting Pausanias, not his copyists.

5. **ὅσοις τι ὑπῆρχεν [ὧν τις λόγος] ἐς δόξαν.** The words in brackets are perhaps a gloss on the others and should be omitted, as Kayser saw (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 497).

παρὰ τὴν Ἐλευσῖνι δρᾶσαι τελετήν. *παραποιῆσαι τὴν Ἐλευσῖνι τελετήν* Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 705.

Ἀπόλλων τε ἀνάθημα. This is the reading of MoVtLab. The other MSS. seem to read *Ἀπόλλωνός τε ἀνάθημα*, which was the reading of the editions before Schubart's. If this latter reading is correct, Pausanias would seem to say that the whole group of statues was wrought and dedicated by Eubulides. Cp. Commentary.

ἐνῳκοδομημένον τοίχῳ. *ἐνῳκοδομημένον τῷ τοίχῳ* H. van Herwerden, *Mnemosyne*, N.S. 15 (1887), p. 48.

3. 3. **ὡς αὐτός τε ἐβασίλευσε.** Read *ὃς αὐτός τε ἐβασίλευσε* with C. Robert, *Hermes*, 14 (1879), pp. 313 *sq.*

4. 3. **Λαμιακοῦ.** Μαλιακοῦ E. J. Kiehl, *Mnemosyne*, 1 (1852), p. 156.

5. **ἐς ταύτην Γαλάτας.** *ἐς τὴν νῦν Γαλατίαν αὐτούς* Siebelis. This emendation, which is accepted by SW and Dindorf, gives the probable sense of the passage, and I have translated accordingly. Hitzig (*Beiträge*, p. 15) proposed to read *ἐς τὰ ἄνω* instead of *ἐς ταύτην*.

ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος * * * τὴν Ἄγδιστιν. It is not absolutely necessary to suppose that there is a lacuna here.

6. 3. **ὃς τὴν Ἀκταίου θυγατέρα ἔσχηκεν ὕστερον καὶ δή γε μετῴκησεν ἐς Εὔβοιαν.** *ὃς τὴν Ἀκταίου θυγατέρα ἔσχε καὶ ὕστερος, ὃς δὴ καὶ μετῴκησεν ἐς Εὔβοιαν* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 497. The text is corrupt, but the meaning is clear, and I have translated accordingly.

ὁ τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου. We should probably read *ὅ τε Ἐριχθονίου*, as Bekker suggested. See Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 10.

6. 5. **καταβῆναι.** We should perhaps read *διαβῆναι* with Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 13. See the Commentary.

7. 2. **ἐπέμενεν.** *ὑπέμενεν* Herwerden, p. 49.

8. 3. **ἐκπεσόντα.** *ἐμπεσόντα*, the reading of two MSS. (LbVa) is preferable, as Herwerden observes, who suggests (p. 49) *ἐπεμπεσόντα* as an alternative. But there is no need to desert the MSS.

4. **Καλάδης.** *Εὐκλείδης* Valckenaer, p. 823. *καὶ Λᾶσος* U. Köhler, reported by G. Löschke, *Die Enneakrunosepisode bei Pausanias*, p. 5 note.

5. **Ἀντίοχος.** *Σέλευκος ὁ Ἀντιόχου* C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 2. p. 395 note.

9. 1. **ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρον.** *ὅτι οἱ Ἀλέξανδρον* Herwerden, p. 49.

3. **φόβῳ τῶν πολιτῶν.** *φόβῳ τῷ πολιτῶν* Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 10, note 3.

πολυχρήματους. *πολυχρηματωτάτους* Herwerden, p. 49.

ἔθηκαν. Qu. *ἀνέθηκαν*?

10. 2. **Νεστίων [καὶ] Μακεδόνων.** Read *Νεστίων καὶ Μακεδόνων*. Schubart's arguments for omitting *καὶ* (*Methodologie*, p. 104) are insufficient.

Δημητρίου δὲ διαβάντος. *Δημητρίου δὲ <πάλιν> διαβάντος* Herwerden, p. 49.

3. **ἀποτυγχάνουσα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ * * * βουλεῦσαι λέγουσιν.** *ἀποτυγχάνουσαν δέ, ἐπὶ τούτῳ βουλεῦσαι λέγουσιν* Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 15.

4. **καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς αὐτῆς, * * * οἱ περιελθὸν τοῦτο ἐς Πτολεμαῖον καταφεύγουσι. τούτοις ἐκδιδράσκουσι παρὰ Σέλευκον.** *καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς αὐτῆς, οἱ <τοῦ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἄρχειν ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν> περιελθόντος τούτου ἐς Πτολεμαῖον. καταφεύγουσι δὲ τούτοις παρὰ Σέλευκον* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 498. *καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς αὐτῆς· οἷς ἐκδιδράσκουσι παρὰ Σέλευκον* J. Gow (communicated verbally). The latter emendation gives good sense, but does not explain the origin of the omitted words. As they stand, these words (*περιελθὸν τοῦτο ἐς Πτολεμαῖον καταφεύγουσι*) are unintelligible. I have omitted them in the translation.

11. 2. **ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.** Read *ἀφ' αὑτοῦ* with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 9.

3. **ἐφ' ἑνὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ Ἠπειρωτῶν.** *ὑφ' ἑνὶ βασιλεῖ τὰ Ἠπειρωτῶν* Herwerden, p. 49.

7. **πρὶν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν.** *πρὶν ἢ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν* Herwerden, p. 50.

13. 1. τὰ βιβλία. Omit these words with Herwerden, p. 50.

2. τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὅπλα τῶν Κελτικῶν ἔς τε τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν. G. Krüger proposed to transfer the particle τε and place it between τὰ and ἀνατεθέντα (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 484). This would be an improvement. The particle is out of place where it stands at present.

8. τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος. Thirlwall (*History of Greece*, 8. p. 83, note 1) conjectured that these words have been transposed, and that they belong to τέθαπται below.

9. αὐτοῖς. *τρισί* Dindorf, Praef. p. xxxii. This may be right. The text as it stands is wrong. Should we read *τοσούτοις*?

ἀνδρὶ——συνόντα. We should probably read either *ἄνδρα* or *συνόντι*, as Facius suggested with Bekker's approval. The former is better.

τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις κάθοδον. Read *τὴν ἐς Συράκουσας κάθοδον* with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 7.

14. 2. Ἑλλήνων οἳ μάλιστα ἀμφισβητοῦντες κ.τ.λ. Read Ἑλλήνων *οἱ μάλιστα ἀμφισβητοῦντες Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ἀρχαιότητα καὶ δῶρα, ἃ παρὰ θεῶν φασὶν ἔχειν, εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι* with Facius and Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 704, note 2.

3. Μουσαίου καὶ ταῦτα. Herwerden, p. 50, would omit *καί*.

ἀδελφούς, τεκεῖν δὲ σφᾶς θυγατέρα. *ἀδελφιδοῦς, τεκεῖν δὲ σφᾶς θυγατέρας* Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 114. *θυγατέρας* is in most MSS.

15. 1. αὕτη. *αὐτή* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 499. This is probably right.

2. μόναις δὲ ἄρα ταῖς γυναιξίν. Kayser, *l.c.*, would insert *ταύταις* before *ταῖς γυναιξίν*. He may be right.

3. ἴσα παρ' ἀμφοτέρων. Read *ἴσα <τὰ> παρ' ἀμφοτέρων* with C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 2. p. 505, note 2.

16. 1. τὰ ξύλα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ. *τὰ ξύλα <τὰ> ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ* Herwerden, p. 50.

17. 1. ὅτι ὠφέλιμος. We should read either *ὅντι ὠφελίμῳ, ὅμως* with Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 704, note 2, or simply *ὄντι ὠφελίμῳ* with Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 341. The latter is perhaps preferable.

4. τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν γυναῖκα. Herwerden, p. 49, would insert *τὴν* before *γυναῖκα*.

ἐστράτευεν. *συνεστράτευεν* Herwerden, p. 50.

6. ὁ μὲν δὴ Θησέως σηκὸς —— κομίσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας. Schubart proposed to transfer the whole of this sentence to the end of § 3, placing it immediately after the words *ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης* (*Methodologie*, p. 88; *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 14 (1868), p. 532).

18. 5. παρ' αὐτῶν. *παρ' αὑτῶν*?

6. ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν. Leake proposed to insert the words *ἃς ἀνέθεσαν* before *ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι* (*Topography of Athens*[2], 1. p. 130, note 1).

9. ἑκατόν εἰσι. The MSS. read *ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι*. The emendation (*εἰσι* for *εἴκοσι*) is Schubart's (*Z. f. A.*, 1840, pp. 606 *sq.*). It is approved by Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 500).

19. 1. ἀπολύσας δέ, ὡς λέγεται, τῆς ἀμάξης τοὺς βοῦς ἢ σφισι παρῆν, ἐς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνέρρυψεν ὑψηλότερον ἢ τῷ ναῷ τὴν στέγην ἐποιοῦντο. In the MSS. *ἐς* occurs before *ὑψηλότερον*, not before *τὸν ὄροφον*. It was transposed by Schubart. Dindorf, retaining *ἐς* before *ὑψηλότερον*, proposed to read *ἢ σφισι παρῆγε τὸν ὄροφον* (Praef. p. xxxiii.), and the same emendation was independently suggested by Fr. Wieseler (*Philologus*, 26 (1867), p. 353). The simplest solution of the difficulty seems to be to retain *ἐς* in its place before *ὑψηλότερον* and to omit *τὸν ὄροφον* as a gloss on *τὴν στέγην*. This was the course recommended by L. Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 115. I have translated accordingly.

6. ἄνωθεν ὄρος. *ἄνωθεν ὄρους* Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 115.

20. 1. ναοὶ θεῶν ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι. Read *ὅσον* for *θεῶν* with C. Robert, *Hermes*, 14 (1879), pp. 314 *sq.* This conjecture is approved by H. G. Lolling ('Athen,' Iwan Müller's *Handbuch d. class. Altertumswissenschaft*, 3. p. 326, note 2), and P. Wolters (*Archäologische Zeitung*, 43 (1885), p. 81). Clavier proposed to read *εἰσὶν οὐ* for *ἐς τοῦτο*. His conjecture was approved by Preller (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 115). Kayser conjectured *ναοὶ Διονύσου οὐ μεγάλοι <εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα>* (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 351). Fr. Wieseler conjectured *ἐς τὸ ὕψος οὐ μεγάλοι* for *ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι* (*Philologus*, 26 (1867), p. 353). Herwerden (p. 51) thinks it enough to insert *οὐ* before *μεγάλοι*.

περιέχοντες εἰργασμένα. *παρέχοντες εἰργασμένα* Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 341. After the words *περιέχοντες εἰργασμένα* L. Preller assumed that there was a lacuna (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 115), and with this view O. Benndorf agrees (*Zeitschrift für die österreich. Gymnasien*, 26 (1875), p. 740).

2. παῖς καὶ δίδωσιν ἔκπωμα. *παῖς διδούς οἱ ἔκπωμα* Kayser, *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 352.

3. ἦγαγε. *ἀνήγαγε* Herwerden, p. 51.

γεγραμμένα εἰσί. Schubart (Praef. p. vii.) thinks that we should read *ἐστί* for *εἰσί*. But Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 9) defends the plural verb by comparing viii. 31. 5; viii. 41. 10; viii. 53. 6; vi. 22. 1.

21. 2. [καὶ] τῆς γραφῆς. *ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς* Schubart, *Z. f. A.*, 1840, p. 611.

3. ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Hitzig proposes to insert *ταῖς* before *ὑπό* (*W. B.*, p. 13).

5. κράνινα. *κρανέϊνα* Herwerden, p. 49.

6. καὶ βοῶν. *ἢ βοῶν* Herwerden, p. 51.

7. οἱ δὲ θώρακες οἱ λινοῦ μαχομένοις μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι, διιᾶσι γὰρ καὶ βιαζόμενοι τὸν σίδηρον, θηρεύοντας δὲ ὠφελοῦσιν. *οἱ δὲ θώρακες οἱ λινοῦ μαχομένοις μὲν ὁμοίως εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι, οὐ διιᾶσι γὰρ καὶ βιαζόμενοι τὸν σίδηρον, θηρεύοντας δὲ καὶ ὠφελοῦσι* Lebas, cited in K. F. Hermann's *Griech. Kriegsalterthümer*, bearbeitet von H. Droysen, p. 8, note 2. *καταβιαζόμενοι* for *καὶ βιαζόμενοι* was proposed by Emperius (*Opuscula*, p. 342), and Haupt (*Hermes*, 4 (1870), p. 30; *Opuscula*, 3. p. 448). Hitzig (*Beiträge*, p. 9) would either transpose *καὶ* after *βιαζόμενοι* or insert *οὐ* before *βιαζόμενοι*.

22. 2. πρώτη. Bekker's conjecture, *πρῶτον*, should perhaps be accepted. See, however, Dindorf, Praef. p. vi.

φῦναι δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτήν. Herwerden (p. 51) would either change *αὐτήν* into *τοιαύτην* or insert *τοιαύτην* after it. He is probably right.

5. τοῖς ἱστίοις λευκοῖς. We should perhaps omit *τοῖς* with Hitzig (*Beiträge*, p. 12).

6. εὖ δέ μοι φαίνεται ποιήσας. Read *ποιῆσαι* for *ποιήσας* with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 5. This emendation was accepted by Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 22 (1876), p. 395, and by Jahn-Michaelis, *Pausaniae descriptio arcis Athenarum*.

7. πέτεσθαι Μουσαῖον ὑπὸ Βορέου δῶρον. Herwerden (p. 51) would omit *ὑπό*. Emperius proposed to read *μετέωρον* for *δῶρον* (*Opuscula*, p. 342).

23. 3. ἐσαναβάς. Read *ἐπαναβὰς* with Letronne, approved by Hitzig (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 50), and accepted by Jahn-Michaelis, *Pausaniae descriptio arcis Athenarum*.

5. αὐτῶν. *ναύταις* Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 21 (1875), p. 415.

6. καὶ πυρρούς. *καπυρούς* Dindorf, approved by Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 21 (1875), p. 415. *καταπύρρους* Siebelis, accepted by Jahn-Michaelis, *Pausaniae descriptio arcis Athenarum*.

8. ὑπερκύπτουσιν. We should perhaps read *ὑπεκκύπτουσιν* with C. Bursian (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 10 (1856), p. 517). The conjecture is accepted by Jahn-Michaelis, *op. cit.*

9. ἐποίησε Κριτίας. After these words Bergk proposed to insert the words Οἰνοβίου δὲ Κρησίλας (*Z. f. A.*, 1845, p. 965; cp. Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, pp. 501 *sq.*).

10. ἐκπλεῦσαι. *ἐκπλεύσεσθαι* Herwerden, p. 51.

24. 1. παίουσα. *ἐπιοῦσα* H. Brunn, *Annali dell' Instituto*, 30 (1858), pp. 375 *sq.* *πτύουσα* Fr. Wieseler, *Der Apollon Stroganoff*, p. 105 note. *πτοοῦσα* G. Hirschfeld, *Athena und Marsyas*, p. 15, note 49. H. Hirzel conjectured *πτοοῦσα* (or *παρακινοῦσα*) *μὴ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἀνέλοιτο*, instead of *παίουσα ὅτι δὴ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἀνέλοιτο* (*Annali dell' Instituto*, 36 (1864), p. 238).

3. Ἑρμᾶς * * Porson proposed to insert *ἀνέθεσαν* after Ἑρμᾶς. His conjecture is accepted by SW.

Σπουδαίων. ὁ Ἰουδαίων K. O. Müller, reported by Dindorf, Praef. p. xxxv., and Jahn-Michaelis, *op. cit.*, approved by E. Curtius (*Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 260). ὁ Βουταδῶν E. Gerhard, *Philologus*, 3 (1848), pp. 759 *sqq.* Ὑπουδαίων L. Mercklin, *Archäologische Zeitung*, 9 (1851), pp. 365 *sqq.* Ἐπουδαίων Schubart, Praef. p. vii. σπονδῶν δίμων L. Urlichs, *Philologus*, 17 (1861), pp. 347 *sq.* Σπουδαῖος A. B. Cook (comparing Aristotle, *Topics*, ii. 6. p. 112 a 37 *sq.*, Berlin

ed., *καθάπερ Ξενοκράτης φησὶν εὐδαίμονα εἶναι τὸν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα σπουδαίαν· ταύτην γὰρ ἑκάστου εἶναι δαίμονα*).

Κλεοίτου. H. Heydemann proposed to insert *ἔργον* before **Κλεοίτου** (*Hermes*, 4 (1870), p. 384).

πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τὸ φυτὸν —— ἀναφαίνων Ποσειδῶν. K. F. Hermann proposed to transfer this sentence to § 5, placing it after the words *ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς*. Schubart thought the proposal very attractive (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 14 (1868), p. 532; *Methodologie*, p. 84).

4. **βουφόνον, καὶ ταύτῃ.** There is clearly a lacuna in the text after *βουφόνον*, as O. Jahn saw. Michaelis thinks that the words *ὃς κτείνας τὸν βοῦν* may have dropped out (Jahn-Michaelis, *op. cit.*, p. 12).

7. **ἐν δὲ τῇ (ἑτέρᾳ) χειρί.** *ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ <τῇ ἑτέρᾳ>* E. Seemann, *Quaestiones Grammaticae et Criticae ad Pausaniam spectantes*, pp. 18 *sq.* He compares v. 17. 8; vi. 25. 4.

8. **αὐτοῖς.** We should probably read *αὐτός* with Hitzig (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 49), comparing i. 21. 3; ii. 17. 5; iv. 16. 7.

25. 5. **ἔργα λαμπρότερα ἐπιδειξάμενος.** Schubart conjectured *ἀποδειξάμενος* for *ἐπιδειξάμενος* (Praef., p. vii.). But *ἐπιδειξάμενος* is defended by Hitzig (*Beiträge*, p. 13), who compares iii. 2. 6; viii. 7. 5; x. 1. 3; add ix. 32. 6. In favour of *ἀποδειξάμενος* might be quoted iii. 4. 8; iii. 11. 3; viii. 52. 1. It appears that Pausanias did not observe the classical Greek distinction between *ἀποδείκνυσθαι* = *praestare* and *ἐπιδείκνυσθαι* = *ostentare*.

26. 1. **καὶ μνήμη τε.** Omit **καὶ** with Herwerden, p. 51. Cp. Dindorf, Praef., p. xxi.

5. **οὐδὲν ἔτι οἴνῳ.** *οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ* Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 49.

καί, διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἴκημα. A. Michaelis suggested that after these words we should insert *καταβᾶσιν ἐς τὸ κάτω οἴκημα* (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 27). But he would prefer to substitute *καταβᾶσι δὲ* for *καί*. Th. Davidson conjectured that after *καί* we should insert *ἐλαία*, comparing Herodotus viii. 55 (*American Journal of Philology*, 1 (1880), pp. 66 *sq.*). But this is wrong; for the olive-tree was in the Pandrosium, not in the Erechtheum. See the Commentary on i. 27. 2.

6. **ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει.** *ἐν τῇ νῦν <μὲν> ἀκροπόλει* Herwerden, p. 51.

7. **κακιζότεχνον.** Read *κατατηξίτεχνον* with two MSS. (PdVt). Cp. Vitruvius, iv. 1. 9; Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv. 92.

27. 1. **οὐδ' ἂν ὑπεδέξαντο ἀρχήν, οὐδὲ ἴσως.** H. Blümner proposed to transpose *οὐδ' ἄν* and *οὐδὲ ἴσως* (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 31 (1885), p. 486).

4. **εὐῆρις.** *εὐγήρως* Benndorf, *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 50. *εὐήθης* Brunn, *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, Munich, Philosoph.-philolog. Class, 6th November 1880, p. 483.

φαμένη διάκονος εἶναι. O. Benndorf proposed to insert the words *διὰ τεσσάρων καὶ ἑξήκοντα ἐτῶν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς* after *φαμένη* (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 50). A. Michaelis proposed to insert the words *διὰ ξδ' ἐτῶν τῆς θεοῦ* after *φαμένη* (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 33). See the Commentary.

28. 3. **Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπέρβιον * * *** Kayser conjectured that the blank should be filled up with the words *τοὺς οἰκοδομήσαντας εἶναι* (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 502).

5. **Καθὸ καὶ ὁ Ἄρειος πάγος.** The text seems to be corrupt or defective, probably the latter.

8. **ὁπόσα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς φονεῦσίν ἐστιν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ καλοῦσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀποκτείνασιν ἀκουσίως κρίσις καθέστηκε.** *ὁπόσα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς φονεῦσίν ἐστιν καὶ ἄλλα, ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ καλουμένῳ τοῖς ἀποκτείνασιν ἀκουσίως κρίσις καθέστηκε* J. C. Schmitt, *Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 469. K. F. Hermann suggested that the numeral *α* may have been corrupted into *ἄλλα* and proposed to read *πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ καλοῦσιν, οὗ τοῖς ἀποκτείνασιν κ.τ.λ.* (*Philologus*, 3 (1848), p. 518). *ὁπόσα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς φονεῦσιν, ἐστὶν ἄλλα· καὶ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ καλουμένῳ τοῖς ἀποκτείνασιν ἀκουσίως κρίσις καθέστηκε* Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 20. *ὅπόσα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς φονεῦσιν, ἐστὶν ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ καλοῦσι ᾗ τοῖς ἀποκτείνασιν ἀκουσίως κρίσις καθέστηκε* Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 26.

29. 2. **Σαπφοῦς.** Πάμφω A. Hecker, *Philologus*, 5 (1850), p. 429, comparing viii. 35. 8. The conjecture is very plausible.

3. **συνθεμένους ἔπεισε μεῖναι.** Herwerden is probably right in saying (p. 52) that the text is here either defective or corrupt. He proposes to read *μὴ μησικακῆσαι* for *μεῖναι*.

7 *sq.* **ἐτάφησαν, καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντες.** *ἐτάφησαν· ἐτάφησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντες* Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 7. The *δὲ* is in the MSS., but is omitted by Schubart. Hitzig's emendation is plausible and should perhaps be accepted.

10. **τοῖς μὲν ἐπιθεμένοις.** Most MSS. read *τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἐπιθεμένοις*. We should perhaps read *τοῖς μὲν συνεπιθεμένοις* with G. F. Unger, *Philologus*, 38 (1879), p. 462.

32. 1. **τοῖς ἄλλοις.** The MSS. read *τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*, except that two (Vab) read *τοῖς ἄνοις*, which is a contraction for *ἀνθρώποις*. Preller defended the MS. reading *τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*, understanding it to mean that the bees followed the nomadic tribe from pasture to pasture (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 115). But the tribe was not nomadic. See Commentary.

7. **οἶκοι.** *σηκοί* Valckenaer, p. 819.

33. 2. **σφισιν ἐμποδών.** *σφισιν μηδὲν ἐμποδών* Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 342. *μηδέν σφισιν ἐμποδών* Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 705.

5. **οὕτως Αἰθίοπες ποταμῷ γε οὐδενὶ προσοικοῦσιν ἢ Ὠκεανῷ.** We must omit *ἤ*, as Hitzig rightly points out (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 49). What Pausanias has been labouring to prove is that the Ethiopians do not dwell beside the Ocean, whether the Ocean be regarded as a river or, more correctly, as a sea. He does not deny that some of the Ethiopians dwell beside a river; on the contrary he has pointed out that some of them dwell beside the river Nile.

7. **ἐπεὶ μηδὲ Σμυρναίοις τὰ ἁγιώτατα ξόανα ἔχει πτερά· οἱ δὲ ὕστερον κ.τ.λ.** The MSS. read *ἐπειδὴ δὲ Σμυρναίοις τὰ ἁγιώτατα ξόανα ἔχειν πτερὰ οἶδα ὕστερον*, except that one MS. (La) reads *ἔχει* for *ἔχειν*. The text has been cleverly and certainly emended by Kayser and Schubart. See *Z. f. A.*, 1848, pp. 502 *sq.*; Schubart, *Methodologie*, pp. 70 *sq.* In the next sentence (*ἐπιφαίνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν θεὸν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρᾶν ἐθέλουσιν*) the *τῷ* is a correction, also certain, of Siebelis for *τοῖς*. The whole passage furnishes a good example of what judicious editing may do for a corrupt text.

8. **ἐς τοῦτο.** Read *ἐς τούτους*.

34. 5. **δῆλον.** Read *δῆλος* with Valckenaer, p. 823, approved by Hitzig.

ἐπὶ τὸ * * τὰ ὀνόματα. We should probably read *ἐπὶ τῷ <βωμῷ> τὰ ὀνόματα*. I have translated accordingly. Compare, however, Preller's *Polemonis Periegetae fragmenta*, p. 141; Dindorf, Praef. p. xxviii.

35. 1. **τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πλέουσιν.** This cannot be right. We should perhaps read *παραπλέουσιν*, as Siebelis suggested.

2. **πρῶτον δὲ ἧ νήσῳ * * θέσθαι τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σαλαμῖνος.** Schubart suggested that the passage may have originally stood thus: *πρῶτον δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ <γενέσθαι Κυχρέα φασὶ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ νήσῳ> θέσθαι τοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σαλαμῖνος*. See SW, 2. pp. xiii. *sq.*

Ἀσκητάδου. Ἀσκληπιάδου K. F. Hermann, *Philologus*, 3 (1848), p. 518. Αἰσχητιάδου U. Köhler, *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), p. 253, note 1.

4. **τὸ ἄνθος.** Hitzig thinks that the name of the flower has dropped out (*Beiträge*, p. 9).

5. **τὴν ἔσοδον ἐς τὸ μνῆμα.** *τὴν ἔσοδον <τὴν> ἐς τὸ μνῆμα* Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 12. But see Critical Note on i. 2. 4.

8. **Γηρυόνην, οὗ μνῆμα μὲν οὐδέν, δένδρον δέ.** *Γηρυόνου μνῆμα μὲν οὐδέν, νεκρὸν δέ* Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 705. But see Commentary.

36. 6. **ὁ ἀποκτείνας.** Omit *ὁ*, which was introduced into the text by SW and Dindorf on the conjecture of Siebelis and Buttmann. The article is here worse than superfluous.

37. 1. **Ἅλις.** Ἀλαιεύς Amasaeus. Ἀλαιεύς Leake, *Athens*², 2. p. 135, note 3.

7. **ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ.** Hitzig suggests that *καὶ ἱερὸν ᾠκοδόμησαν* or some such words have been lost after *ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ* (*Beiträge*, p. 8).

38. 8. **πρότερον μὲν γὰρ Ἐλευθερεῦσιν.** Schubart conjectured that we should read either *παρ'* for *γὰρ* or Ἐλευθερεῖς for Ἐλευθερεῦσιν (*Z. f. A.*, 1846, p. 199).

39. 1. **γραῖαν.** This is Ruhnken's correction of the MS. reading Ἀργείαν. Kayser suggested *ἀργήν* (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 503).

2. **τῶν ἐς Θήβας.** Read *τῶν ἐπὶ Θήβας* with Valckenaer (p. 823), approved by

Hitzig. Kayser proposed to read τῶν ἐς Θήβας <στρατευσάντων> (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 503).

6. ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι. ἡγεμόνι εἶναι Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 705. Or retaining ἡγεμονίαν we might omit εἶναι. But the text, though awkward, is probably what Pausanias wrote.

40. 1. καὶ σφισιν. We should perhaps read ἦν σφισιν with Haupt, *Hermes*, 4 (1870), p. 30; *id.*, *Opuscula*, 3. p. 448. The same emendation had been previously suggested by SW.

5. ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀθηναῖοι. Most MSS. read ἀμφισβητοῦσιν instead of ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν. Seemann conjectured that we should read ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν <λέγουσιν> Ἀθηναῖοι (*Quaestiones Grammaticae et Criticae ad Pausaniam spectantes*, pp. 12 *sq.*). This is perhaps right.

41. 4. εὕρωμαι. ἕψομαι Porson. σιμφέρωμαι Clavier, Herwerden (p. 52), Hitzig (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 50). σύνθωμαι Spengel, approved by Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 503), who compares iv. 15. 2. πείθωμαι R. T. Brause (*Commentationes Criticae de quibusdam locis Pausaniae Periegetae*, Freiberg, 1851, p. 8).

5. ἐς ὅ. This is a Herodotean phrase (see Stein on Herodotus, i. 98). Pausanias employs it elsewhere, always, I think, in a temporal sense ('until'). See i. 23. 1, 10; i. 27. 10; i. 43. 7; ii. 4. 4; ii. 5. 8; ii. 18. 4; ii. 21. 6; ii. 29. 7; vii. 2. 11; vii. 3. 5; viii. 42. 5. Cp. J. O. Pfundtner, *Pausanias Periegeta Imitator Herodoti*, pp. 38 *sq.*

7. θάψαι αὐτῇ. Read αὐτὴν with all the MSS. and all the editions except Schubart's. αὐτῇ, a conjecture of Schubart's, is at once ungrammatical and meaningless. The Greeks did not, as Schubart seems to have supposed, use αὐτῇ in the sense of ταύτῃ 'there.' Madvig proposed to read τεθάφθαι for θάψαι (*Adversaria*, 1. p. 705).

42. 1. ἐς αὐτὴν γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. For αὐτὴν we should probably read ταύτην, as Clavier conjectured. I have translated accordingly. Preller proposed to read ἄρα for γάρ (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 115).

2. πέμψαι. We should probably read πέμψας with J. C. Schmitt (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 478), approved by Krüger (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 484, note 5), though πέμψαι is defended by Hitzig (*W. B.*, pp. 4 *sq.*).

3. ἦχοῦν. The MSS. have ἠλεῖον. Emperius proposed to read λίθινον (*Opuscula*, p. 342).

43. 5. Πολυείδου. Πολυΐδου Herwerden, p. 52.

6. εἰ δὴ διάφορά ἐστι κατὰ ταὐτὰ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὰ ἔργα σφίσι. The MSS. read εἶδη instead of εἰ δή. J. Overbeck conjectured that we should keep εἶδη and read τοῖς ἔργοις instead of τὰ ἔργα (*Die antiken Schriftquellen*, § 1165; *Geschichte der griech. Plastik*[4], 2. p. 37).

44. 2. Καρινόν. Καρικόν or Κάρνειον Sylburg. The latter emendation is supported by the fact that at Sparta we find the worship of Carnean Apollo conjoined with that of Ilithyia (iii. 14. 6).

3. Μινώα. Μινῴα Herwerden, p. 52.

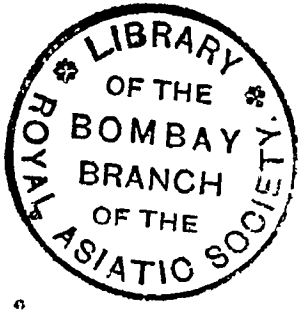
6. αὐτὸς μὲν τοιοῦτος. For αὐτὸς read οὗτος with Herwerden, p. 52. The same correction had been previously suggested by SW.

τὴν δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἀπὸ Σκίρωνος καὶ ἐς τόδε, Σκίρων. The MSS. read Σκιρώνην instead of Σκίρων. E. Curtius conjectured that we should read καὶ ἐς τόδε Σκιρώνην, Σκίρων (*Peloponnesos*, 1. p. 26). Cp. Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 30, who wrongly supposed that ὁδὸν may have dropped out before ὀνομαζομένην. But ὁδὸν may have been lost after ἐς τόδε.

7. οὗ τὸ θεῖον αἴτιον οὐ γενέσθαι, βουλεῦσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν Ἰνὼ μητρυιὰν οὖσαν. The text is corrupt, though the sense is clear. We should probably read either βουλεῦσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισίν, as SW conjectured, or ἐπιβουλεῦσαι δὲ τοῖς παισίν, with Hitzig (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 35 (1889), p. 819). But this still leaves the former part of the sentence faulty.

9. Αἰακοῦ κατὰ δή τι λόγιον τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ * * * κομίσαντα δὲ ἀφεῖναι. Various modes of supplying the gap have been suggested. On a gem the Panhellenian Zeus of Aegina is represented with a tortoise in his right hand and an eagle at his feet looking up at him. Hence Th. Panofka proposed to insert the words ἄετον τὴν χελώνην after κομίσαντα δέ (Th. Panofka, *Der Tod des Skiron und des Patroclus*, pp. 4, 17). But this would leave the preceding sentence quite

ungrammatical, and what the tortoise has to do with the story is not clear. More probable is Lolling's conjecture that we should read ἐν Αἰγίνῃ <ἀετὸν ἁρπάσαι τὸ ἱερεῖον εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν> κομίσαντα ἀφεῖναι (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1887, p. 214). He compares the scholium on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 52, in which it is said that the Colian headland received its name because a raven had there deposited a thigh-bone (κωλῆ). Kayser proposed to read ἐν Αἰγίνῃ <καὶ εὐξαμένου ὕδωρ ἀφεῖναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γῆν ὑπα>κούσαντά τε ἀφεῖναι κ.τ.λ. (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 503). Valckenaer proposed to strike out δὲ after κομίσαντα and to insert ἐνθάδε in its place (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 35 (1889), p. 819). But this would still leave the verb ἀφεῖναι without either subject or object.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BOOK II

1. 2. ἀποδεχθείς. Misprint for *ἀποδειχθείς*.[1]

ἀνοικίσαι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ. Read *ἀνῳκίσθαι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ*. See Madvig, *Adversaria*, I. p. 26 note; Hitzig, 'Conjectanea critica,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), pp. 49 *sq.* Madvig remarks that if Pausanias had used the active verb he would not have added the clause *ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ*. A trace of the true reading is preserved in *ἀνωκίσαι*, the reading of LbMoMAg. As to the omission of *τῆς* before *αὐτοῦ*, nothing is more common than the wrong insertion or omission of the article in the MSS. of Pausanias. Cp. Dindorf, Praef.[1] p. vi.

3. ἐνταῦθα τραφῆναί φασι κ.τ.λ. The text is hopelessly corrupt. I have translated according to what seems to be the sense of the passage, which may have originally run somewhat as follows: *ἐνταῦθα τραφῆναί φασι Φαιὰν δν καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Θησέως κατὰ τὰ ἔπη ἄθλων ἓν τὸ ἐς ταύτην ἐστὶν ἔργον*. The word *δν* is in Pc, and *Φαιὰν* may (as has been conjectured) easily have fallen out after *φασι*. Cp. Strabo, viii. p. 380 *ἐν ᾗ μυθεύουσι τὰ περὶ τὴν Κρομμυωνίαν δν, ἣν μητέρα τοῦ Καλυδωνίου κάπρου φασί· καὶ τῶν Θησέως ἄθλων ἕνα παραδιδόασι τὴν τῆς ὑὸς ταύτης ἐξαίρεσιν*. See the Commentary. The reading *Πιτυοκάμπτην*, which is found in VabLa, and is printed by SW and Dindorf in the text, is clearly the interpolation of a copyist, who erroneously supposed that the following *ἡ πίτυς* was the pine-tree of Sinis. Schubart simply prints the reading of Lb.

4. ἐπ' αὐτῇ. Read *ἐφ' αὐτὴν* with Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 50.

ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τῇ ἱερᾷ. As Pausanias nowhere else speaks of 'sacred' Epidaurus, *τῇ ἱερᾷ* is perhaps corrupt. Siebelis proposed *ἐν Ἐπιδαυρίων τῇ χώρᾳ* or *ἐν Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ*. SW proposed *ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ*, comparing x. 9. 10 *Ἐπιδαύρου τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι*. Preller (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 115) proposed *ἐν Ἐπιδαυρίων τῷ ἱερῷ*. Brause (*Commentationes Criticae in Pausaniam Periegeten*, p. 7) proposed *ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ*. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, No. 63, p. 504) defends *τῇ ἱερᾷ* on the ground that *ἱερά* is an epithet of Epidaurus on coins (cp. Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 370). Brause compares Plutarch, *Pericles*, 35 *πολιορκήσας τε τὴν ἱερὰν Ἐπίδαυρον*.

6. τὸ δὲ —— λέγουσι δέ. We should perhaps read *τοδὲ δὲ —— λέγουσι γάρ*. Herwerden (p. 52) proposed *τοῦτο δὲ —— λέγουσι γάρ*. Schubart (*Methodologie*, p. 82) suggests that the sentence *τὸ δὲ —— ἐσεμνολόγησαν* is a gloss.

8. ποιμαίνισιν. This is corrupt. Read *πρὸς λιμέσιν*, the emendation proposed by J. Kuhn, in his edition of 1696. It is approved by Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 505), and by J. C. Schmitt (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 470). The latter would insert *καὶ* before *βώμους*, rightly, I think. Facius in his edition prefers Kuhn's alternative conjecture *ἐπὶ λιμέσιν*. Brause (*Comment. Crit. in Pausaniam*, p. 9) proposed *ἀποφαίνουσιν* for *ποιμαίνισιν*. Preller (*Griech. Mythol.*[3] I. p. 457) proposed *πρὸς ἠιόσιν*, referring to the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 658 *Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλβιανὸς ἱστορεῖ τὰς εὑρεῖας ἠιόνας λέγεσθαι Ἀχιλλέως δρόμον*.

2. 1. διαφυγεῖν τοῦ ὅρκου. Omit *τοῦ ὅρκου*, with Herwerden, p. 52.

2. οὐκ ἂν οὐδέ. 'Etsi saepissime intenditur negatio subjecto *οὐδέ*, nemo tamen sic haec copulavit: *οὐκ ἂν οὐδέ*. Codices pro *οὐδὲ* habent *οὐδ' εἰ*. Efficitur: *οὐκ ἂν οἶδ' εἰ ζητοίη τις*, particula *ἂν* noto more ante *οἶδα* rejecta.'

Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 705. But Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 17) rightly defends οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ by referring to 11. 6 οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἴδοις ῥᾳδίως.

3. ἐρύματι. This is Facius's emendation of ῥεύματι, the reading of all the MSS. Kuhn in his edition proposed ζεύγματι. Leake (*Morea*, 3. p. 235) would read ἕρματι 'rock,' adding that 'some further correction in the words διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης seems still to be required.' The correction χώματι (for ῥεύματι) is approved by Siebelis in his edition, by Herwerden, pp. 52 *sq.*, and apparently by K. O. Müller, *Archaeolog. d. Kunst*[3], p. 323. ἐρύματι is accepted by SW, Dindorf, and Schubart, *Z. f. A.*, 1846, No. 25, p. 200.

5. φάμενον. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, No. 64, p. 505) proposed to read ἀποφαινόμενον, but wrongly. See Commentary.

3. 2. ἐσιοῦσιν. Read ἐξιοῦσιν with Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 50. Hitzig remarks that the prepositions ἐς and ἐξ are often confused by the copyists.

3. ἐπεὶ χαλκός γε οὐκ ἔστι Κορινθίοις. Krüger supposes that there is a lacuna in this sentence, or that χαλκός is corrupt (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 486). Neither supposition seems necessary.

6. ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. Herwerden (p. 53) would cancel ἰδεῖν as an interpolation. Dindorf punctuates after ἰδεῖν, which Schubart formerly approved of (*Z. f. A.*, 1846, No. 25, p. 200).

4. 5. ὅμως τι καὶ ἔνθεον τούτοις. ὅμως ἐνθεόν τι καὶ τούτοις Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 14 (1868), p. 530.

καθέδραι πεποίηνται κ.τ.λ. Hitzig (*Beiträge*, p. 8) does not see how seats could help to cool (ἀναψύχειν) visitors to the gymnasium. He thinks that a roof (ὄροφος) must have been mentioned, comparing x. 36. 10.

7. [καὶ στήλη]. Some MSS. read αὐτὴ for στήλη. Kayser conjectured καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπὶ στήλῃ, comparing viii. 34. 6 (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 506).

5. 7. Πέρατος. We should perhaps read Ἔρατος with Eusebius, *Chron.* vol. i. p. 176 ed. Schoene; cp. *id.* Appendix, pp. 26, 216. Or perhaps the true reading is Ἄρατος, as the Chronology, first published by Mai, has it (Eusebius, *op. cit.* vol. i. Append., p. 86).

6. 6. Χθονοφύλη. Emperius (*Opuscula*, p. 342) thinks we should read either Χθονοφίλη or Χθονοφύλλη.

7. 2. ἐοικότι τρόπῳ. This can hardly be right. We should expect τοιῷδε τρόπῳ.

ὑπειπόντες. Herwerden (p. 53) would read ἐπειπόντες, but needlessly, since ὑπειπὼν is used in the sense of 'subjoining,' 'adding,' as well as ἐπειπών. See Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, *s.v.*

5. ταύτας τὰς γυναῖκας ἱερὰς εἶναι καὶ Διονύσῳ μαίνεσθαι λέγουσιν. These words have probably been interpolated by a late, perhaps Christian, copyist. Schubart himself, after he had published his last text (1853-54), recognised the interpolation (*Methodologie*, p. 82).

8. 3. διαλλάξας. διαλλάξαντας Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 506).

9. 5. ὁ νεώτερος τῶν Φιλίππου παίδων. Hitzig (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 51) proposes to omit these words as an interpolation; because (1) Perseus was the elder, not the younger, brother of Demetrius; and (2) he thinks that Philip's name could not be mentioned in this sentence, since the pronoun οἱ had already been used in reference to him in the same sentence.

10. 1. Παιδιζήν. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, No. 64, p. 506) proposed to read πλατανιστᾶν. A few lines below he would read ἐς Σικυωνίαν instead of ἐν Σικυωνίᾳ, rightly perhaps, though ἐν Σικυωνίᾳ can be defended by taking it with καταλαβεῖν, not with ἐλθόντα.

Ὀνόματα ὀνομάζοντες. Schubart (*Methodologie*, p. 30) thinks that Ὀνόματα has arisen by dittography from the following word, and that the true name of the festival is lost.

Ἡράκλειαν. We should probably read Ἡράκλεια with Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, No. 64, p. 506), and Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 6). The names of festivals in Greek are generally neuter plurals. The correction is due to K. F. Hermann.

4. παῖδας Σικυωνίους. Herwerden (p. 53) proposes to insert φασι after παῖδας.

τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις κατὰ ταὐτὰ κ.τ.λ. Herwerden (p. 53) observes that a verb like ἔξεστιν or θέμις ἐστί is required in this sentence.

κ

11. 1. κεραυνοῖς θεὸς αὐτὸν * * * After αὐτὸν Vb has κατέπαυσεν. Hence the editions generally read κατέκαυσεν after αὐτόν. Schubart has omitted it as a stop-gap introduced by a copyist. Dindorf (Praef. p. iv.) proposes to read κεραυνοῖ θεὸς αὐτόν, which is rejected by Schubart (*Methodologie*, p. 39). Wernicke, however (*De Pausaniae periegetae studiis Herodoteis*, pp. 86 *sq.*), defends the emendation κεραυνοῖ ὁ (*sic*) θεὸς αὐτόν, comparing Herodotus, vii. 10. 5 ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζώια, ὡς κεραυνοῖ ὁ θεός.

2. ὁδηγὸν γενέσθαι. Here γενέσθαι is a correction of Buttmann and Coraes's, accepted by Bekker. The MSS. have ἔσεσθαι. SW read ἑλέσθαι on conjecture, and Schubart defended it (*Z. f. A.*, 1846, No. 25, p. 200).

5. ὁπότε ἥλιος σπέρματα καὶ δένδρων αὔξει καὶ πεπαίνει καρπούς. This can hardly be right. G. Krüger (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 487) proposed to read either ὁπότε ἥλιος σπέρματα * καὶ δένδρων αὔξει (comparing v. 14. 3), or ὁπότε ἥλιος σπέρματα καὶ δένδρα αὔξει (comparing viii. 38. 4).

6. οἱ ἱκέται. This is a correction of Valckenaer's for οἱ οἰκέται, which SW retained. L. Preller (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 115) remarks that οἰκέται and οἱ ἱκέται are constantly confused in the MSS.

ᾧ δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα τούτων ἰλάσασθαι θελήσῃ τις, ἀποδέδεικται οἱ τὸ αὐτὸ σέβεσθαι τοῦτο ὃ δὴ καὶ Ὑγίειαν καλοῦσι. Kayser in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 352 *sq.*, proposed to read ᾧ δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα τοῦτο (namely, the image of Health) ἰλάσασθαι θελήσῃ τις, ἀποδέδεικται οἱ τῷ αὐτῷ σέβεσθαι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (the image of Aesculapius) ὃ δὴ καὶ Ὑγιείας (instead of Ὑγίειαν) καλοῦσι. He supports his emendation by comparing vii. 23. 8, where instead of παιδὶ ἦν (the reading of many MSS.) he would read Ἀσκλήπιόν.

7. μετὰ ἥλιον δύναντα. Herwerden (p. 53) would read δύνοντα, because Herodotus, whom Pausanias imitated, did not use the first aorist of this verb.

Ἄκεσιν. Facius, Bekker, Dindorf, and SW read Ἀκέσιον. But the only authority for this seems to be a marginal reading in a single MS. (R); and the reading Ἄκεσιν is now established by a metrical inscription. See Commentary.

8. Μήτηρ. A correction of Facius's for Δημήτηρ, accepted by Bekker and Dindorf, and approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, No. 64, p. 507.

12. 5. ἡγοῦμαι. Herwerden (p. 53) would read ἥγημαι after the manner of Herodotus (i. 126; ii. 40, 72), whom Pausanias may have imitated.

στῆλαι περιφερεῖς. We should perhaps read περιφανεῖς with VabLa. Hitzig prefers περιφανεῖς (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 51). But his objection to περιφερεῖς that it is otiose because '*columnae rotundae esse solent*,' is groundless, since a στήλη is not a column, and is not generally round.

14. 4. Ἀράντειος τάφος. Insert ὁ before Ἀράντειος with Herwerden (p. 53). The article was easily omitted after the preceding ἐπεποίητο.

15. 2. ὀχήματι. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, No. 64, p. 507) prefers ὀχήμασι, the reading of PcAgVbLa. Schubart prefers ὀχήματι because it occurs again in viii. 54. 5.

5. καὶ τὸν Ἶναχον ποταμόν. These words should be struck out, as Siebelis first perceived. They have been interpolated by a copyist who thought that τοῦτον δὲ referred to Phoroneus instead of to Inachus. That Inachus was chief arbitrator, and not merely an assessor, appears from ii. 22. 4. SW and Dindorf bracket the words καὶ τὸν Ἶναχον ποταμόν, and Hitzig (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), pp. 51 *sq.*) also condemns them.

16. 4. Ἀκουσιλάου. Read Ἀκουσιλάῳ, a correction of Porson's, accepted by Bekker, Dindorf, and SW. The MSS. have ἀκοῦσαι, ἀκοῦσι, etc. Ἀκουσιλάου is an unhappy attempt of Schubart's to improve on Porson's emendation.

7. * * * Πυλάδῃ γὰρ συνῴκησεν. In the lacuna the tombs of Electra and her children by Pylades were probably mentioned. Kayser proposed to supply the blank thus: ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τάφος τῶν Πυλάδους παίδων καὶ Ἠλέκτρας (*Z. f. A.*, 6 (1848), No. 64, p. 507). Ch. Belger would supply the gap with the words καὶ Ἠλέκτρας καὶ τῶν παίδων (*Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), pp. 1122 *sq.*), or rather ἕτερον δὲ Ἠλέκτρας καὶ τῶν παίδων τὸ αὐτό (*Die mykenische Lokalsage*, Berlin, 1893, p. 23).

17. 7. ὅτε ὁ λύχνος πρῶτον στεφανωμάτων ἥπτετο. This reading can hardly be correct. The reading of the MSS. is πρὸ τῶν στεφανωμάτων. SW and Dindorf read ὁ λύχνος ὁ πρὸ τῶν στεφανωμάτων. Herwerden, p. 53, would read ὅτε ὁ λύχνος

πρῶτον τῶν στεφανωμάτων ἥπτετο. Cobet (*Novae Lectiones*, pp. 354 *sq.*) proposed to read ὅτε ὁ λύχνος ὁ πρὸ τῶν στεφανωμάτων ἥπτο, 'when the lamp before the garlands had been lit.' The objection to this is that it does not express the fact that the flame of the lamp set fire to the wreaths. Both the lighting of the lamp and the ignition of the wreaths are expressed by different tenses of the same verb ἅπτω in the passage of Thucydides which Pausanias had here before his eyes. Thucydides's words are (iv. 133) ὁ νεὼς τῆς Ἥρας τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐν Ἄργει κατεκαύθη, Χρυσίδος τῆς ἱερείας λύχνον τινὰ θείσης ἡμμένον πρὸς τὰ στέμματα καὶ ἐπικαταδαρθούσης, ὥστε ἔλαθεν ἀφθέντα πάντα καὶ καταφλεχθέντα.

18. 1. **μεγίστας δὲ ἔν τε Σερίφῳ, καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Περσέως τέμενος.** The text here cannot be right. The sense is perhaps restored by K. O. Müller's correction (*Prolegom. zu einer wissenschaft. Mythologie*, p. 311), μεγίστας δὲ ἔν τε Σερίφῳ, οὗ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηνᾷ Περσέως τέμενος, except that it would be necessary with Hermann (who accepts Müller's correction in other respects) to strike out τε before Σερίφῳ, or change it to τῇ (Hermann, *Opuscula*, 7. pp. 282 *sq.*), and to insert ἐστί after Ἀθηνᾷ or Περσέως. The passage would then run thus: ἔχει μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν προσχώρων, μεγίστας δὲ ἐν τῇ Σερίφῳ, οὗ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηνᾷ ἐστὶ Περσέως τέμενος κ.τ.λ. In the translation, however, I have not ventured to adopt this somewhat radical alteration, but have followed the MSS. There seems to be no other evidence that Perseus was worshipped at Athens. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, No. 64, p. 508) proposed μεγίστας δὲ ἐν Σερίφῳ. <ἔστι δὲ> καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Περσέως τέμενος. Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 23) proposes to insert οἷς after Ἀθηναίοις, retaining the reading of the MSS. in other respects.

2. **οὐκ ἔχω σαφὲς εἰπεῖν.** 'Graecum est aut σαφῶς εἰπεῖν aut τὸ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν' (Herwerden, p. 53).

19. 2. **ἐς ἐλάχιστον προήγαγον.** Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 508) proposed to substitute κατήγαγον for προήγαγον, comparing ii. 20. 5.

δέκατον ἀπόγονον. The MSS. have τὸν ἀπόγονον. See SW, vol. 1. pp. xlix. *sq.*; Dindorf, Praef., pp. 1 *sq.*

7. **βόθρος, πεποιημένα ἐν τύπῳ ταύρου μάχην ἔχων.** This is the reading of the MSS., with the two exceptions noted below. Ag had originally θρόνος, but this has been erased and βόθρος substituted. SW and Dindorf read θρόνος, πεποιημένην ἐν τύπῳ ταύρου μάχην ἔχων. Siebelis reads βάθρον, πεποιημένην ἐν τύπῳ ταύρου μάχην ἔχον. The reading βάθρον (for βόθρος) is Kuhn's conjecture. La omits ἐν before τύπῳ. On the whole βάθρον . . . ἔχον seems the more probable correction. It is adopted by Leake (*Morea*, 2. p. 402) and approved by Curtius (*Pelop.*, 2. p. 561). I have accordingly adopted it in the translation.

ἐκ * * Διὸς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανον. Siebelis, Bekker, SW, and Dindorf read καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανα (except that Bekker reads ξόανον instead of ξόανα). Only one MS. (Va) reads καὶ Διός. Some have ἐς Διός. The MSS. have ξόανον. The reading ξόανα is a conjecture.

20. 3. **Διός ἐστιν ἱερόν.** Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 508) would bracket ἱερόν, as he thinks there was only a statue, not a temple, of the god. The words of the Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electra*, 6 (ἔστι δὲ καταντικρὺ τοῦ Νεμεαίου Διός) leave the question open. One good MS. of Pausanias (La) omits ἱερόν, with the approbation of SW.

4. **ἐκράτει τῆς μάχης.** Read ἐκράτει τῇ μάχῃ with Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 67 note. κρατεῖν μάχης is not Greek. Pausanias uses the right construction elsewhere. See ii. 1. 2; iii. 1. 4; iv. 30. 1; v. 22. 4; viii. 45. 3; ix. 6. 4; ix. 15. 4; x. 2. 5 (corrected by Madvig).

5. **ἐπὶ τούτων.** Read ἐπὶ τούτοις with Dindorf, Praef. p. xxviii.

8. **βιβλία μὲν ἐκεῖνα.** Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 508) suggests that the original reading was ἐκεῖνα μέν, upon which βιβλία was a gloss.

συμβάντος —— κατέφυγον. Herwerden (p. 53) would read συμβάν —— κατέφυγον.

21. 4. **τοῦτο μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν πυρὰν οἰκοδόμημα ἐγένετο.** Insert τὸ before οἰκοδόμημα with Dindorf, Praef. p. xviii.

10. **ἢ οἱ λοιποί.** Herwerden (p. 54) is probably right in proposing to excise these words as a gloss. I have omitted them in the translation.

22. 2. **ὁμόσαι παράμενειν.** We should perhaps read παραμενεῖν with Herwerden, p. 54. But the present infinitive can stand. Cp. Demosthenes, xxiii. 170, p. 677; Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, § 136.

7. **Ναυκύδης Μόθωνος.** From an inscription it appears that the father of Naucydes was not Mothon, but Patrocles (see Commentary). Hence Furtwängler and v. Brunn have proposed to alter *Μόθωνος* into *Μεθωναῖος*, supposing that Naucydes may have received the citizenship of Methana, or Methone (as it is called by Thucydides, iv. 45), in Troezenia. See Furtwängler, in *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 37 (1879), pp. 45 *sq.*; v. Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, Munich, Philosoph.-philolog. Class for 1880, pp. 472 *sq.* Furtwängler further suggests that the Polyclitus here mentioned by Pausanias may be the elder Polyclitus, in which case Furtwängler would read *ἀδελφιδοῦς* for *ἀδελφός* in the present passage. One MS. of Pausanias (Vb) has *μονόθωνος* instead of *Μόθωνος*. C. Robert would read *νεώτερος* for *Μόθωνος* (*Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 429). W. Klein proposed to read *Ναυκύδης δὲ μαθητής* (or *μαθηταί*) (*Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 5 (1881), p. 99, note 36).

23. 2. **ὄψει * * πειν.** Read *ὄψει τήν*, which seems to be the reading of most MSS. For the expression (*ὄψει*) cp. v. 6. 4.

8. **ἔθαψαν.** Read *ἔθαψεν* with all the MSS. There seems no reason for altering it into *ἔθαψαν*, as some editors have done.

24. 5. **δένδρα κυπαρίσσου.** Herwerden (p. 54) thinks that we must read *κυπαρίσσων* instead of *κυπαρίσσου*.

6. **τέως δέ.** After these words Herwerden (p. 54) would insert *ὑπὸ γῆς*.

7. **καταβάντος δέ.** Herwerden (p. 54) would read *καταβάντι*, or *καταβάντων*, or—what he would prefer—*καταβᾶσιν*.

25. 8. **ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν.** Kayser would omit *ἀπ'* (*Z. f. A.* 1848, p. 509).

10. **Σαπυσελάτων.** This seems corrupt. Cp. Hesychius: *Τσσέλινον τὸ νῦν Ἀραχναῖον ὄρος ἐν Ἄργει καλούμενον.* Suidas: *Τστέλλειον· ὄνομα ὄρους.* Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 270, proposed *Τοσελάτων* ('the swine's fir-forest') as perhaps the true name. Valckenaer (p. 823) proposed *Αἶπος* (or *αἶπυς*) *ἐλάτων*.

26. 4. **εἶπετο ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῷ.** Krüger proposed to insert *Κορωνὶς* before *ἡ θυγάτηρ* (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 485).

9. **τὸ δ' ἐν Βαλάγραις.** Goldhagen proposed to read *ὁ δ' ἐν Βαλάγραις* (*Z. f. A.* 1846, p. 201).

27. 4. **εἴκοσι.** Kayser would read *ἀκεσθέντα* — a plausible emendation. (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 367.)

28. 1. **οἱ λοιποί.** Corrupt. SW conjectured *οἱ λευκοί*.

2. **αἰτίου τοῦ περιαγαγόντος.** This is not Greek. Qu. *ἅτε αὐτὸ περιαγαγόντος*?

29. 8. **εἰκόνας ταύτας.** Insert *τὰς* before *εἰκόνας*, with Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 11.

31. 1. **τό τε ἐκ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου δυσέξοδον καὶ λαθόντα ἀποδρᾶναι.** This is not Greek. Krüger (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 487) restores Greek and sense by reading *τὸ ἐκ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τοῦ δυσεξόδου λαθόντα ἀποδρᾶναι*.

32. 3. **κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον.** For *ἕτερον* some MSS. have *ἔργον*. Tyrrwhit (quoted by Kidd in his notes on Dawes's *Miscellanea Critica*, 2nd ed., p. 457) proposed to read *ἑῷον*.

6. **λοιμοῦ πιέσαντος * * * Ἀθηναίους δὲ μάλιστα. διαβὰς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν ναὸν ἴδοις ἂν Ἴσιδος.** Read with Madvig (*Adversaria*, 1. pp. 705 *sq.*) *λοιμοῦ πιέσαντος Ἀθηναίους μάλιστα, διαβάντος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν· ναοὶ δὲ Ἴσιδος*, κ.τ.λ. The correction is bold but, in my opinion, almost certainly right. Sense can hardly be extracted from the ordinary reading *διαβὰς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν*, since Pausanias has been already describing Troezenia at length. But the expression *διαβάντος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν*, as applied to the plague, agrees well with the statement of Thucydides (ii. 54) that the plague scarcely entered Peloponnese, but ravaged Athens. The *ἴδοις* of the common reading arose (as Madvig says) from the following *Ἴσιδος*. The particle *ἄν* is not in the MSS., but has been inserted by the editors to help out the grammar. In the translation I have followed Madvig's emendation.

10. **δηλώσει.** Read *δηλώσω*, which is in La, and was preferred by SW.

33. 2. **φασὶ δὲ ἔτι καὶ λόγιον μνημονεύουσιν.** This cannot be right. J. C. Schmitt (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 479) thinks that *φασὶ* originated through *σφᾶς* in the preceding sentence. He would omit it and read *ἔτι δὲ καὶ λόγιον μνημονεύουσιν*. Other proposed corrections are mentioned by SW.

34. 4. **οὐ γὰρ δή ποτε κ.τ.λ.** An *ἄν* must be inserted in this sentence, as Kayser (*Z. f. A.* 1848, p. 511), Madvig (*Adversaria*, 1. p. 706), and Hitzig

(*Beiträge*, p. 14) have seen. Madvig would insert it after γάρ. Perhaps it would have dropped out more easily between περιελθεῖν and ἀρχήν.

εἰ καὶ γνήσιον ὄντα Εὔρωπα πρότερον κ.τ.λ. Herwerden (p. 55) would insert μὴ before πρότερον. The conjecture arises from a misunderstanding of the text, in which ὁ παῖς is Hermion, not (as Herwerden fancies) Europs.

34. 9. ἐπὶ Ποσειδιον. These words can hardly be right. They may be the note of a copyist who learned from the next section that there was a sanctuary of Poseidon on the ἀκτή. I have omitted them in the translation.

35. 4. παρασχόντας. We must either read παρασχοῖεν with Madvig (*Adversaria*, I. p. 706), or suppose with Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 511), that there is a lacuna, in which the reward received by the pious Athera and Mysias was mentioned. In the latter case the reading may have been παρασχόντες, followed by δῶρον παρ' αὐτῆς λάβοιεν καρπὸν ἥμερον or some such phrase. Cp. i. 37. 2. As the sentence stands, the words λέγουσι—ὡς ξενίαν παρασχόντας τῇ θεῷ are not Greek.

36. 1. Ἁλικὸς λόγος. We should probably read Ἁλικῶν λόγος ('mention of men of Halice') with Pantazides, Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, p. 144. I have translated accordingly. L. Preller (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, pp. 115 *sq.*) proposed to read Ἁλικίνων or Ἁλικαίων κατάλογος. But the inscriptions show that the adjectival form is Ἁλικός. See Commentary.

2. καὶ τοῦ τε. We should probably omit either καί or τε, as Dindorf says, Praef. p. xxi. Seemann would prefer to write καί——δέ (*Quaestiones*, p. 28).

37. 5. Πόλυμνον. We should perhaps read Πρόσυμνον. See Commentary. The local epithet of Demeter, namely Prosymna (§ 1), is in favour of the change.

38. 2. παρθένον γίνεσθαι. Herwerden (p. 55) would insert πάλιν before these words.

3. ἐπιφαγών. Herwerden (p. 55) would read ἀποφαγών.

5. * * αὐτῆς. This, or αὐτῶν, is the reading of the MSS. Bursian (*Geogr. v. Griechenland*, 2. p. 69, note 1) proposed to insert ἀπ' before αὐτῆς. Instead of αὐτῆς many editions read Θυρέα, which is a conjecture of Musurus's.

6. ἐς ἣν. Read ἐν ᾗ with Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 13.

BOOK III

1. 5. **ἑκατέρα μοῖρα Τήμενον.** The words *ἑκατέρα μοῖρα* are probably a gloss. Hitzig, following Loescher, would prefer to insert *τὸ μὲν* before *Τήμενον* (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 52). But it is Pausanias's regular practice to omit the first of the two articles in expressions of this sort. Examples of such omissions occur *passim* in his work.

2. 2. **τοὺς ἐν [τῇ] ἡλικίᾳ.** Emperius (*Opuscula*, p. 342) proposed to read *Ἀργείᾳ* for *ἡλικίᾳ*.

3. **οἱ τίθεται.** For *οἱ* Cobet (*Variae Lectiones*, p. 369) would read *αὐτῷ*.

4. **ὄντα νόμιμα.** We should probably insert *τὰ* before *νόμιμα*, with Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 11.

ἐπαγάγοιτο. The MSS. have *ἐπάγοιτο*. Herwerden (p. 55) would read *ἐσαγάγοιτο* or *ἐπεσαγάγοιτο*. He is probably right.

6. **ἔργα οὐκ ἄδοξα ἐπιδειξαμένους.** Herwerden (p. 55) would read *ἀποδειξαμένους*. But see Critical Note on i. 25. 5.

3. 4. **τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ πολίσματα.** Read *ἐπὶ* for *ἐν* with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 7.

4. 1. **[αὖθις].** This should probably be cancelled. It may have arisen by dittography from the preceding *συγκατεκαύθησαν*. Madvig (*Adversaria*, 1. p. 706) would substitute *εὐθὺς* for *αὖθις*.

4. **εἵλετο.** Read *εἶχετο* with SW, Bekker, and Dindorf, from Valckenaer's conjecture. The construction *αἱρεῖσθαί τινος* is impossible.

5. **ἐλάβετο ξίφους.** Hitzig would read *ἔλαβε τὸ ξίφος* (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 52).

6. **Ἐλεοῦντι.** *Ἐλαιοῦντι* Herwerden, p. 56.

7. **γεγόνασι μὲν δὴ πόλεμοι καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους βαρβάρων.** J. C. Schmitt (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 470) would read *γεγόνασι μὲν δὴ πόλεμοι Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ βαρβάρους*. This would be an improvement, but we should have to insert *ἐς* before *βαρβάρους*. Hitzig (*W. B.*, pp. 18 *sq.*) defends the reading in the text; but it seems impossible to translate it as he proposes to do.

8. **ἀποδειξαμένῳ λαμπρὰ οὕτω, κατὰ τὴν πορείαν.** Remove the comma after *οὕτω* and place it after *πορείαν*.

5. 1. **τοῖς δὲ ἄρχειν ἐπιτραπεῖσιν.** For *δὲ* read *τε*. The emendation is due to Coraes. It was formerly approved by Schubart (SW, vol. 2. p. xix.), and is put in the text by Dindorf.

τὸ αἴσχιστον ὀνειδῶν. Dindorf (Praef. p. xvii.), would insert *τῶν* before *ὀνειδῶν*.

3. **ἐλήλυθε.** Buttmann proposed *ἐληλύθει*, which is approved by Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 5.

5. **στρατιωτικοῦ.** Herwerden (p. 56) would read *στρατοῦ*.

κακοῦ πρόφασις. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 998) would follow La in omitting *κακοῦ*. The noun to be mentally supplied would then be *σφάλματος* from the preceding *σφάλματα*.

8. **[ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις].** These words are a manifest interpolation, as Schubart (*Methodologie*, p. 82) perceived.

6. 1. **ἀπῆγεν.** Read *προαπῆγεν* with Herwerden, p. 56. He says that in MSS. *πρὸ* is sometimes indicated by *α*.

3. **εἶλε.** Read *ᾤδει* with Siebelis, or *οἶδεῖ* with Hitzig (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 53). Cp. viii. 28. 5 *οἰδοῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θυμοῦ*.

7. 3. οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἐσβαλών. An absurd interpolation.

8. 9. γεγονὸς μὲν ἐκεῖ. These words are very inept. They are perhaps interpolated.

9. 7. καὶ φρονῆσαί τε. Dindorf (Praef. p. xxi.) observes rightly that we must strike out either *καί* or *τε*: he would prefer to cancel the former.

9. ἄγοντες. We should probably strike this out, with Herwerden, p. 56.

11. σφᾶς. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 998) would omit *σφᾶς*. Rightly, perhaps. The word is omitted by LaVb.

10. 6. [τὸ δὲ σκότος] —— [ἔσχε]. In the translation I have omitted these words. See Dindorf, Praef. p. xxviii. (who compares Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Σκοτινά); Schubart, *Z. f. A.*, 1846, p. 204.

11. 1. ἐπανόρθωμα. Herwerden (p. 56) would read *κατόρθωμα*. Cp. Schubart in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 14 (1868), pp. 821 *sq.* *ἐπανόρθωμα* is probably right, taken in the sense that Pausanias's declaration was meant as a correction of possible misapprehensions.

3. ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα. Hitzig (*Beiträge*, p. 11) would insert *τῇ* before *περὶ Σαλαμῖνα*.

4. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα εἶναι κ.τ.λ. There is no verb governing the infinitive. The whole sentence *τὸ δὲ ὄνομα* —— *σεβαστός* has the appearance of a gloss.

5. τοῦτον τὸν Ἀγίαν μαντευσάμενόν φασι Λυσάνδρῳ —— ἐλεῖν. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 999) would prefer to read *τούτου τοῦ Ἀγίου μαντευσαμένου φασὶ Λύσανδρον* —— *ἑλεῖν*.

8. ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ. Kuhn proposed *ἐκ σεισμοῦ*. Cp. i. 29. 8; iv. 24. 6. Schubart thinks that the words originated in a corrupt reading of Herodotus ix. 35, where the MSS. read *πρὸς Ἰσθμῷ* instead of *πρὸς Ἰθώμῃ*. I omit the words in the translation.

12. 5. Τυνδάρεω παῖδας. Read *τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας* with the older editions, approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 998. Pausanias seems always to use the article when he thus refers to the Dioscuri. One MS. (La) has *τοῦ Τυνδάρεο*.

6. τὸ δὲ χωρίον κ.τ.λ. The sentence is ungrammatical. Kayser proposed *συνέλθοιεν βουλευσόμενοι* for *βουλευσαμένους* (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 999).

13. 1. κατὰ μὲν δή. For *μὲν δὴ* Herwerden (pp. 56 *sq.*) proposes *μέντοι*.

7. ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν. A subject is wanted for the verb, such as λόγιον, *μάντευμα*, or *χρησμός*. Perhaps the noun was *ἐντολή*, which might easily have dropped out before or after *ἦλθεν*. Cp. Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 5.

9. νενομίκασι τὰς μητέρας τῇ θεῷ θύειν. We should probably read *αἱ μητέρες*.

14. 1. τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ —— τοῦ Παυσανίου. A verb is wanted. Insert *κεῖται* before *κεῖται* with Kuhn, so that the sentence runs *τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ* —— *κεῖται, κεῖται δὲ καὶ στήλη κ.τ.λ.* For *τεσσαράκοντα* we should probably read *τέσσαρσι* with K. O. Müller, so that the translation will be 'four years after the battle.' See Kayser in *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1000, who would read *τέσσαρσι κεῖται* instead of *τεσσαράκοντα*.

3. ἐγένοντο νῖκαι. Dindorf (Praef. xxv) would insert *οἱ* or *αὐτῷ* after *ἐγένοντο*.

10. ἐσελθεῖν δεῦρο ἔστιν. *ἐσελθεῖν χρεών ἐστιν* Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 53.

15. 11. ἦν γὰρ δή. Herwerden (p. 57) would read *ἂν* for *δή*, remarking that the two particles are often confused by copyists.

16. 4. νομιζομένου. *ὀνομαζομένου* Herwerden, p. 57.

καὶ Ἀθηναίων ϙ * ρῳ τῶν ὁμοῦ κ.τ.λ. *καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου τῶν ὁμοῦ κ.τ.λ.* Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 706. Kayser (*Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 5 (1847), p. 368) would read *Ἀθηναίων· καὶ στήλη ὀνόματα ἔχουσα ἀνδρῶν τῶν ὁμοῦ κ.τ.λ.* Cp. SW, 1. p. xliii.; Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 48.

5. κατὰ τὸν Ἔλεον τὸν κῦφον. Corrupt. Kuhn proposed *κατὰ τὸν Ἥλιον σκύφον*. He seems right in thinking that Pausanias here made mention of the golden goblet presented by the Sun to Hercules, who was said to have crossed the seas on it. See Athenaeus, xi. pp. 469 *sq.*; Macrobius, *Sat.* v. 21. 16 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, ii. 5. 10. Cp. SW, 2. p. xxi.; *Z. f. A.*, 1846, pp. 204 *sq.*

τὸ δὲ εὐμενὲς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν. Hitzig would insert *τὸ* before *ἐκ τῶν θεῶν* (*W. B.*, pp. 12 *sq.*).

6. Κλεεστωναίων. Κλεωναίων Kuhn, approved by K. O. Müller, *Dorier*[2], 1. p. 83.

17. 4. ἐς δὲ τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν στοὰν κ.τ.λ. A participle like *ἰόντι* or *ἰοῦσι* seems wanted.

ἀετούς τε δύο τοὺς ὄρνιθας. Herwerden (p. 57) would omit τοὺς ὄρνιθας as a gloss, thinking that ἀετούς are here 'gables,' 'pediments.' But they may perfectly well have been images of eagles supporting Victories; and in that case Pausanias would naturally add τοὺς ὄρνιθας to make his meaning clear.

τῶν ἀμφοτέρων. Omit τῶν with Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 50.

5. τὰς ἐξόδους ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας. Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 12) would insert τὰς before ἐπί.

6. ἐληλασμένου. ἐληλαμένου Herwerden, p. 57.

7. ἀρκέσομαι. Read ἀρκέσει μοι with Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 53.

18. 4. ἱερευομένην. Read ἱερωμένην or ἱερατευομένην with Herwerden, p. 57.

6. πρὸς αὐτῇ. Read πρὸς αὐτῷ.

8. Ἀφροδίτην παρὰ Ἀμυκλαίῳ. Insert τὴν before παρὰ with Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1085.

13. πεποίηται τῶν ἔργων. After πεποίηται the MSS. add τάξις, for which Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 342, proposed to read τὰ ἑξῆς. But it is rightly omitted. See Kayser in *Z. f. A.*, 1848, pp. 1001 *sq.*; Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 52; Dindorf, Praef. p. v.

15. Πειρίθους τε. Read δὲ for τε with Dindorf, Praef. p. xxv.

19. 6. [ἄγαλμα]. Omit this word. It probably arose by dittography from the following Ἀγαμέμνονος. Cp. Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 30.

20. 8. Παρείας. Schubart (*Methodologie*, p. 97) proposed Πρακείας (cp. what follows). He compares Ἀθηνᾶ Αἰαντὶς i. 42. 4; Ἀθηνᾶ Νᾶρκαία v. 16. 7; Ἀθηνᾶ Καπανέα ii. 22. 9.

9. ἀμύνειν. We should perhaps read ἀμυνεῖν with Herwerden, p. 58. But see Critical Note on ii. 22. 2.

διέχουσιν. We might be tempted to substitute ἀπέχουσιν. But διέχειν for ἀπέχειν seems to be not uncommon in late writers. It occurs often in Strabo, *e.g.* vi. p. 284. Cp. Paus. ii. 12. 4.

21. 4. ἡ κώμη [καλουμένη] * * Κροκεαῖς. All the other editions read ἡ κώμη καλουμένη Κροκέαι, which I have translated, as it seems to give the required meaning. Perhaps the article ἡ should be omitted. Dindorf bracketed it.

μία μὲν πέτρα συνεχὴς οὐ διήκουσα. This can hardly be right. Various corrections have been proposed. Perhaps Dindorf's proposal to omit διήκουσα is best (Praef. pp. iv. *sq.*). Cp. SW, 3. pp. ix. *sq.*

ὕδασι. δύαις Herwerden (p. 58), comparing Hesychius: δύαν· κρήνην.

22. 1. Ζεύς. Sylburg conjectured Λεύς, a supposed Doric form of λᾶας, 'a stone.' The conjecture is tempting. Schubart approved of it (*Z. f. A.*, 1846, p. 207).

13. ἐρείπια ἀπέχει. Before these words E. Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 329) would insert Ἤτιδος δ'.

23. 2. λιμήν. A correction of Boblaye's (*Recherches Géographiques sur les ruines de la Morée*, p. 99) for λίμνη. A similar correction has been made by Ulrichs in ix. 23. 7.

4. ὅπλα οὐ κεκτημένων ἀνδρῶν. Insert τῶν before ἀνδρῶν with Herwerden, p. 58.

πάντα δὲ ἀναθήματα. Insert τὰ before ἀναθήματα with Herwerden, p. 58.

24. 2. ἓξ που στάδια. For ἓξ που read ἑκατὸν with Boblaye, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 *sq.* Leake (*Morea*, 2. p. 501) proposed ἑξήκοντα for ἓξ.

Στήθαιον. Read σπήλαιον with Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1003. He compares vii. 25. 10; viii. 36. 3; viii. 42. 1; x. 38. 12.

3. φασὶν —— λέγουσιν. Herwerden (p. 58) would omit both these words.

6. ὤκισται. ᾤκηται Herwerden, p. 58.

7. Λαῶν. A conjecture of Schubart's for Λακεδαιμονίων. Cp. his *Methodologie*, pp. 95 *sq.*

Γαλακώ. This is a conjecture. Emperius (*Opuscula*, p. 342) proposed Γλαυκώ. The MSS. have Καγακώ, καγακῶ, and καγαλλῶ.

25. 1. ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀπωτέρω Διὸς βωμοῦ. The text is probably defective, as Schubart in his translation observed.

4. ναὸς εἰκασμένος σπηλαίῳ. ναὸς ἐγγὺς ἀνειμένος σπηλαίῳ or ναὸς ἐχόμενος σπηλαίου C. Bursian, *Abhandlungen* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph.-

philolog. Class, 7 (1855), p. 779. ναὸς <καὶ πλησίον ναῷ> εἰκασμένον σπήλαιον R. Weil, *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 160.

6. **τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.** Bekker conjectured τὸν ἀνθρώπῳ, which is probably right. The conjecture is approved by Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 24.

δράκοντα ὄντα. We should perhaps omit ὄντα with Hitzig, *Beiträge*, pp. 22 *sqq*.

26. 5. **τὰ δὲ φύλλα τῷ ἦρι ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων πίπτοντα.** Here τῷ ἦρι cannot be right. Leaves do not fall in spring. Hitzig (*Beiträge*, pp. 24 *sq*.) proposed ἀέρι for ἦρι. We may suggest τῇ ὀπώρᾳ, or τῷ φθινοπώρῳ, or τὰ ξήρα.

11. *** * ἐν αὐτῷ Κλαίας.** The other editions read καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Κλαίας ἱερόν, which gives an appropriate sense. I have translated accordingly, without, however, vouching for the correctness of the reading. See SW, 2. pp. xi. *sq*.

BOOK IV

1. 7. **ὡς δὲ ὁ Πανδίονος οὗτος ἦν Λύκος.** It seems necessary with Hitzig (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 50) to alter this into *ὡς δὲ Πανδίονος οὗτος ἦν ὁ Λύκος*. I have translated accordingly.

8. **ἤγνισα δ' Ἑρμείαο κ.τ.λ.** The first two lines and the fourth of this inscription are corrupt. Various emendations have been proposed; none of them is convincing. Cp. SW, 2. p. xi.; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 1251 *sq.*; *Z. f. A.*, 1846, p. 209; *id.*, 1848, pp. 1003 *sq.*; Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 342; Sauppe, *Mysterieninschrift aus Andania*, pp. 5 *sq.*

2. 7. **εἰ τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἀληθές.** Herwerden (p. 59) proposed *εἰ τοίνυν <τοῦτ'> ἐστὶν ἀληθές*. The Greek seems to require this.

3. 2. **τοῖς δὲ καὶ μάλιστα.** *τοῖς* cannot be right. Bekker's reading *οἷς* is not much better.

5. **ἐπὶ διειρημένοις.** This can hardly be right. Porson and Valckenaer proposed *ἐπὶ δὴ εἰρημένοις*. Cp. iii. 16. 4; *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1005; *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 35 (1889), p. 818.

ἀναιρεῖσθαι. Read *αἱρεῖσθαι* with Buttmann, Bekker, and Hitzig. The *ἀν-* arose by dittography from the preceding *μοῖραν*. Cp. *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher, l.c.*

6. **ὑποψίᾳ πρός.** *ὑποψίᾳ τῇ πρὸς κ.τ.λ.* Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 11.

4. 5. **ἐν ἐκείνου.** Read *ἐν τῇ ἐκείνου* with Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 50.

5. 4. **τὴν συμμαχίαν ὀνειδίζουσί σφισι πρὸς Ἀπολλόδωρον.** Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 13) would insert *τὴν* before *πρός*.

7. **οὐ λέγονται.** *οὐδὲν λέγονται* Valckenaer, p. 824. *οὐδὲ λέγονται* Herwerden, p. 59. Either of these conjectures is preferable to the *οὐ* of the text.

9. **πυλῶν.** *τῶν πυλῶν* Herwerden, p. 59. Right probably.

6. 1. **διακρῖναί τε καὶ ἡλικίας ἔργα ὅπερ ἠθέλησα.** Corrupt. Lachmann's conjecture, *διακρῖναί τι καὶ ἡλικίας πέρι ἠθέλησα* gives the requisite sense. It is accepted by Dindorf. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1006) proposed *διακρῖναι ἔργων τε καὶ ἡλικίας πέρι ἠθέλησα*. Seemann would read *πρὶν δὲ ἢ συγγράφειν με τὸν πόλεμόν τε καὶ ἔργα, ὅποσα —— παρεσκεύασε, διακρῖναι ὑπὲρ ἡλικίας ἠθέλησα ἀνδρὸς Μεσσηνίου* (*Quaestiones*, pp. 34 *sq.*).

ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν. This can hardly be right. Kayser's conjecture *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμυνομένων* gives the sense and may be right. Cp. Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 25.

2. **χρόνῳ συνέβη.** Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1006) would insert *ὕστερον* before or after *χρόνῳ*. Right probably.

3. **ἄνδρα ὅσον οὐ Μεσσήνιον.** Corrupt. Cp. *Z. f. A.*, 1848, pp. 1006 *sq.*

ἐποιησάμην Ῥιανοῦ καὶ Μύρωνος λόγον. Insert *περὶ* before *Ῥιανοῦ* with Herwerden, p. 59.

4. **διαπολεμηθῆναι τὸν πόλεμον.** Herwerden (p. 59) would omit the last two words, comparing Herodotus, vii. 158; Thucydides, vi. 37, vii. 14.

7. 1. **διέλυε.** *διέλυσε?*

8. 7. **ὡς οὐ τὰ πρότερα.** *ὅπως οὐ τὰ πρότερα* Herwerden, p. 59.

10. **διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν ἀτακτότερον καὶ * * * ἀθύμως εἶχον οὐδ' οὗτοι.** The text is defective. I have translated according to the probable sense.

9. 3. **περιμένοντα οὖν ἀμύνεσθαι.** The construction of the infinitive, referring to the same subject as *περιμένοντα*, is hardly Greek.

5. [**ἐν τούτῳ**]. We should perhaps read *ἐπὶ τούτῳ* with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 7.

10. 4. ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς. Herwerden would insert ὕστερον (p. 60).

11. 1. τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου. We must add βασιλείας with Kuhn (cp. 10. 7) or ἀρχῆς with Coraes and Herwerden (p. 60).

3. ἢ τοξότας. Herwerden (p. 51) would read καὶ τοξότας. The words καὶ and ἢ are perpetually confused by copyists, he says.

4. πρὸς κρείττους. Read προκρίτους with Herwerden, p. 60, approved by Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 35 (1889), p. 824.

6. τὰ παρ' ἀξίαν. Hitzig (*Beiträge*, p. 26) would read τὰ παράδοξα or τὰ παρὰ δόξαν.

8. πείθομαι δὲ εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς πολλούς. Here καὶ αὐτὸς can hardly be right. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1081) conjectured καὶ οὕτως, which may be right. Herwerden (p. 60) proposes αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς for καὶ αὐτὸς πολλούς.

12. 1. ἀλλ' ἀπάτῃ μὲν ἔχει γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1082) proposed ἀλλ' ἀπάτης· ἀπάτῃ μὲν ἔχει Μεσσηνίδα λαός.

4. κρείσσων|· εἰ γὰρ Ἄρης κ.τ.λ. The passage is corrupt. The best emendation is that proposed by Lobeck on Phrynichus, p. 621:

> φράζεο μὴ Σπάρτης δόλιος λόχος ἐχθρὸς ἀνέλθῃ
> (κρείσσων δὴ γὰρ Ἄρης κείνων) εὑρέα τείχη·
> καὶ τ' ὀχυρὸν στεφάνωμα πικροὺς οἰκήτορας ἕξει
> τῶν δύο συντυχίαις κρυπτοῦ λόχου ἐξαναδύντων.

I have translated accordingly. It may be suggested that, retaining the punctuation after κρείσσων, we should read ἤ γὰρ ὄρος for εἰ γὰρ Ἄρης. The change of εἰ to ἤ was proposed by Siebelis and K. O. Müller (*Dorier*², 1. p. 145 note). If this emendation be adopted, the translation will run:—'but beware lest by deceit the treacherous, hateful ambush of Sparta should prove the stronger. For verily the mountain shall have their well-fitted vessels, etc.' But ἀνέλθῃ κρείσσων, in the sense of 'prove the stronger,' is scarcely Greek. The last line of the oracle is corrupt in the MSS., and has been happily restored by Lobeck, *l.c.*, whose emendation is accepted by Schubart. On the passage, see also Kayser in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 5 (1847), pp. 363 *sq.*

13. 3. συνιᾶσι. Read συνίησι, as SW proposed, with the approval of Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1083.

4. ὡς οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον. Read ὡς ἐς οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον, as Facius and Herwerden (p. 60) conjectured. Kayser approved, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1084.

15. 1. Τλησίας. Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici*, 1. p. 184) wished to read Λυσίας for Τλησίας, on the ground that in the Parian Marble (line 49) the name of the archon for the year in question is Lysias. But the reading of the Marble is doubtful; Boeckh reads [Τλη]σία. See Schubart in SW, 2. pp. xxviii. *sqq.*, and in *Z. f. A.*, 1846, pp. 209 *sq.*

16. 1. παρόντων. Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 26) proposes παρέντων. The meaning would then be, 'when the soothsayers had given them leave' to engage (by declaring the omens favourable).

2. παρὰ Μεσσηνίων. We should expect the dative, παρὰ Μεσσηνίοις, as Valckenaer (p. 821) saw, but Hitzig defends the genitive by comparing iv. 8. 12.

6. κατέλεγεν. We should perhaps read κατέλεγον with Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 706, who adds 'Nam neque ad Tyrtaeum haec pertinebat cura et particula τέ verum ostendit.'

7. ἣν δή. Read ᾗ δὴ with Schubart (SW, 2, p. xxii.) and Hitzig (*Beiträge*, p. 26).

ἐπίθημα. ἐπίσημα has been conjectured by Emperius (*Opuscula*, p. 342), and Herwerden (p. 61). The round sigma would easily pass into Θ. But ἐπίθημα might stand, if Pausanias meant that the eagle was made of a separate piece of metal soldered or nailed on to the shield. In v. 25. 9 ἐπίθημα occurs again in a similar sense. The word seems to be a favourite with Pausanias. Cp. i. 2.·3; vii. 2. 9; vii. 17. 8; vii. 20. 7; viii. 4. 9; viii. 15. 3; viii. 34. 2.

8. φυλάξας τε * * μετὰ ἑσπέραν. Read φυλάξας τὸ μετὰ ἑσπέραν with Dindorf, an emendation proposed by Siebelis, and independently suggested to me by Dr. James Gow of Nottingham. Cp. Seemann, *Quaestiones*, pp. 35 *sq.*

17. 3. τύχαις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. Herwerden (p. 61) would insert ταῖς after τύχαις.

8. ὥστε αὐτῶν ἐδέησαν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῶν ἐν χερσίν. This must

be wrong. Valckenaer proposed to insert ὀλίγου after πολλοί. Siebelis would change οἱ πολλοὶ into οὐ πολύ, comparing iii. 10. 2. Hitzig would change it into οὐ πολλοῦ (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), pp. 55 *sq.*). This last is perhaps best. αὐτῶν thus refers to τῶν ἐν χερσίν.

19. 6. διειργάσατο. An accusative is wanting. Herwerden (p. 61) would supply τοὺς Κρῆτας or τοὺς φύλακας or ἐκείνους, 'aut aliquid denique ejusmodi.'

20. 6. ἐπήγετο. This can hardly be right. ἐπέκειτο?

8. ἀφαιρούμενος. Herwerden (p. 61) would insert σφᾶς before ἀφαιρούμενος. Rightly perhaps.

21. 1. τὰ ὅπλα ἅπαντα. Clavier's conjecture ἅπαντες (for ἅπαντα) is perhaps right. It is approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1085.

3. ἐπιόντες. περιιόντες Herwerden, p. 61.

4. ἐγεγόνει φθάνοντας εἰληφέναι. The last two words seem superfluous, and the construction is scarcely grammatical.

12. τοῖς παροῦσι. τοῖς ἄρχουσι Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 56.

22. 3. Ἀριστοκράτην. Most of the MSS. seem to have καὶ Ἀριστοκράτην. Kayser is probably right in supposing (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1085) that the words are a mistaken repetition of the preceding καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους, and that they should accordingly be cancelled.

23. 3. τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐπέταξεν ἐς Κυλλήνην. An infinitive, such as ἰέναι or ἀπιέναι, is wanted, as Clavier saw. He is perhaps also right in inserting ἔδωκεν after τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, but this is not absolutely necessary.

5. ὑπὲρ Κεφαλληνίας. ὑπὲρ Κυλλήνης?

6. συγκατεργασάμενος. Read συγκατεργασαμένοις with Sylburg and Clavier, approved by Siebelis and Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1085.

8. παρεκελεύετο τούς τε ἱκετεύοντας Ζαγκλαίων ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς —— ἀνδραποδίσασθαι. It is absurd to say that those who asked for mercy were to be slain, and those who did not were to be spared. ἱκετεύοντας must therefore be wrong. Clavier's conjecture ἡβῶντας would make good sense, but is too far from the MSS. Qu. τούς τ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ἔτι ὄντας? Cp. iii. 2. 2.

25. 1. ὄντες τῇ σφετέρᾳ. ἀμύνοντας τῇ σφετέρᾳ Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 27, comparing iv. 6. 6. The conjecture is plausible.

6. ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ μὴ περισχεθῆναι σφᾶς ἐκώλυε. This impersonal use of κωλύειν is defended by Herwerden, p. 61, who compares Pausan. x. 17. 6; Aristophanes, *Birds*, 463; Thucydides, i. 144. 2.

26. 6. ῥᾴδια. ῥᾴδιον?

7. στρατηγεῖν δὲ αὐτόν. For αὐτὸν read αὐτῶν, as Schubart proposed, SW, 2. p. xxv.

27. 5. ὡς δὲ ἡ τελετὴ —— ἐς βίβλους. G. Krüger would transfer this passage to the end of the preceding chapter, omitting the μὲν after ταύτην (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 484). Schubart does not agree (*ib.* 14 (1868), p. 533).

9. ὀγδοήκοντα. Read ἐνενήκοντα with Palmer, etc. See Commentary, and cp. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, I. p. 253; Kohlmann, *Quaestiones Messeniacae*, p. 60.

29. 1. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Ἦλιδι. We might be tempted to eject the words τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Ἦλιδι as an interpolation, since they have no regular grammatical relation to the rest of the sentence. But the genitive appears to be governed irregularly by the phrase μετὰ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον, which is treated as equivalent to οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. Compare viii. 5. 5 οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς συμφορᾶς, viii. 12. 7 τῆς Πτόλεως δὲ μετὰ σταδίους τριάκοντα.

12. ἀφικομένου πολὺ ὕστερον. Read ἀφικομένου <οὐ> πολὺ ὕστερον, as Schubart (Praef. p. xvi.) proposed. See viii. 51. 5.

30. 2. ἄρρενας μὲν οὔ φασι γενέσθαι. Hitzig suggests that παῖδας has dropped out (*W. B.*, pp. 20 *sq.*).

31. 10. Κλεόμμιδος. Altered into Πολύμνιδος on conjecture by Kuhn, Facius, Siebelis, and SW. On the other hand Bekker and Dindorf retain Κλεόμμιδος, which is the reading of all the MSS. See Commentary, and cp. Schubart in *Z. f. A.*, 1846, pp. 210 *sq.*

Δαμοφῶντος ὃς εἰργάσατο. Corrupt. Various emendations have been proposed. Δαμοφῶν εἰργάσατο Clavier, approved by Herwerden, p. 62. Δαμοφῶν ἐστὶν ὁ ἐργασάμενος L. Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 116. Δαμοφῶν ἐστιν ὃς εἰργάσατο Dindorf, Praef. p. xxvi. Schubart proposed Δαμοφῶν ὁ Δαμοφῶντος

εἰργάσατο (*Z. f. A.*, 1846, p. 211) or Δαμοφῶν Μεσσήνιος εἰργάσατο (Praef. 1. p. xvii.).

32. 2. * * * δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον. The editions supply the blank with Αἰθίδαν, the reading of the two MSS. (VbLa). Most MSS. read Θησέα instead of Αἰθίδαν. Facius proposed to insert οὐ before πρεσβύτερον. Siebelis would prefer to insert οὐ πολύ. The sense seems to be that Aethidas either was an older contemporary of Pausanias or had lived not long before him.

5. ἀσπίδα κοσμήσαντες ἐμήν. Read ἀσπίδι κοσμήσαντες ἐμῇ with Herwerden, *Mnemosyne*, N.S. 14 (1886), p. 45.

33. 1. τὴν Ἰθώμην. SW proposed to read τῇ Ἰθώμῃ, approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1086. But the words may be a marginal gloss on τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν.

4. θεῶν δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Καρνείου. It has been proposed by Sauppe (*Mysterieninschrift aus Andania*, p. 8) and G. Krüger (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 485) to insert καὶ Ἀγνῆς after these words.

7. ἐν τῷ Δωρίῳ. Probably a gloss on ἐνταῦθα, as Schubart (SW, 2. p. xvii.) and Herwerden (p. 62) perceived.

34. 1. ἀναθέουσι. ἀνανέουσι Valckenaer, p. 821.

4. ὃ Ἰνοῦς ἱερὸν εἶναι. Read καὶ Ἰνοῦς κ.τ.λ. with all the MSS. and editions. Schubart's conjecture (ὃ for καὶ) is quite unnecessary, as Hitzig (*Beiträge*, pp. 21 *sq.*) perceived.

7. Κόρυδον. The MSS. have Κόρυνθον or Κόρινθον. Sylburg's conjecture Κόρυδον is accepted also by Dindorf and approved by Siebelis.

8. Κολωνίδες. Schubart (*Z. f. A.*, 1846, p. 211) proposed Κολαινίδες.

35. 11. καὶ ἰδόντι. Read καὶ ἴδιόν τι with Herwerden (p. 62), an ingenious and nearly certain conjecture. J. C. Schmitt proposed μεῖζόν τι for καὶ ἰδόντι (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 479).

36. 3. τῶν βοῶν τούτων, Ἰφίκλου ποτε. There is a lacuna, as Herwerden saw. He proposed (p. 62) to insert γενομένων after ποτε, or ὄντων after τούτων.

BOOK V

2. 1. **Μολίνη.** Emperius (*Opuscula*, p. 343) suggested Μολιόνη.

3. 1. **καὶ Ἠλείοις.** Herwerden (p. 62) would omit *καί*.

4. **Ἠλεῖος ——.** 5. **Ἠλείου.** Buttmann proposed to read Δῖος —— Δίου, comparing 4. 1 (cp. 4. 2).

4. 1. **Δῖος.** Siebelis and Valckenaer (p. 818) would read Ἠλεῖος for Δῖος. Cp. above 3. 4 *sq.*

2. **ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν μένειν.** Read *ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν μένειν*, with Bekker, SW, and Dindorf. *τοῖς* is in Vb. Cp. ii. 13. 1. The reading *τοῖς αὐτῶν* is also approved by Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1088) and Hitzig (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 53).

6. **τὰ δὲ Ἠλείων γράμματα ἀρχαῖα.** We must either transpose *γράμματα* and *ἀρχαῖα* or insert *τὰ* before *ἀρχαῖα*. The latter is preferable.

5. 3. **Ἰόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἠλείας χωρίον ἐστίν.** We should perhaps insert Νέδας before Ἠλείας. I have translated accordingly. Beinert (*Disputatio de locis quibusdam ex Pausaniae Eliacis prioribus*, p. 6) proposed to substitute Νέδας for Ἠλείας. He may be right. Bursian (*Geogr. v. Griech.* 2. p. 281, note 1) would either read *ἀπὸ τῆς <Μεσσηνίας ἐπὶ τῆς> Ἠλείας* with Schäfer, or would simply substitute *Μεσσηνίας* for *Ἠλείας* with Palmer. Bencker proposed to read *ἀπὸ τῆς <Μεσσηνίας πρῶτον> Ἠλείας κ.τ.λ.* (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 36 (1890), p. 372). E. Curtius's defence of the reading in the text (*Pelop.*, 2. p. 115, note 80) is wholly inadmissible. In beginning his description of a new district, Pausanias regularly starts from the point at which he had left off his description of the preceding district. Compare ii. 38. 7 with iii. 10. 6; iv. 1. 1 with iv. 30. 1; vi. 26. 10 with vii. 17. 5; ix. 41. 6 with x. 4. 1.

6. 1. **[ταύτῃ τῇ Σαμικῷ —— χρήσασθαι].** Strike out the brackets, but enclose *τῇ Σαμικῷ* in them. So Siebelis, Bekker, SW, Dindorf, Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1088). In the preceding sentence, instead of *ἐπὶ τοῦ Σαμικοῦ* we should probably read *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ* (cancelling *Σαμικοῦ*). *αὐτοῦ* is in the MSS., *τοῦ* is a conjecture of Schubart's. *Σαμικοῦ* is bracketed by Bekker, SW, and Dindorf.

4. **ὀπίσω ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ Σκιλλοῦντος ὄψει ἐρείπια.** Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1088) proposed to read *ἐστί σοι* instead of *ὀπίσω*, and to cancel *ὄψει*. This would improve the grammar and be more in the style of Pausanias. *ὄψει*, however, is similarly used by him in ii. 23. 2, but the reading is not certain. Schubart (*Methodologie*, pp. 45 *sqq.*) defends the reading in the text.

5. **βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν.** Dindorf (Praef. p. xx.) would prefer *βασιλέα τὸν Περσῶν*, comparing vi. 18. 3; vii. 27. 6; x. 38. 4. Cp. Critical Note on viii. 46. 3.

7. 1. **ἰδόντι καί.** *ἰδεῖν τε καί* Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 343. *ἰδεῖν καί* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1089. *καὶ πιόντι* Valckenaer, p. 821. *καὶ ἰδόντι* Kuhn.

2. **ἀλλαγὴν ἐς τὸν ποταμόν.** Dindorf (Praef. p. xviii.) proposed to insert *τὴν* before *ἐς τὸν ποταμόν*.

ἐς τὴν Ὀρτυγίαν. Dindorf reads *καί* for *ἐς*. This may be right. The text is certainly wrong.

3. **πηγαῖς εὐριπείης.** Read *πηγαῖσιν ἐϋρρείτης*, the conjecture of Sylburg, accepted by Dindorf.

7. **Κομισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ὑπερβορέων γῆς κ.τ.λ.** The following passage should run thus: *κομισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ὑπερβορέων γῆς τὸν κότινόν φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐς Ἕλληνας. εἶναι δὲ ἀνθρώπους οἳ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄνεμον οἰκοῦσι τὸν Βορέαν, πρῶτος μὲν ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀχαΐαν ἐποίησεν Ὠλὴν Λύκιος, ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀχαΐαν ἐς Δῆλον ἐκ τῶν*

Ὑπερβορέων τούτων <ᾄδων> ἔπειτα δὲ ᾠδὴν κ.τ.λ. Here ᾄδων is inserted on the suggestion of Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1089; a participle to govern ἀφικέσθαι is needed. ἔπειτα δέ (instead of ἐπεὶ δέ) is the reading of LaVb, accepted by SW and Dindorf.

8. 6. ταῖς μνήμαις. Emperius conjectured τῆς μνήμης (*Opuscula*, p. 343).

τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς * * Ἄκανθος. Schubart (*Z. f. A.*, 1847, p. 219) supposes that the passage may have run thus: τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς <ἐπὶ τῷ δόλιχῳ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος> Ἄκανθος. But probably more has dropped out than Schubart supposed, for Pausanias must almost certainly have expressly mentioned the introduction of the δόλιχος or long foot-race (see Commentary). The passage may have stood somewhat thus: τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς <ὀλυμπιάδι προσετέθη σφίσι δόλιχος, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐνίκησε> Ἄκανθος. That Pausanias mentioned the nationality of Acanthus is proved by the subsequent Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τούτοις, where the words καὶ τούτοις would otherwise be meaningless, since he has as yet mentioned no other Lacedaemonian victor.

9. τὸν δρόμον. Herwerden (p. 62) would omit τόν.

9. 3. πεντάθλου μὲν καὶ δρόμου κ.τ.λ. The passage is corrupt or mutilated. Various remedies have been proposed. Cp. SW, 2. p. xiii.; Kayser, in *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1089; Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 36.

4. οἱ ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου· πεντηκοστῇ δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι. The number πεντηκοστῇ is plainly at variance with the following πέμπτῃ δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ εἰκοστῇ. Schubart (*Z. f. A.*, 1847, p. 220) proposed to read οἱ ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου πέντε· εἰκοστῇ δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1090) suggested τῇ δ' εἰκοστῇ instead of πεντηκοστῇ δέ.

10. 4. τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. The MSS. have τοῖς (or τῆς) Λακεδαιμονίοις. Kayser proposed to read θεῷ for τοί (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 361 *sq.*).

6. ἀμφοτέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ. Herwerden (p. 62) would insert δν after ἀμφοτέρων.

9. Ἄτλαντός τε τὸ φόρημα ἐκδέχεσθαι. After these words E. Curtius proposes to insert καὶ τὸν Κέρβερον ἐξ Ἅιδου κομίζειν. He thinks that Pausanias saw and described the Cerberus metope, but that the description has fallen out of the text. See E. Curtius, 'Die Tempelgiebel von Olympia,' in *Abhandl. d. kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wissen. zu Berlin*, 1891, p. 5.

11. 1. τὰ κρίνα. L. Preller (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, pp. 285 *sq.*) would read τὰ ἠρινά, comparing v. 22. 5, where the MSS. have ἄνθη τὰ ἠρινά. The emendation is rejected by Schubart (*Z. f. A.*, 1847, pp. 229 *sq.*; *ib.* 1849, p. 390).

3. οὐ γάρ πω τὰ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἡλικίας ἤδη καθειστήκει τῆς Φειδίου. The statement that the contests for boys were not yet instituted in the time of Phidias (fifth century B.C.) is certainly wrong; since Pausanias has himself told us (v. 8. 9) that they were instituted in Ol. 37 (632 B.C.). The text must be corrupt or defective. Various emendations have been proposed. K. O. Müller proposed οὐ γάρ πω τὰ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας <μεμίμηται καίπερ καὶ ταῦτα> ἐπὶ ἡλικίας ἤδη καθειστήκει τῆς Φειδίου. Kayser suggested that we should insert ἔπεστιν ἃ after παῖδας (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 358). C. Robert would read as follows: εἴη δ' ἂν ἀγωνιστῶν ἀρχαίων ταῦτα μιμήματα, τὸν δ' αὐτὸν ταινίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναδούμενον ἐοικέναι τὸ εἶδος Παντάρκει λέγουσι, μειράκιον δὲ Ἠλεῖον τὸν Παντάρκη παιδικὰ εἶναι τοῦ Φειδίου. ἀνείλετο δὲ καὶ ἐν παισὶν ὁ Παντάρκης πάλης νίκην Ὀλυμπιάδι ἕκτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα· οὐκ ἄρα πω ἐς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἡλικίας ἤδη καθειστήκει τῆς Φειδίου (*Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 451). Cp. Schubart in SW, 3. pp. xii. *sq.*; *Z. f. A.*, 1847, pp. 220 *sqq.*; *ib.* 1849, pp. 392 *sq.*

10. τῷ ἀγάλματί ἐστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1090) and Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 12) propose to insert τῷ before ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

12. 4. ἡ Γοργὼ ἡ ἐς τὰ ἀναθήματα. Read ἡ Γοργώ ἐστιν ἀναθήματα with SW and Dindorf, on conjecture. The reading in the text is nonsense.

13. 5. ἑλκύσαι. We should probably read ἀνελκύσαι with Herwerden, p. 62 (who also suggests ἐξελκύσαι).

6. τηνικαῦτα * * παρὰ Ἠλείων. Bekker conjectured τηνικαῦτα πρεσβεία παρῆν Ἠλείων, which undoubtedly restores the meaning. I have translated accordingly.

7. Ἡλακιανῆς. Read Ἡλαστήνης with the MSS. and inscriptions. See Commentary. Ἡλακιανῆς is an unfortunate conjecture of Siebelis's.

14. 4. τρίτα δὲ ἐπὶ ἑνὸς βωμοῦ * * * καὶ αὕτη καθέστηκεν ἡ θυσία. Buttmann proposed to fill up the blank thus: *Κρόνῳ θύουσι καὶ Ῥέᾳ, εἶτα Λαοίτᾳ Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι Λαοίτᾳ· ἐπὶ δὲ ἑνὸς βωμοῦ*, comparing v. 24. 1. His proposal is approved by K. O. Müller, I. Bekker, E. Curtius (*Die Altare von Olympia*, p. 8; *Gesamm. Abhandl.*, 2. p. 46), and C. Maurer (*De aris Graecorum pluribus deis in commune positis*, pp. 7 *sq.*). K. Wernicke would read the passage thus: *τρίτα· δὲ <Λαοίτᾳ Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι Λαοίτᾳ>· ἐπὶ δὲ ἑνὸς βωμοῦ καὶ αὕτη καθέστηκεν ἡ θυσία* (*Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.*, 9 (1894), p. 92). See Commentary. Cp. also Schubart in *Z. f. A.*, 1847, pp. 222 *sq.*, 225-229; Kayser, *ib.* 1848, pp. 1091 *sq.*

5. τέταρτα καὶ πέμπτα Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσι καὶ Δηίτιδι Ἀθηνᾷ. Buttmann proposed to read *πέμπτα Ἥρᾳ Λαοίτιδι θύουσι καὶ Λαοίτιδι Ἀθηνᾷ*, omitting *τέταρτα καί*, which is found only in one MS. (La). The proposal is approved by E. Curtius and C. Maurer (*ll.cc.*). See Commentary on v. 14. 4.

6. γράφομεν. Read *γράψομεν* with Porson, approved by Herwerden, p. 62, and by J. E. B. Mayor, *Journal of Philology*, 16 (1888), p. 111.

8. Ἀγνώστων. Herwerden (p. 63) would prefer Ἀγνώτων.

15. 1. τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου. Kuhn proposed to read *τὸ Λεωνίδαιον*, a change approved by A. Flasch, 'Olympia,' in *Baumeister's Denkmäler*, p. 1069, note 3. But the text is successfully explained by C. Robert in *Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 433 note. Remove the full stop after Λεωνιδαίου, and make *τοδὲ ἐκτὸς μὲν —— ἀγυιὰς ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι* a parenthesis. See Commentary.

4. ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως. Read *ἐκτὸς* for *ἐντὸς* with C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 435, approved by K. Wernicke (*Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.*, 9 (1894), p. 99). *ἐντὸς* is defended by W. Dörpfeld (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), p. 335) on the ground that the market-place, though originally outside the Altis, was included in it when the Altis was extended by Nero. But there seems to be no evidence that the space between the Council-House and the river, where the market appears to have been situated, was ever included within the Altis. See Commentary; and for the confusion of *ἐκτὸς* and *ἐντὸς* in the MSS., see Critical Note on viii. 45. 5.

5. Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ δύο ἑφεξῆς Διὸς Ὑψίστου. *δυὸ ἑφεξῆς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Διὸς Ὑψίστου* K. Wernicke (*Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.*, 9 (1894), p. 99).

7. Κοκκώκας. Valckenaer (p. 822) suggested Ὀκώκας or Ὀπώπας.

12. Ὁπόσα δὲ ᾄδουσιν —— οὐ λέγουσιν. Schubart has suggested that this sentence would come more appropriately in § 11 after the words *καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν λόγον* (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 14 (1868), p. 533).

16. 1. μῆκος δὲ εἰσι τοῦ ναοῦ πόδες τρεῖς καὶ ἑξήκοντα * * * οὐκ ἀποδεῖ. As we now know the measurements of the temple (see Commentary), we may conjecture with some probability that the text originally ran as follows: *μῆκος δὲ εἰσι τοῦ ναοῦ πόδες τρεῖς καὶ ἑξήκοντα <καὶ ἑκατόν· εὖρος δὲ ἑνὸς καὶ ἑξήκοντα> οὐκ ἀποδεῖ*. Misled by the repetition of the words *καὶ ἑξήκοντα*, the copyist overlooked and omitted the words which I have enclosed in brackets. Herwerden, p. 63, saw in general how the passage was to be emended, but his measurements are wide of the mark.

7. καὶ τἆλλα * * * ὅμως τῶν πόλεων. K. O. Müller proposed to insert *καταλυθεισῶν* before *ὅμως*. This at least gives the sense that seems wanted.

17. 1. Τῆς Ἥρας δέ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Διός * * *· τὸ δὲ Ἥρας ἄγαλμα. C. Robert is perhaps right in denying that there is a lacuna here; *ἄγαλμα* is to be mentally supplied with the first sentence from the second. Pausanias often uses similar forms of speech. Robert compares vi. 8. 4; vi. 11. 1. See C. Robert, *Archaeologische Maerchen*, pp. 112 *sq.*

2. εἶναι Μέδοντος. V. Brunn (*Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 47) would read *εἶναι μὲν Δόντα*, comparing vi. 19. 12 and 14. Cp. the note on the latter passage. C. Robert defends the reading in the text (*Archaeologische Maerchen*, pp. 111 *sq.*).

4. Καρχηδόνιος. Read Καλχηδόνιος with K. O. Müller, *Archaeologie der Kunst*, § 159. 1. Müller's conjecture is accepted by Dindorf and approved by H. v. Brunn. See v. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, i. p. 500, and especially in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph.-philolog. Class, 1880, pp. 484 *sq.* The reading Καρχηδόνιος is defended by Schubart in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 9 (1863), pp. 308-310. It occurred to Schubart that the name Boethus might be a Punic name disguised. Accordingly he applied to Prof. Franz Dietrich of Marburg, who suggested that Boethus might be either a transla-

tion of Ezra, 'help,' or a corruption of Bo-nith, 'the servant of Naith' (Astarte).

Εὐρυδίκη τε ἡ Φιλίππου * * * Buttmann proposed to read *Εὐρυδίκη τε ἡ Ἀριδαίου γυνὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιὰς ἡ Φιλίππου.* Cp. v. 20. 10.

6. **γραμμάτων.** We should perhaps read *ἐπιγραμμάτων* with H. Stuart Jones (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 55). I have translated accordingly. Compare, however, v. 20. 1 *ἐς κύκλου σχῆμα περίειστν ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τὰ γράμματα.*

8. **τοῦ θυμοῦ * * * ἐκείνης ἂν ἀποσχέσθαι.** The blank is to be supplied with some such words as *ὥστε δοκεῖ μόλις*, as H. Stuart Jones conjectured (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 56).

18. 1. **τῷ καθεύδοντι.** Omit *τῷ*, which is a conjecture of Schubart's.

2. **κομίζουσα.** Read *κολάζουσα* with C. Robert, *Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 443 note. The change is only MI into ΛΑ. It had been previously suggested by Schubart (vol. 1. p. xxi. of the Teubner ed., and *Methodologie*, p. 21). See Commentary.

τὰν ἐκ ναοῦ πάλιν ἄγει. Read *τὰν Εὐανοῦ ἄγει πάλιν* with W. Fröhner, *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F., 47 (1892), p. 290. The conjecture is accepted by H. Stuart Jones, *Journ. Hellen. Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 58. Marpessa was a daughter of Evenus (Apollodorus, 1. 7, 8; Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 557).

3. **τῶν Ἑλλήνων.** H. Stuart Jones (*l.c.*) inserts *ὑπὸ* before these words; but this is worse than needless.

4. **οὗτος τάχ' ἄναξ.** Here *τάχα* is certainly wrong. Read *οὗτός γα Fάναξ* with Haupt, *Opuscula*, 3. p. 466. Haupt did not propose to insert the *F*, but other scholars, who have accepted his emendation, have seen that the *F* probably stood in the archaic inscription on the chest, and was misread by Pausanias, or, as some think, by the writer from whom he copied. Cp. Hirt, *De fontibus Pausaniae in Eliacis*, pp. 42 *sqq.*; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, note on No. 742; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, note on No. 228; C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 436. Herwerden (p. 63) independently proposed to read *οὗτός γε ἄναξ.* Emperius conjectured *οὗλος τάδ'* for *οὗτος τάχ'* (*Opuscula*, p. 343). R. Unger proposed *αὐτὸς τάδ'* (*Philologus*, 33 (1874), p. 367).

19. 1. **ἀγών.** H. Stuart Jones inserts *ἐστὶν* before *ἀγών* (*Journ. Hellen. Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 61). A verb seems wanted.

ἐοικυῖαν πρὸς ταύτην. This is a conjecture of Schubart's, but it is not Greek. Schubart vainly defends it by comparing x. 34. 3, where *ἐοικυῖαι* is a false reading (see Critical Note on the passage). In the present passage read *ἐοικυῖαν δὲ ταύτῃ*, a better conjecture of Schubart's, which is accepted by H. Stuart Jones (*Journ. Hellen. Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 61). The MSS. read *ἐοικυῖα· πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃ.*

3. **Αἴθραν δ' ἑλκεῖτον | Ἀθάναθεν.** Bergk proposed to read *Ἀφίδναθεν* for *Ἀθάναθεν* (*Archäologische Zeitung*, 3 (1845), p. 173), and various other attempts have been made to emend the inscription. Cp. Schubart, Praef. pp. xxi. *sq.*; *id. Methodologie*, p. 98; C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 23 (1888), pp. 436 *sqq.*; R. Wagner, *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 152 *sqq.*; H. Stuart Jones in *Journ. Hellen. Stud.*, 14 (1894), pp. 76 *sq.* Bergk's conjecture is approved by J. Töpffer (*Aus der Anomia*, p. 36, note 1), and accepted by H. Stuart Jones (*Journ. Hellen. Stud.*, 14 (1894), p. 61).

6. **ὄπισθεν ἕστηκεν.** A noun like *γυνὴ* seems needed before or after *ἕστηκεν*, as Sylburg and Facius conjectured.

περὶ αὐτό. Read *περὶ αὐτὸν* with all the MSS. *αὐτὸ* is a conjecture of Bergk's (*Archäologische Zeitung*, 3 (1845), p. 175).

10. **κατειργασμένον.** Read *εἰργασμένον* with Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1093, and Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 20. *κατεργάζεσθαι* cannot be used in the sense of making a work of art. The *κατ* arose from the *κα* in the preceding *λάρνακα.*

20. 2. **Πασιτέλους, Πασιτέλην.** Thiersch conjectured that we should read *Πραξιτέλους, Πραξιτέλη.* The conjecture is accepted or regarded as probable by Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*[4], 1. p. 499; W. Klein in *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 4 (1880), p. 5; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 250. They think that the Praxiteles referred to is the grandfather of the celebrated Praxiteles. (See the Commentary on i. 2. 4.) Prof. H. v. Brunn does not accept the emendation. He justly observes that a rare name like Pasiteles was more likely to be altered into Praxiteles than *vice versa* (*Gesch.*

d. griech. Künstler, i. p. 243; *id.* in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph.-philolog. Class, 1880, pp. 437 *sq.*).

9. μεγέθει μέγαν. Insert οὐ before μέγαν with Flasch (*Baumeister's Denkmäler*, p. 1104, note 3). See Commentary. The negative particle is not uncommonly omitted in the MSS. of Pausanias. See Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 86.

21. 3. πρῶτοι δέ. Hitzig would read πρῶτον for πρῶτοι (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 57).

ἐλθόντας. ἐσελθόντας Valckenaer, p. 822; Herwerden, p. 63.

5. οὔτε ἀποδιδόντες τὰ χρήματα καὶ Ὀλυμπίων εἰργόμενοι. Hitzig would change οὔτε into οὐκ, the sense being, according to him, 'they would not pay the fine even though they were excluded from the Olympic festival' (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 57). But εἴργεσθαι here means, not 'to be excluded from,' but 'to voluntarily abstain from.' The word is so used by Pausanias, v. 2. 2; cp. vi. 3. 9; vi. 16. 2; and for other examples of this use see Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, *s.v.*

7. τὰ δὲ ἐπιγράμματα ἐπὶ τῷ κ.τ.λ. We should probably insert τὰ before ἐπί, with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 12.

16. τοῦ Σωσάνδρου τῷ παιδί. Read πατρὶ for παιδί with Valckenaer (p. 824). Hitzig approves of the conjecture, which is strongly supported by what follows in § 17.

22. 5. κρίνα. The MSS. have ἠρινά, except Lb, which has ἠρίνα. κρίνα is a conjecture of Palmer's, accepted also by SW and Dindorf. Cp. v. 11. 1. The reading ἠρινὰ is defended by Preller (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, pp. 285-287), who in v. 11. 1 would alter κρίνα into ἠρινά. The reading κρίνα in both places is defended by Schubart, *Z. f. A.*, 1847, pp. 229 *sq.*; *ib.* 1849, p. 390.

23. 3. τὰ ἐς πλάστας. This is a conjecture of Schubart's for τὰ ἐς Πλαταιάς, the reading of the MSS. He compares v. 20. 2.

7. καὶ * * μετρεῖτ' Ἀρίστων ἠδὲ Τελέστας. Kayser proposed to restore this and the following verse thus:

> οἱ δ' ἔργον τελέσαντες Ἀρίστων ἠδὲ Τελέστας
> αὐτοκασίγνητοί τ' ἠδὲ Λάκωνες ἔσαν.

See *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 360 *sq.*

24. 10. ἢ τῶν ἵππων. καὶ τῶν ἵππων?

25. 9. ἐπίθημα. ἐπίσημα? See Critical Note on iv. 16. 7.

10. τ' Ἀχαιοί. Read τἀχαιοί (*i.e.* τοὶ Ἀχαιοί): and for examples of a similar crasis in inscriptions (τἀργεῖοι), see Roehl, *I. G. A.*, Nos. 32, 33; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 75.

13. τῷ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν. Read τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, as Schubart proposed (SW, 2. p. xxiii.).

Υἱὸς μέν. Τἱὸς ἐών Kayser, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 359.

26. 5. οὔ φησιν. Omit οὔ, which is a conjecture of Sieβelis's, accepted also by SW and Dindorf. One MS., however (La), has οὐκ ἐν Τεγέᾳ φησὶν αὐτόν. But the inscriptions found at Olympia *do* affirm that Micythus lived at Tegea. See Commentary. Cp. Kayser in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 366 *sq.*

27. 3. δῆλα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα —— συμβαίνοντα τῷ ἵππῳ. These words are corrupt. Kayser conjectured: δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλᾳ, ὅτι μόνον ἀνδρὸς μάγου σοφίᾳ γίνεται τὰ συμβαίνοντα τῷ ἵππῳ (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1094). Herwerden (p. 63) proposed δῆλα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς κ.τ.λ.

10. κατὰ * * τὸ ἀνάθημα. Boeckh conjectured καταλείπειν τὸ ἀνάθημα. Bekker suggested κατὰ χώραν ἐᾶν τὸ ἀνάθημα. Either of these conjectures would give the requisite sense.

12. Σίπτην. A. S. Murray has proposed to read Σκίρτην. He refers to the Σκίρτιοι of Paeonia, the Σκίρτοι of Dalmatia, and to Leake, *Northern Greece*, 3. p. 292. See the *Academy*, 2nd October, 1886, p. 230.

BOOK VI

1. 2. **αὐτοῖς εἶχεν ἐς δόξαν.** Bekker proposed to insert *τι* after *αὐτοῖς*. Some such nominative to the verb is certainly needed. Cp. i. 2. 4.

2. 2. **ἀνέθηκε δὲ καί.** After these words H. v. Brunn would insert *Ἀρκεσίλαος*. See v. Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph.-philolog. Class, 1880, pp. 479 *sq.* If we accept this emendation, the two statues were made by Myron for Arcesilaus, not for Lycinus, and the chronological difficulty which otherwise besets the passage (see Commentary) is got rid of.

5. **Κύπριοι δὲ [ὡς] καὶ ὑσὶν ἐπεξευρόντες εἰσὶ μαντεύεσθαι.** For *εἰσὶ* some MSS. read *ἐστὶ* or *ἔστι*. Kayser conjectured *Κύπριοι δὲ καὶ ὑσὶν ἐπεξεῦρον ὡς ἔστι μαντεύεσθαι* (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1095).

3. 11. **ὃς ἀπὸ Ἀριστοκλέους —— μαθητής.** We must either cancel *ὃς* or, better, supply the sentence with a verb, such as *ἦν* or *ἐγένετο*. The verb *ἦν* might easily have dropped out after *μαθητής*.

13. **Ἐφέσιος —— Σικυώνιος.** Hitzig thinks we should read either *Ἐφέσιος —— Ἐφέσιος*, or *Σικυώνιος —— Σικυώνιος* (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 57). The sense of the passage seems to require one or other of these changes.

4. 11. **πολιτείας τετύχηκεν, [ὃς] καὶ πολλά.** Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, pp. 1095 *sq.*) would read *πολιτείας τε ἔτυχεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ πολλὰ κ.τ.λ.* Haupt proposed *πολιτείας τ' ἔτυχε καὶ πολλὰ κ.τ.λ.* (*Hermes*, 4 (1870), p. 30; *Opuscula*, 3. p. 448).

6. 6. **τὸ μὲν τῷ θεῷ.** Dindorf (Praef. p. xxiv.) suggested *τό τε τῷ θεῷ*.

7. 1. **ἐπὶ παισί.** *ἐν παισί* Schubart, *Z. f. A.*, 1847, p. 293. The conjecture is probably right.

7. **ἐθέλειν μοι φαίνεται Λακεδαιμονίους.** A nominative like *τὸ δαιμόνιον* or *θεός τις* seems wanted, and should perhaps be inserted after *Λακεδαιμονίους*.

8. 2. **ἄλλα ἀνδρῶν.** Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1097) approves of Coraes's proposal to insert *ὑπ'* before *ἀνδρῶν*. The preposition seems necessary.

11. 5. **ἢ παγκρατίου.** We should probably read *καὶ παγκρατίου* with Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 26; *W. B.*, p. 20. *καὶ* and *ἢ* are said to be very commonly confused in the MSS.

7. **κατάγεσθαι —— καταχθέντες.** Read *καταδέχεσθαι* and *καταδεχθέντες* with all the MSS., except Vb which has *καταχθέντες*. There is no reason for deserting the MSS., as SW, Dindorf, and Schubart do.

12. 2. **ἀρχὴν εἶχεν.** Read *ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν*.

4. **τῶν δορυφόρων ἄλλοι.** As no other guards are mentioned, it would seem that some words have fallen out, perhaps in consequence of a repetition of *ἄλλοι*, thus *ἄλλοι μὲν —— ἄλλοι δέ*.

7. **ὁμώνυμόν τε αὐτῷ καί.** Here *τε* and *καὶ* should perhaps be omitted. Cp. SW, vol. 1. praef. p. liii.

13. 4. **ὡς ἕκαστοι συνταχθῶσιν.** This can scarcely be right. Should we read *ὅπως ἂν ἕκαστοι συνταχθῶσιν*?

8. **τοὺς Νεμέᾳ * * τας.** J. C. Schmitt (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 479) proposed to read *τοὺς Νέμεια καὶ Ἴσθμια νενικηκότας*. Schubart (*Z. f. A.*, 1847, p. 296) proposed *τοὺς Νεμέᾳ καὶ Ἰσθμῷ νικήσαντας*. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1098) thought that the true reading was *τοὺς νενικηκότας*.

14. 2. **ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐνίκησεν.** These words appear to be a gloss.

15. 3. **τούς τε τὴν πυγμήν.** *τούς τε ἐς τὴν πυγμήν*?

9. ἐφ' ἑκατέρου. Read ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ with Hitzig (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 57).

16. 8. ὁδοῦ δὲ τῆς ἐς Δακεδαίμονα κ.τ.λ. One or more words seem to have dropped out, such as φησί (or λέγει) τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, or simply φησί. Cp. vi. 19. 6 and 15.

17. 8. Καρμαντίδου. Read Χαρμαντίδου with the inscription on Gorgias's statue. See Commentary. Suidas, *s.v.* Γοργίας, has preserved the correct form of the name.

19. 5. Μύανες. The correct form is Μυανεῖς, as we learn from Delphic inscriptions. The form Μύανες is probably due to a misreading of the old inscription ΜΥΑΝΕΣ (*i.e.* Μυανῆς) on the shield. See Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.*, No. 462, note 4. Stephanus Byzantius has the incorrect form Μύονες (*s.vv.* Μυονία and Μύων).

11. περίβολοι. Qu. περίβολος?

20. 2. κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον. After these words Bursian proposed to insert τεῖχος (*Geogr. v. Griech.*, 2. p. 297, n. 2). C. Robert suggested that τοῦ Ἡραίου (cp. vi. 19. 1) or τῆς Ἀλτεως has fallen out after τὴν ἄρκτον, or that ἄρκτον should be changed into Ἄλτιν (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 18 (1893), p. 38).

3. ἐπισπένδειν. ἐπεὶ σπένδειν Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 51.

7. ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. Read ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν with Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 7; *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 50). This is preferable to οἱ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ proposed by Herwerden (p. 64).

8. διὰ δὲ αὐτῆς —— τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. The principal verb of the sentence is wanting. Siebelis conjectured that καθέστηκε has dropped out, comparing vi. 24. 1. This may be right.

9. λόγῳ Ἠλείων. Insert τῷ after λόγῳ with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 10. Cp. v. 27. 3.

14. καὶ φρονῆσαί γε κ.τ.λ. A verb is wanted to govern φρονῆσαι. Perhaps λέγεται should be inserted after φρονῆσαί γε. Or perhaps we should rather alter φρονῆσαι into φρονήσας with Sylburg.

21. 1. τὸ ἅρμα. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1100) would insert ἵνα δέξαιτο before these words.

3. ἀνέχοντες. We must either read ἔχοντες with Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 704, n. 2, or, better, omit the word altogether, as K. O. Müller preferred to do. The word is wanting in La.

4. ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ. Clavier proposed to read τόπου for τοῦ. SW (Praef. p. liv.) proposed to omit τοῦ, comparing iv. 34. 8; viii. 39. 5; x. 37. 3; x. 38. 8. They are probably right.

5. Διαβήσῃ τε δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν Ἀλφειόν. For τὸν Ἀλφειὸν E. Curtius would read τὸν ποταμόν, referring it to the river Leucyanias (*Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 108; *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1. p. 223, note 3). Schubart inclined to accept this emendation (*Methodologie*, p. 97).

τῆς Πισαίας. A. Michaelis proposed to read τῆς Φριξαίας. See *Philologus*, 24 (1866), pp. 166 *sq.* But the change would probably be wrong, for the district in question seems to have been within the territory of Pisa. See § 4.

6. καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔστιν. Herwerden (p. 64) proposed to insert ἔτι before ἔστιν.

22. 9. αἷς παίζων συνῆν αὐτῇ. These words seem corrupt or interpolated. I have omitted them in the translation. Buttmann conjectured αἳ παίζουσαι συνῆσαν αὐτῇ. Seemann proposed αἷς παίζουσα συνῆν αὐτῇ (*Quaestiones*, p. 11).

24. 3. πρὸς αὐτούς. Read πρὸς αὐτοῖς with Coraes.

ἡ διείργουσα. We should perhaps omit ἡ with Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1101.

7. Χάριτας δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ μάλιστα εἶναι θεῶν. An adjective like φίλας or συγγενεῖς seems needed. To understand οἰκείας from οἰκεῖα in the preceding clause would be very harsh and indeed scarcely legitimate.

26. 1. τὸ θέατρόν τε. These words seem superfluous, and should perhaps be omitted, as Coraes suggested. They are bracketed by SW and Dindorf.

BOOK VII

1. 3. **οἰκήσαντι.** *οἰκίσαντι* Herwerden, p. 64.
9. **ἐξεδέξαντο.** *ἐδέξαντο* Herwerden, p. 64.
2. 2. **ὄχλοις τε ἀλλοίοις.** *ὄχλος τε ἀλλοῖος* Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 343.
7. **ἐπιστάμεναί τε.** The *τε* has nothing to correspond to it. It may have been inserted by a copyist who connected *καὶ ἡνίκα Ἡρακλέα ἔφυγον* with the participial clause instead of with the preceding *ἔθυσαν μὲν καὶ τότε*.
11. **ἐνόσησε.** The MSS. have *ἐνόστησε*, except Vb, which has *ἐνόησε*. The reading *ἐνόσησε* is a conjecture of Sylburg's, accepted by Dindorf and approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1849, p. 289. On the other hand Palmer (quoted by SW) and Herwerden (p. 64) defend *ἐνόστησε*, which they understand to mean 'became fresh.' They are probably right. I have translated accordingly.
3. 3. **ἐν τῇ Νάξῳ.** Herwerden (p. 62) regards these words as a gloss on *αὐτόθι*.
5. **ἐλαύνουσι.** *ἐξελαύνουσι* Herwerden, p. 64.
4. 1. **ἐπ' αὐτῷ.** *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς* or *ἐπὶ τούτοις* J. C. Schmitt, *Philologus*, 11 (1856), pp. 472 *sq.* Hitzig defends *ἐπ' αὐτῷ* (*W. B.*, p. 19).
3. **διαβάντες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τούς τε Ἐφεσίους ἐκβάλλουσι.** We should probably either read *ἐς τὴν Σάμον* with Hitzig (*W. B.*, pp. 6 *sq.*) and Herwerden (p. 64), or place *ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ* after *τούς τε*. Or the words *ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ* may be a gloss, as Schubart afterwards thought (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 22 (1876), p. 396).
5. 10. **Ἀλιταίαν.** Valckenaer (p. 824) conjectured Ἀλιπέα, comparing *Etymolog. Magn.* p. 60 *s.v.* Ἀλειπής, *πηγὴ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, οὕτω καλουμένη· παρὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐπιλείπειν θέρους, ἢ πλεονάζειν χειμῶνος*. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v. 115) mentions a fountain called Callippia in Ephesus; some MSS. of Pliny read *Callipia* or *Calipia*, and it is said that one MS. reads *Alipia*. Hence Siebelis conjectured that in the present passage of Pausanias we should read Ἀλιπίαν.
6. 4. **ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν —— εἶχον γνώμην.** The passage is corrupt. Cp. Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1849, p. 293.
8. **τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις πταῖσμα.** A word like *ἐταπείνωσεν* or *καθεῖλε* (cp. 17. 2) seems to have dropped out after *πταῖσμα*.
8. 7. **λόφοις.** The reading of the MSS. is *ἐν λόγοις*. G. Hermann proposed to read *εὐλόγως*, which was accepted by SW. Emperius (*Opuscula*, p. 343) suggested *ὀλίγοις*: Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 28) *ἐνδόξως*. The passage is corrupt. Cp. Schubart's preface, 2. p. iv.; Kayser in *Z. f. A.*, 1849, pp. 293 *sq.* Seemann would read *ἐν λόφοις Κυνὸς καλουμέναις Κεφαλαῖς* (*Quaestiones*, p. 8).
9. 6. **κατὰ αἰτίαν ταύτην.** We should probably insert *τὴν* before *αἰτίαν*, as Dindorf (Praef. p. xviii.) suggested, comparing vii. 10. 9; vii. 17. 5.
7. **οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ Φιλίππου.** The words *ἐπὶ τὰ* should perhaps be omitted, as Kayser thought, *Z. f. A.*, 1849, p. 291. Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 8), however, defends them, and his defence is plausible.
10. 6. **ἐπί τε * * Σαπαίων.** Schleiermacher proposed to insert *Σαπαίους καὶ* in the lacuna.
9. **οὗτος οὐκ ἐλαχίστου λόγου.** A verb seems to have dropped out. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1849, p. 294) suggested *ἦν δὲ οὗτος κ.τ.λ.*: Dindorf (Praef. p. xxvi) *ἦν δὲ ὁ Ξένων οὗτος*. The latter is probably right. The accidental omission of the words was probably due to the repetition of *Ξένων*. Dindorf compares viii. 53. 2.
οὔτε εὐνοίας. *οὐδὲ εὐνοίας* Herwerden, p. 65.
11. 6. **ἀνθρώπων γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ.** Herwerden (p. 65) would insert *τῶν* after *γάρ*.

7. κατέφευγόν τε ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοὺς * * τιμωρῆσαί σφισιν. Vb seems to read καταφεύγοντες ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τιμωρῆσαι σφισιν ἐδέοντο, which is approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1849, pp. 294 *sq.* But would not καταφύγοντες be necessary?

ἄγῃ. ἐνάγῃ Herwerden, p. 65.

8. [τῆς βοηθείας]. There is no reason for bracketing these words here and inserting them in 12. 1 as Schubart does. Herwerden (p. 65) rightly objects to both changes.

13. 7. μεμνηκυίας δι * * * ας ὅμως. G. Krüger thought that δι ας is a mere repetition of the last part of the preceding word, and that before ὅμως a word like ἐτόλμησε has dropped out (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 486, note 12). SW think that a whole line has fallen out between δι and ας. See their preface, pp. xliii. *sq.* A number of MSS. read πείθει before ὅμως. SW and Dindorf retain πείθει in this position; the older editions place it after ὑπερβῆναι. In the translation I have kept πείθει as it has MS. authority and gives an adequate meaning.

8. Λακεδαιμονίοις σωτηρίαν. G. Krüger would omit Λακεδαιμονίοις (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), pp. 486 *sq.*).

ἐν τῷ [ἑαυτοῦ νῷ] τότε μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων. Emperius (*Opuscula*, p. 343) proposed to read βίῳ for νῷ: but this is scarcely an improvement. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1849, p. 295) proposed ἐν τῷ τότε αὐτῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων κ.τ.λ. Madvig (*Adversaria*, 1. p. 706) proposed ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ or ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ.

14. 2. οἱ Κορίνθῳ. οἱ ἐν Κορίνθῳ Herwerden, p. 65.

6. ποιεῖ τὸ ἔγκλημα. Read ποιεῖται ἔγκλημα with M and the older editions (Kuhn, Facius, Siebelis), approved by Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 14, and Herwerden, p. 65. Hitzig compares i. 13. 2; iii. 2. 3; iii. 9. 10.

ἐσηγγέλλοντο. Read ἐπηγγέλλοντο with Vb, approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1849, p. 296.

15. 1. ἀφικνοῖτο. This is a conjecture of Bekker's for ἀφίκοιτο, the reading of the MSS. Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1849, p. 296, proposed ἀφίξοιτο, which is preferable.

16. 10. δι' Ἀχαιῶν. Omit δι'.

17. 2. Λακεδαιμονίοις —— πόλεμος ἐγένετο. Krüger proposed to insert ὅλεθρος after ἐγένετο (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), pp. 485 *sq.*). But most of the MSS. read Λακεδαιμονίους. Hence Sylburg proposed ἐσίνετο for ἐγένετο, and his conjecture is accepted by Dindorf. On the whole passage, see Schubart, Praef. p. vi.; SW, Praef. pp. lviii. *sq.*

εὐθύ. Read αὖου with Buttman, approved by Krüger, *l.c.*, Kayser, *l.c.*, and Herwerden, p. 65. It is accepted by Dindorf.

5. ὅσον τε τριάκοντα. The MSS. have τριακοσίους or τετρακοσίους, both of which are certainly wrong. Boblaye (*Recherches Géographiques*, p. 20) would read τετταράκοντα. According to Leake (*Morea*, 2. p. 166) the true distance is 50 furlongs.

πολεμων (*sic*). Read πόλεων with SW, Dindorf, and Emperius (*Opuscula*, p. 344).

7. ἐπάγεσθαι. ἐσάγεσθαι or ἐπεσάγεσθαι Herwerden, p. 55.

τῶν ὑστέρων. We must insert ἀντὶ or μᾶλλον or πρὸ before τῶν ὑστέρων, as Bekker and Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1849, p. 297) perceived.

9. ἀπόρρητον. We should probably read ἀπόρρητον ὄν, a reading approved by Kuhn and Facius, though not adopted by them. I translate accordingly.

10. δήσαντες. Read δείσαντες with all the MSS. δήσαντες is a conjecture of SW.

13. δρομέως Οἰβώτα * * * νικήσαντι Ὀλύμπια Ἀχαιῶν πρώτῳ. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1849, pp. 297 *sq.*) proposed to read δρομέως ἐστὶν Οἰβώτα τάφος· νίκην τούτῳ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Ἀχαίων πρώτῳ κ.τ.λ. This at least gives the probable sense of the passage.

18. 2. οἰκίσαι. ἀρόσαι Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1849, p. 298, perhaps rightly. The MSS. have οἰκῆσαι.

12. ἐπὶ ἐλάφων. Herwerden, p. 65, would omit ἐπί.

19. 5. μόνῳ. We should perhaps read μόνον, as was proposed by Bekker and also by Valckenaer, p. 825, with Hitzig's approval.

20. 1. θύοντες. Read θύσοντες, as Sylburg conjectured.

9. τούτου δὲ τοῦ τεμένους ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς Πατρεῦσιν ἱερά. A word like ἔνδον, ἐγγύς, or προσεχῆ seems to have dropped out after τεμένους. Perhaps the

word was *ἐχόμενα*. Cp. § 6 of this chapter; vi. 19. 9; vii. 21. 11; vii. 26. 12; viii. 1. 1; viii. 12. 7; viii. 17. 5; viii. 25. 1, etc.

21. 4. **ἔργον.** Read *ἔργῳ*, as Sylburg conjectured.

7. **Πελαγαῖος καὶ Ἀσφάλιος.** *Πελάγιος καὶ Ἀσφάλειος* Herwerden, p. 65.

9. **τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους ὕμνων.** Insert *τῶν* before *ὕμνων* with Dindorf. See his preface, p. xvii.

22. 4 and 5. **Φαρεῖς —— Φαρεῦσι.** Valckenaer (p. 825) would write *Φαραιεῖς —— Φαραιεῦσι*.

23. 3. **λουομένοις ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ λήθην ἔρωτος γίνεσθαι.** Schubart regarded these words as a gloss (*Methodologie*, p. 78). As the words stand, the asyndeton is intolerable. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1849, p. 291) would insert *γάρ* (after *λουομένοις*, I suppose). J. C. Schmitt proposed to write *λήθης ἔρωτος γινομένης* (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 479).

6. **ἐκτέταται.** As the coins of Aegium represent Ilithyia (?) holding a torch in each hand, Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner suggest that the word *δᾷς* has fallen out after *ἐκτέταται* (*Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 83). Hitzig would alter *ἐκτέταται* into *ἐκτείνει* (*Beiträge*, pp. 26 *sq.*).

8. **Ὑγιείαν τε ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ παιδὶ εἶναι.** The MSS. have *ἦν* for *εἶναι*. Kayser would read *Ἀσκληπιὸν* for *παιδὶ ἦν* (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 352). The emendation, though bold, is probably correct, and I have translated accordingly. Both J. C. Schmitt (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 473) and G. Krüger (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 485) saw that the words *καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν* are needed to correspond to the preceding *Ὑγιείαν τε*, but they would have inserted them before *ὀνομάζεσθαι*, thus retaining the corrupt *καὶ παιδὶ ἦν*. Madvig also perceived that another name was required to answer to *Ὑγιειαν*, but he wrongly conjectured that the missing name might be *Ἡλιάδα* (*Adversaria*, 1. pp. 144 *sq.*).

10. **κατευθὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ.** Read *ἐσόδου* for *ὁδοῦ*, as Siebelis proposed. The conjecture is approved by Walz (SW, 3. p. xv.) and is accepted by Schubart in his translation. Cp. v. 11. 3 *κατ' εὐθὺ τῆς ἐσόδου*. See also x. 26. 4 with the Commentary.

11. **ἀναλούμενα —— αὐτούς.** *ἀνηλωμένα —— οὕτω* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1849, p. 299.

24. 3. **ἱερουμένων.** *ἱερωμένων* Herwerden, p. 57. Cp. Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 16.

4. **ἱερουμένου.** *ἱερωμένου* Herwerden, p. 57.

8. **ὑφήγησις.** Read *ὑπήχησις* with Kuhn (*ὑφήχησις*) and Herwerden, p. 66.

10. **προάγει.** *προύργου* Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 344; he would also omit the *ἤ* after the following *μᾶλλον*. This latter correction is necessary, and the former may be right also; for *προάγει* can hardly stand.

11. **[εἶτ'] εὐθύ.** This can hardly be right. Should we read *κατ' εὐθύ*? Cp. v. 11. 3; vii. 23. 10; x. 26. 4.

ἔργα. *ἔρνη* Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 707.

13. **τοιοῦτό γε δὴ κατέλαβεν κ.τ.λ.** Preller would rewrite this sentence as follows: *τοιοῦτό γε δὴ κατέλαβεν ἐν Σιπύλῳ καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἕτερον τὴν ἰδέαν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς χάσμα ἀφανισθῆναι* (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 116). Kayser conjectured *τοιούτῳ γε δὴ κατέλαβε ἑτέρῳ τὴν ἰδέαν* (*sc. σεισμῷ*) *Σίπυλον πόλιν ἐς χάσμα ἀφανισθῆναι* (*Z. f. A.*, 1849, p. 299).

ἡ ἰδέα. Herwerden (p. 66) would omit these words, as a copyist's repetition of the preceding *τὴν ἰδέαν*. They certainly seem out of place here.

25. 3. **ὕστερον αὐτοί.** *ὕστερον αὐτῶν* Herwerden, p. 66.

6. **πλέον μὲν ἥμισυ.** Read *πλέον μὲν ἢ ἥμισυ* with Herwerden, p. 66.

7. **θέλων θεάσασθαι.** Herwerden (p. 66) thinks these words a gloss.

μέγεθος. *μεγέθει* Herwerden, p. 66.

9. **αὐτοί.** *αὖθις* Herwerden, p. 66.

10. **ὑπὸ πίνακι.** *ἐπὶ πίνακι* Facius, approved by Herwerden, p. 66.

ἀστραγάλῳ σχῆμά τι. *ἀστραγάλων σχήματι* Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 344.

13. **ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Γαῖον· Γῆς δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν ὁ Γαῖος.** *ἐπὶ τὸ καλούμενον Γαῖον· Γῆς δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν τὸ Γαῖον*, K. Wernicke, *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 9 (1894), p. 97, note 11.

26. 9. **καὶ ὁ * * ἐνδεδυκὼς θώρακα. ἐς τοῦτόν φασιν κ.τ.λ.** For *καὶ ὁ* some MSS. have *ὁ δέ*: others have neither *καὶ ὁ* nor *ὁ δέ*. Madvig (*Adversaria*, 1. p. 707) proposed to read *ὁ ἐνδεδυκὼς δὲ θώρακα εἰς. τοῦτόν φασιν κ.τ.λ.* This may be right; it explains the origin of *ἐς*, which is certainly out of place.

14. Ἀριστοναῦται —— Ἀριστοναύτας. La has ἄργοστοναῦται —— ἄργοστοναυτας. Schubart thinks that the true reading is Ἀργοναῦται —— Ἀργοναύτας (*Methodologie*, pp. 56 *sq.*). Bursian (*Geogr. v. Griechenland*, 2. p. 343, note 1) thinks the emendation probable. But the form Ἀριστοναῦται occurs also in ii. 12. 2.

27. 1. πεπόλισται. ἐπιπεπόλισται Hitzig, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 50.

εἰργασμένον. εὖ εἰργασμένον Herwerden, p. 66.

10. ἐς ἀλλήλους. Herwerden, p. 66, regards these words as interpolated.

12. Σύθας. The MSS. have τίς. See ii. 7. 8; ii. 12. 2. Another proposed correction is Σῦς, for Ptolemy (iii. 14. 28) mentions the mouth of the river Σῦς in the land of Sicyon. Σύθας and Σῦς were probably the same river.

BOOK VIII

1. 1. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον —— ὅσα ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Ἀργείας. The text here can hardly be right, but I do not see how to correct it. The editors seem to find no difficulty.

4. εἰκὸς δὲ ἔχει τοῦ λόγου. We should expect τὸ δὲ εἰκὸς ἔχει τοῦ λόγου. Cp. viii. 12. 7.

2. 5. κολακείᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερέχον. Hitzig thinks we should expect κολακείᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερέχον (*W. B.*, p. 11).

3. 3. ἡ Θυρέα ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι γῇ. Hitzig would insert ἡ before ἐν (*W. B.*, p. 13).

Θυραιάτα. We should probably read Θυραίου with Sylburg, Siebelis, Bekker, SW, and Dindorf. See 35. 7. Facius also approved of the correction, though he did not put it in his text.

4. 1. ἄλλα, τὰ ἐς ταλασσίαν. We should perhaps insert τὰ before ἄλλα, with Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 385.

παρ' Ἀδρίστα. παρὰ Μαίας, Kayser, *l.c.*, and *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 355, comparing Apollodorus, iii. 8. 2.

10. τοῦ πλοῦ μετέσχεν ἐς Κόλχους. Hitzig would insert τοῦ before ἐς (*W. B.*, p. 13).

5. 3. ἑᾷ δ'. Spengel proposed to read Ἀλέᾳ δ' (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 362).

5. οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς συμφορᾶς. See Critical Note on iv. 29. 1.

7. 4. τὴν πηγὴν αὐτόθι. We should perhaps insert τὴν before αὐτόθι, as Dindorf suggested, Praef. p. xix.

Φιλίππιον. Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 17) would write Φιλίππειον, comparing v. 17. 4; v. 20. 9; viii. 30. 6.

5. ἐπιδείξασθαι. Herwerden (pp. 55 *sq.*) would read ἀποδείξασθαι. But see Critical Note on i. 25. 5.

7. ἐπιβεβλημένου. Kuhn's conjecture ὑποβεβλημένου is approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 385.

[Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατος]. Probably a gloss on τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον. Cp. Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 77.

8. τοῦ ἐς Γλαῦκον. Hitzig (*W. B.*, pp. 14 *sq.*) approves of Schubart's conjecture τῶν for τοῦ. Kayser proposed to insert τοῦ ἔπους before τοῦ ἐς, and to omit the following τὸ ἔπος (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 385).

8. 1. μοῖρα μὲν καὶ αὐτή. Hitzig is probably right in saying that these words were in apposition to the subject of the sentence, which subject has fallen out after μάλιστα (*W. B.*, p. 22).

4. τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ὀνομάζουσι. Insert Πτόλιν after ἣν with Herwerden, pp. 66 *sq.* Cp. 12. 7.

5. περὶ Φιλοκτήτου μέν. Kayser would insert γὰρ after these words (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 386).

8. ἡ δὲ πλίνθος. Suidas copying this passage (*s.v.* Ἄγις) reads ἡ δὲ ὠμὴ πλίνθος and this reading is in one MS. It is approved by Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 386).

9. 1. Μοῦσα. Read Μοῦσαι with G. Fougères, *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 12 (1888), p. 107. See Commentary.

4. οὐ τρίοδος καὶ τετράοδος καὶ πεντακέλευθος. Transpose this line so as to follow the second line and to be connected with it. Cp. viii. 36. 8. In the last

line of the oracle read ἔνθα θ' ἕδῃ instead of ἔνθα τε δή. Both changes are proposed by Herwerden, in *Mnemosyne*, 14 (1886), pp. 42 *sq.* The latter change had been previously suggested by Struve.

6. τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ. Dindorf (Praef. p. xix.), and Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 12) would insert τὸ before ἐπί.

7. ἐκ (Βιθυνίου πόλεως) Βιθυνίας τῆς ὑπὲρ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ. The words Βιθυνίου πόλεως are inserted on a conjecture of Buttmann's, accepted by SW and Dindorf. Omit them and read Βιθυνίου instead of Βιθυνίας. Stephanus Byzantius must have read Βιθυνίου in Pausanias, for he says (*s.v.* Βιθύνιον) that Bithynium was a city of Bithynia, and refers to the eighth book of Pausanias as his authority. A copyist, not understanding that with τῆς we should supply πόλεως (cp. vi. 23. 6) altered Βιθυνίου into Βιθυνίας. The correction is due to Sylburg, and is accepted by Mr. E. Reitz, *De praepositionis ὑπὲρ apud Pausaniam periegetam usu locali*, pp. 38 *sq.*

10. 2. οὐ πρόσω σταδίου. Read οὐ πρόσω σ' σταδίων with Schaefer, *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 61. Schaefer's emendation is approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 386, and Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 268, note 9. It is rejected by Schubart, *Z. f. A.*, 1855, pp. 99 *sqq.*

9. ἕπεται. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 386) would expect τὸ εἰκὸς (or τοῦ λόγου τὸ εἰκὸς) ἕπεται, comparing viii. 12. 7. Certainly the construction as it stands is unusual, if not unexampled.

11. 1. ἥξεις. Read ἕξεις with Hitzig (*W. B.*, pp. 15 *sq.*), who compares vi. 22. 8.

ἐπὶ σφᾶς. All the MSS. except La omit ἐπί. Kayser says truly that ἐς σφᾶς (Facius's conjecture) or παρὰ σφᾶς (Sylburg's) would be more correct (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 386). Lobeck approved of παρὰ σφᾶς (*Phrynichus*, p. 374). Bekker conjectured ὡς σφᾶς.

2. παλαιοῦ. καταφάξασα δέ. Read Παλαιὸν δὲ καταφάξασα with Kuhn, approved by Herwerden, p. 67.

τὸν κριὸν τὸν ἐψόμενον. All the MSS. but Lab omit the second τόν. The words τὸν κριὸν ἐψόμενον should be cancelled as a gloss, as Porson proposed. Porson's suggestion is accepted by Herwerden (p. 67) and J. E. B. Mayor (*Journal of Philology*, 16 (1888), pp. 111 *sq.*).

4. * * δὲ Φοίζων. Schubart proposed to insert ὁ before δέ (*Methodologie*, p. 39).

6. καὶ ἔνθα ἔπεσεν. Schaefer proposed to transpose the καί thus: ἔνθα ἔπεσεν καί (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 61). As the text stands, Pausanias says that the statue of Grylus was set up on the spot where he fell; whereas in 9. 5 he says that the statue was in Mantinea near the theatre. If the emendation is accepted, Pausanias says here that the Mantineans 'buried him publicly on the spot where he fell, and set up a statue,' etc. The emendation is approved by Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 14 (1868), p. 530. But there may have been two statues of Grylus, one in Mantinea and one on the battlefield.

8. αὐτήν τε. Porson proposed to cancel these words. Kayser approved (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 386).

12. 1. Ἀρκάδων δὲ ἐν τοῖς δρυμοῖς κ.τ.λ. Schubart suggested that this passage on the various kinds of oaks in Arcadia should be transposed to 11. 1, after the words διὰ τῶν δρυῶν (*Methodologie*, pp. 84 *sq.*; *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 14 (1868), pp. 534 *sq.*).

2. πεδίον τε ὀνομαζόμενον Ἀλκιμέδων. Kayser would prefer to read Ἀλκιμέδοντος (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 386).

3. ὡς Φιγαλεῖς. Read οἱ Φιγαλεῖς with Krüger, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 487.

5. ἐς ὃ. Read ἐν ᾧ as proposed by Schubart (SW, 2. p. xxiii.).

7. κώμης τε ἐρείπια καλουμένης Μαιρᾶς. Madvig suggested that after these words καὶ τάφου, or rather καὶ τάφος Μαιρᾶς, have dropped out (*Adversaria*, 1. p. 707). The suggestion is probable, and I have translated accordingly. Seemann thinks that the text may be defended by supposing an anacolouthon, the clause εἰ δὴ ἐνταῦθα —— ἐτάφη being substituted for καὶ ἐνταῦθα λέγουσι Μαιρὰν ταφῆναι (Seemann, *Quaestiones*, p. 22).

8. Ἀγχισία. Cp. Ἀγχισίαν below; ταῖς Ἀγχισίαις in § 9; and Ἀγχισιῶν in 13. 1. J. C. Schmitt thought that the true form of the name was Ἀγχίσια (neuter

plural); hence that we should read Ἀγχίσια here and at the end of the section; and τοῖς Ἀγχισίοις in § 9 (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), pp. 474 *sq.*).

13. 3. **ἐπενήθησαν.** The MSS. have *ἐγενήθησαν*. Bekker conjectured *ἐνήθησαν*. SW and Dindorf read *ἐπενήθησαν*. Cp. Schubart, *Methodologie*, pp. 17 *sq.* On the aorist *γενηθῆναι*, see Lobeck, *Phrynichus*, pp. 108 *sqq.*; Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus*, p. 194.

τῶν ἄλλων. J. C. Schmitt would insert ἢ before these words, comparing 17. 4 (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 479).

5. **ἱερουμένην.** Read *ἱερωμένην* with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 16; Herwerden, pp. 57 *sq.*

14. 3. **τὸ ἔλυτρον.** The article τὸ is not in the MSS. As Kayser and Hitzig have observed, *ἔλυτρον* is here superfluous and should probably be omitted. Hitzig's suggestion that *ἔλυτρον* has been transferred by mistake from its proper place before *ῥεῦμα* at the beginning of the section (*διὰ μέσου δὲ ὤρυξεν Ἡρακλῆς τοῦ Φενεατῶν πεδίου ῥεῦμα εἶναι τῷ ποταμῷ*) is very plausible, and perhaps deserves to be adopted. Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 387; Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 24.

4. **ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.** Herwerden, p. 62, regards these words as a gloss on the preceding word *ἐνταῦθα*.

9. **καλουμένων δὲ ἀπὸ Μολίνης τῆς μητρός.** After these words J. C. Schmitt would insert Μολινιδῶν or Μολιόνων (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 475).

10. **παῖδα εἶναι Μυρτίλον.** Strike out *Μυρτίλον* as a gloss, with Herwerden, p. 67.

ἠπείγετο. Kayser proposed to read *ἤπειγεν* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 387). But the change is unnecessary. Cp. Thucydides iii. 2. 3; iv. 5. 2; vi. 100. 1; viii. 9. 1.

15. 1. **τὰ αὐτά.** Kayser proposed to cancel these words (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 387).

3. **ὑποχθονίους.** This is a conjecture of Kuhn's for the MS. reading *ἐπιχθονίους*. The conjecture is accepted by SW and Dindorf. It is unlikely that Pausanias would use the poetical word *ἐπιχθόνιοι* instead of *ἄνθρωποι*.

καὶ πρὶν ἡ Ναόν, ἀφικέσθαι. After these words the MSS. read *γάρ*, which is cancelled by SW and Dindorf. It seems better to retain *γὰρ* and indicate a gap after *Ναόν*, as Bekker does. Haupt attempted to defend the MS. reading by understanding *ἀφικέσθαι* with *Ναόν* (*Opuscula*, 3. p. 526). But this seems impossible.

4. **Θεσμίας.** This is a conjecture of Wyttenbach's and Porson's for *θέσθαι δέ*. It is rightly accepted by Bekker, SW, and Dindorf. Cp. Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 19.

5. **σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ.** Hitzig would cancel *σύν* (*W. B.*, p. 9).

6. **ἀποκτεῖναι.** The MSS. have *ἀπέκτεινεν*. Bekker read *ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀμφιτρύωνα*. Seemann (*Quaestiones*, p. 11) suggests that *γὰρ* may have dropped out before *μαρτυρεῖται*. With the parenthesis *καὶ γὰρ μαρτυρεῖται καὶ πιστεύειν ἀξιά ἐστιν*, he compares i. 31. 3. He justly questions whether *ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀμφιτρύων μαρτυρεῖται* is good Greek.

8. **τὸ ἐπ' Ἄρτεμιν.** Kayser conjectured *ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Ἀροάνιος* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 387).

16. 3. **χορῷ Δαιδάλου ποιηθέντι.** Seemann proposed to insert *τῇ Ἀριάδνῃ* after these words (*Quaestiones*, pp. 54 *sq.*). It would be simpler to insert *ὑπὸ* before Δαιδάλου, as Clavier proposed.

5. **δι' ὀλίγης.** Read *δι' ἑαυτῆς*, with J. E. B. Mayor, *Journal of Philology*, 16 (1888), p. 111. The conjecture is approved by Herwerden, *ib.* Emperius had conjectured *δι' ὀλκῆς* or *δι' ὕλης* (*Opuscula*, p. 344).

17. 3. **οἱ ὄρνιθες.** Herwerden (p. 57) would cancel these words as a gloss.

18. 2. **ἰδὼν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ.** The preposition *ἐς* is wrong here, as Herwerden (p. 67) observes. He suggests that Pausanias may have written *ὡς ἂν ἰδὼν <αὐτ>ὸς τὸ ὕδωρ*.

8. **Ἡμερασίαν.** Dindorf (Praef. p. xv.) conjectured *Ἡμερωσίαν*.

19. 4. **τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ.** *ἡ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ* Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 11.

20. 1. **Προελθόντων.** Sylburg and Madvig (*Adversaria*, 1. p. 704, n. 2) conjectured *προελθών*, which is rightly rejected by Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 4. For the change of construction *προελθόντων——ἀφίξῃ* is quite in the style of Pausanias. Cp. ii. 25. 9 *ἐπανελθόντων——ἥξεις*. iii. 21. 5 *ἀποτραπεῖσιν——ἥξεις*. v. 6. 4 *ὀδεύσαντι ——ὄψει*. viii. 28. 1 *ἰόντι——σε ἐκδέξεται*. Other examples are given by Schubart, 1. Praef. p. xiv.

ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς ἀνθρώπους φήμην κ.τ.λ. Kayser proposed to amend this corrupt passage as follows: ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς ἀνθρώπους φήμην Δάφνης εἵνεκα, καὶ τὰ ᾀδόμενα ἐς τὴν Δάφνην τὰ μὲν Σύροις τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ Ὀρόντῃ τῷ ποταμῷ παρίημι, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιάδε ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἠλείων (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 387). Seemann proposed: ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς ἀνθρώπους φήμην Δάφνης τε ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐς Δάφνην. τὰ δὲ ᾀδόμενα ἐς τὴν Δάφνην τὰ μὲν Συρίας τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ Ὀρόντῃ ποταμῷ παρίημι κ.τ.λ. (*Quaestiones*, pp. 46 *sq.*). Many MSS. insert διὰ before τὰ ᾀδόμενα.

21. 2. τῇ ὄρνιθι. Herwerden (p. 57) would cancel these words as a gloss.

22. 6. πετομένη ποτὲ ἀπόμοιρα. Schubart proposed to read ἀποπετομένη ποτὲ μοῖρα (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 14 (1868), pp. 530 *sq.*).

23. 1. Σκιέρειαν. Read Σκιέρεια with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 6. Cp. Critical Note on ii. 10. 1.

6. Κονδυλέα. We should perhaps read Κονδύλεαι, as Sylburg proposed. Cp. § 7. But similar variations in the spelling of proper names occur elsewhere in Pausanias. Thus we find Καφυά (viii. 13. 4) and Καφυαί (viii. 23. 3), Θέσπια (ix. 26. 6; ix. 32. 5) and Θεσπιαί (ix. 29. 3). Cp. Critical Note on viii. 12. 8.

7. ἐσέπεσεν. Read ἐνέπεσεν with Seemann, *Quaestiones*, p. 39. He compares i. 20. 7; ii. 8. 2; ii. 18. 4; iv. 9. 1; x. 23. 7.

νόσος, τὰ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ κ.τ.λ. νόσος ὥστε τὰ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ κ.τ.λ.?

24. 2. ἢ * * * ἐς τὸν οἶκον οὐκ ἠξίου. Bekker conjectured that the lost words may have been συγγενόμενος Ἡρακλῆς ἀγαγέσθαι μὲν αὐτήν. This supplement at least restores the sense of the passage.

4. πάλιν Θέλπουσαν χώραν. πόλιν Θέλπουσαν καὶ χώραν Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 344. Kayser proposed to read πόλιν Θέλπουσαν and to cancel χώραν (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 388).

6. [ἧς] ἐρείπια. We should probably strike out ἧς and read ἐρείπια δέ, as Dindorf proposed (Praef. p. xxvi.).

11. γέγονε δ' αἰτίας τὸ Αἰτωλῶν ἔθνος. γέγονεν αἰτία τοῦ Αἰτωλῶν ἔθνους ἡ ἀνάστασις Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 388. Pausanias has certainly expressed his meaning awkwardly, but this is no reason for altering the text. Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 18) compares ii. 1. 2 αἴτιον δὲ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν κ.τ.λ.

25. 1. σταδίους. Read σταδίοις with Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 22 (1876), p. 396.

8. ἐλαύνειν. We should probably read ἐλαύνοι with Dindorf, as in Homer (*Il.* xxiii. 346).

11. [τροφοῦ]. Strike this out, with Buttmann and Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 388.

ἀναθέσθαι. Read ἀνελέσθαι, as Kuhn proposed. Kayser, *l.c.*, approved. Cp. ii. 26. 5.

26. 3. σταδίους. Read σταδίοις with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 15, approved by Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 22 (1876), p. 396.

4. καὶ αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ὀλύμπια ἤγαγον. Herwerden (p. 67) would prefer to cancel these words.

27. 3. Ἀλέα. Ἀσέα Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, 2. p. 227, note 1.

6. ἐλθόντας ἐς τὸ ἱερόν. As there is nothing to govern this accusative participle, SW and Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 388) are probably right in thinking that something has fallen out.

7. καὶ τότε. κατ' ἐμέ Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 388. Certainly καὶ τότε is here meaningless.

10. δὲ τῶν τότε. δ' αὐτῶν τε Bekker. δὲ τούτων τε Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 54. Bekker's emendation is perhaps preferable.

13. καταρρίψειν. κατερείψειν Herwerden, p. 67.

28. 1. ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ λίθου Πεντελησίου· [καὶ] αὐτός τε κ.τ.λ. Schubart proposed to place the stop after Ἀσκληπιοῦ, and to connect λίθου Πεντελησίου with what follows (*Z. f. A.*, 1840, p. 609). His reason was that it is unlikely that a small town in a remote part of Arcadia should have had a temple wholly built of Pentelic marble. But this objection has been met by the discovery of the remains of the temple. See Commentary.

29. 2. Ἐθέλουσι δ' αὐτῷ——καλεῖσθαι. This is a gloss and should be struck out, as Schubart afterwards saw (*Methodologie*, p. 83).

30. 2. τὰ γὰρ ἐντός ἐστι δὴ σύνοπτα. Read τὰ δὲ ἐντος—ἔστι γὰρ σύνοπτα—with Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 707.

3. **Οἰνόεις——Οἰνόης.** These are conjectures of Siebelis and Dindorf (Praef. pp. xv. *sq.*) for Σινόεις and Σινόης. A nymph Sinoessa, the nurse of Poseidon, was mentioned by the historian Theseus in his *Corinthiaca*, quoted in the *Etymol. Magn.*, *s.v.* Ἄρνη, p. 145. 48 *sq.* Hence G. Wentzel defends the readings Σινόεις and Σινόη in the text of Pausanias (*Philologus*, 50 (1891), pp. 387 *sq.*).

7. **Δακεδαιμονίων τοῖς συστρατεύσασι.** Kayser would strike out *τοῖς συστρατεύσασι*, and read Λακεδαιμονίοις for Λακεδαιμονίων (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 389).

8. **ὀργῆς ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.** Hitzig proposed to insert *τῆς* before *ἐς* (*W. B.*, p. 11).

31. 2. **Τά τε ἀγάλματα * * * καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν.** The name of the sculptor Damophon appears to have dropped out. Kayser conjectured that the passage may have run thus: *τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα <ταῦτα εἰργάσατο ὁ Μεσσήνιος Δαμοφῶν ὃς> καὶ τὰς πρὸ αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 389).

4. **Νέδα.** Most of the MSS. read *ναΐδα*. *Νέδα* is a correction of G. Hermann's (*Opuscula*, 2. p. 295).

Ἀρχιρόης. Dindorf reads Ἀγχιρόης. See his preface, p. xiv. One of the daughters of the river Erasinus was called Ἀγχιρόη (Antoninus Liberalis, 40).

6. **Ἀφροδίτης γάρ.** The MSS. have *Ἀφροδίτῃ τε*. Kayser proposed *εἰ Ἀφροδίτης γε* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 389). Dindorf reads *Ἀφροδίτης γε*, and conjectured (Praef. p. xxiii.) that *ἐπεί* may have fallen out before *Ἀφροδίτης*. As *γε* is nearer the MS. reading than *γάρ*, it is better to read the former.

7. **πρῶτον.** We should perhaps read *πρῶτοι*, which Siebelis would have preferred.

καὶ σφίσιν * * μεγέθει μέγα. The blank should perhaps be supplied with *μέγαρον*, as SW proposed. Cp. i. 39. 5; iii. 25. 9; viii. 37. 8; ix. 8. 1. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 389) suggested that *καὶ σφίσιν* may be a corruption of *κλίσιον*, comparing iv. 1. 7.

9. **ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ ἑτέρῳ.** *καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑτέρῳ* Kayser, *l.c.*, omitting *αὐτῷ*.

32. 4. **ἀνάθημα Ἀριστοδήμου καὶ τοῦτο.** We should perhaps read *ἀνάθημα Ἀριστοδήμου, ἐρείπια καὶ οὗτος*, with Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 1100; *ib.*, 1850, p. 390). The insertion of *ἐρείπια* is a conjecture of Clavier's. The translation of the passage will then run: 'a temple of Huntress Artemis dedicated by Aristodemus; it also is in ruins.'

5. **ἐς ὕστερον.** *ἐς πλέον ὕστερον* Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 39, comparing ix. 2. 4.

34. 5. **Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Κερεάτα.** E. Maass proposes to read *Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Κεδρεάτου*, comparing viii. 13. 2 *τὴν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κέδρου Κεδρεᾶτιν* (E. Maass, *Aratea* (Berlin, 1892), pp. 331 *sq.*).

35. 3. **σταδίους ——— ἥξεις.** We must read either *σταδίους ——— ἕξεις* or *σταδίοις—ἥξεις*, as Schubart observes (Praef. p. xiv.). Hitzig prefers the latter (*W. B.*, p. 15). With the former, cp. vi. 22. 8, and Critical Note on viii. 11. 1.

4. **περιιδεῖν.** Read *περιιδεῖν ἄν* with Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 390) and Hitzig (*Beiträge*, p. 14).

10. **Ἀρκαδίαν εἶναι.** *Ἀρκάσιν ἀνεῖναι* E. Curtius, *Pelop.*, 1. p. 341.

36. 6. **ἐς τιμήν.** Read *ἐν τιμῇ*, as Schubart proposed (SW, 2. p. xxiii.).

7. **πέντε μὲν σταδίοις καὶ δέκα κ.τ.λ.** The distance from the junction of the Elaphus (the torrent of *Valtetzi*) with the Helisson to the Maenalian plain is about seven miles, or sixty-three Greek furlongs (stades). If, therefore, Pausanias here intends to give the distance between these two places, the number in the text is certainly wrong. Bursian conjectured that we should read *πέντε μὲν σταδίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα κ.τ.λ.* (*Geographie von Griechenland*, 2. p. 229, note 1). Cp. Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 242.

37. 1. **καὶ τοῦτο.** *καὶ ταῦτα* Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 15, approved by Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 22 (1876), p. 396.

4. **δράκοντας.** *ἄκοντας* Blümner, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 18 (1872), p. 390.

6. **ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων.** Kayser suggested *ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπιθήματι τῶν ἀγαλμάτων* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 390). But Pausanias never, I think, uses *ἐπίθημα* in the sense of 'pedestal.'

8. **ἀποτέμνει.** The MSS. have *ἀποτέμειν* or *ἀποτέμνειν*. Kayser, *l.c.*, would retain *ἀποτέμνειν* and insert *καθέστηκεν*.

9. **τὸ ὄνομα.** *τὸ <ἴδιον> ὄνομα* Kayser, *l.c.* *τὸ <ἀπόρρητον> ὄνομα* Herwerden, p. 67. Neither alteration is necessary.

38. 6. ἐς τὰς σκιάς. Schubart (*Methodologie*, p. 77) suspects these words of being a gloss.

11. τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς σύριγγος μέλος ἐνταῦθα Πανὸς εὑρεθῆναι. We should probably read with Schubart (*Methodologie*, pp. 60 *sq.*) τὸ τῆς σύριγγος μέλος ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ Πανὸς εὑρεθῆναι.

39. 2. ἐσήμαινεν. Read ἐσήμηνεν with Herwerden, p. 68.

5. ἄγουσιν πάντα ἐς τέλος τὸν χρησμόν. The MSS. read ἄγουσιν ἐς πάντα ἐπὶ τέλος τὸν χρησμόν. See Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 61.

40. 3. ἀπολείπωνται. ἀπολείποιντο Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 390.

5. καὶ ἀντὶ μιᾶς κεχρημένον πολλαῖς ἐς τὸν ἀντίπαλον ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐξελαύνουσι. Herwerden (p. 68) would bracket the words καὶ ἀντὶ μιᾶς κεχρημένον and ἐς τὸν ἀντίπαλον as a gloss.

41. 9. ἔπαυσε. We should perhaps accept Coraes's conjecture ἔπιεσε, as Kayser thought (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 390). Kayser compared ii. 32. 6; x. 11. 5. The word πιέζω is a favourite of Pausanias's. Cp. v. 9. 6; vii. 11. 4; x. 11. 3; x. 17. 8; x. 18. 5.

10. παρῆσαν. παρῆν Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 22 (1876), p. 396. But see Critical Note on i. 20. 3.

Κώτιλον —— ἐν Κωτίλῳ. Kayser conjectured Κώτιλον χωρίον ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἐπίκλησιν τῆς ἐν τῷ Κωτίλῳ (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 391). L. Ross thought that the names Κωτίλιον (the mountain) and Κώτιλον should be spelt Κοτύλιον and Κότυλον (*Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland*, p. 100, note 66). He compared Mt. Κοτύλαιον in Euboea (Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Κοτύλαιον).

42. 4. ἡ ὄρνις. Herwerden (p. 57) would cancel these words as a gloss.

5. ἡ ἁκαρπία. Herwerden (p. 68) would cancel ἡ. Rightly.

6. Δηὼ μὲν σέ γ' ἔπαυσε νομῆς, Δηὼ δὲ νομήων | ἐλκησισταχύων καὶ ἀναστοφάγον πάλι θῆκε. The latter sentence is not Greek. Various emendations of the lines have been suggested. Kayser proposed:—

> Δηὼ μέν σ' ἀπέπαυσε νομῆς, Δηὼ δ' ἀμήτων
> ἑλκησισταχύων καὶ ἀκανθοφάγον πάλι θῆκε.

Rheinisches Museum, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 362 *sq.* Emperius suggested νομῆα for νομήων, and ναστοφάγων for ἀναστοφάγον (*Opuscula*, p. 344). Herwerden proposed:—

> Δηὼ μὲν σέ γ' ἔπαυσε νομῆς, Δηὼ δὲ νομῆας
> ἐκ δησισταχύων καὶ ναστοφάγων πάλι θῆκε.

l.c. 'Demeter stopped you from pasturing, and Demeter made herdsmen of you again after you had been wont to bind the ears and to eat cakes' (*Mnemosyne*, N.S., 14 (1886), p. 45). Of these emendations Herwerden's is the best; it has the merit of restoring correct Greek.

7. γενεᾷ μάλιστα ὕστερον. The MSS. read γενεαῖς. It is necessary to read either γενεᾷ μάλιστα ὕστερον or γενεαῖς μάλιστα <δυσὶν> ὕστερον. The latter reading has the advantage of explaining better how the present reading of the MSS. arose, for δυσὶν would easily drop out between μάλιστα and ὕστερον. But if we adopt this reading, we attribute to Pausanias the very obvious chronological blunder of reckoning two generations between Hiero and Onatas. Bekker, SW, and Dindorf read γενεᾷ μάλιστα ὕστερον. H. v. Brunn, following K. O. Müller, decidedly preferred γενεαῖς μάλιστα δυσὶν ὕστερον (v. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, I. pp. 88 *sq.*).

11. τὸν βωμὸν ᾠκοδομημένον. We should perhaps insert τὸν before ᾠκοδομημένον, as Dindorf proposed (Praef. p. xix.).

43. 2. τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὄνομα Εὔανδρον. As Hitzig observes (*W. B.*, p. 23), a noun, the subject of the preceding infinitive γενέσθαι, has dropped out. Should we insert ἄνδρα or ἄνθρωπον after Ἀρκάδων?

νύμφης τε εἶναι, θυγατρός. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 391) proposed to insert Θέμιδος after εἶναι, referring to Dionysius Halic., *Antiquit. Rom.*, i. 31; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, 56. The former writer says that Evander's mother was a native Arcadian nymph named Themis, the latter mentions that according to some the name of Evander's mother was Themis.

6. καὶ τούς τε. καὶ is here superfluous. Dindorf brackets it. Krüger proposed to omit it (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 487).

44. 2. κίονες ἔτι. Krüger proposed to omit *ἔτι*, thinking it had arisen by dittography from the following *ἐπίκλησις* (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 484).

4. **ὁ Εὐρώτας.** Siebelis and Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 391) rightly observe that it would be more in harmony with Pausanias's usage to omit these words.

45. 2. τοξεύει τὸν ὗν. *τοξεύει <ἐς> τὸν ὗν* Herwerden, p. 68.

5. **ἐκτός.** Read *ἐντὸς* with W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 152; G. Treu, in *Mittheilungen d. archäolog. Instituts in Athen*, 6 (1881), p. 393, note 1; W. Dörpfeld, *ib.* 8 (1883), p. 283. Dörpfeld compares v. 10. 10 *ἑστήκασι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες*. The words *ἐκτὸς* and *ἐντὸς* seem to be often confused in the MSS. Cp. SW on viii. 5. 6; and Critical Note on v. 15. 4.

46. 3. τῶν Περσῶν. Dindorf would prefer *τὸν Περσῶν* (Praef. p. xx.). Cp. Critical Note on v. 6. 5.

5. **τὴν περίμετρον.** *τὸ μέτρον* Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 59.

47. 2. Αὔγης. This is a conjecture of Coraes's for *αὐτῆς*. The conjecture was approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 391.

5. **τὸ τοῦ Ἐρύματος ἱερόν.** *τοῦτο ἔρυμα τὸ ἱερόν* Kayser, *l.c.*

6. **τὴν αὐτήν.** This cannot be right. Kayser, *l.c.*, approved of Spengel's conjecture *Τεγεᾶται*.

δείματος. *λήματος* Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 279, note [rr].

48. 2. ἐς δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐστι καὶ πανταχοῦ τῷ νικῶντι ἐστιθέμενος φοῖνιξ. These words have the appearance of being interpolated. The present participle is particularly strange.

7. **Αὔγην ἐν γόνασι.** *Αὔγην* is a conjecture of Valckenaer's for *αὐτήν*. It is accepted by Dindorf and approved by Curtius, *Pelop.*, 1. p. 272, note 25.

ἐκτεθῆναι. Herwerden, p. 68, conjectured *ἐκθεῖναι*.

49. 1. ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων. Read *ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις* with Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 7), who compares vii. 4. 5; vii. 5. 4; vii. 14. 2.

7. **μισθοφόρος.** Read *μισθοφόροις*, a conjecture of Sylburg's, accepted by Dindorf.

50. 7. ῥεούσης. *διαρρεούσης* Herwerden, pp. 68 *sq.*, comparing Lucian, *Dial. Mort.*, x. 1.

51. 3. καὶ τῶν Εἱλώτων τε ἀπέδοτο ὅσον τρισχιλίους κ.τ.λ. *καὶ τῶν Εἱλώτων ἀπέδοτο ὅσον τι τρισχιλίους* J. C. Schmitt, *Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 479. Seemann proposed to retain *τε* in its place, but to place *τείχη δὲ περιεῖλε τῆς Σπάρτης* after *ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου* (*Quaestiones*, p. 29).

7. **πλέον τι ἢ.** Read *ἐλεοῦντες καί*, with Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 707.

52. 1. τὸν Μῆδων. Most of the MSS. read *τὸν πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον*. Read *τοῦ πρόσω τὸν Μήδων ἐπισχὼν στόλον* with Seemann (*Quaestiones*, pp. 9 *sq.*), who compares iii. 9. 12; iii. 25. 3; vii. 15. 8; x. 19. 5; and especially v. 5. 7; vi. 5. 6; viii. 54. 3.

φανοῦνται. *φαίνονται* Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 5, approved by Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 22 (1876), p. 396.

53. 1. ἐπὶ πᾶσαν λέγουσι. Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 391) proposed to insert *ἐλθεῖν* after these words. But we should rather expect the participle *ἐλθόντας*.

9. **πρῶτος.** Read *πρώτην*, proposed by Sylburg and accepted by Bekker. Sylburg also suggested *πρῶτον*, which is accepted by Siebelis and SW. Dindorf retains *πρῶτος*.

10. **ἐπειργασμένην ἐς στήλην.** *ἐπειργασμένην στήλῃ* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 391. But read rather *ἐπειργασμένην ἐν στήλῃ* with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 7, comparing i. 44. 5.

11. **σταδίους ἑπτά.** *ἑπτὰ σταδίους* Herwerden, p. 67.

ἐστι ναοῦ. *ναοῦ* is a conjecture of Siebelis's, accepted by Bekker, SW, and Dindorf, for the MS. reading *Ἀλέου* or *Ἀλεοῦ*. Sylburg conjectured *ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ* for *Ἀλέου*. His conjecture was approved by Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 122, note C.

BOOK IX

1. 5. **ὁπόσοι ἀπωτέρω.** The sense seems to require that we should insert *ὀλίγον* before *ἀπωτέρω*, as Hitzig proposed (*W. B.*, p. 21). I have translated accordingly.

τοσούτῳ. This is a conjecture of Bekker's, accepted by Dindorf and approved by SW, for *τοιούτῳ*. Kayser defended the MS. reading by comparing ii. 20. 1 *ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 391).

οἱ ἔσχατοι γεωργοῦντες. A strange expression. We should expect *οἱ τὰ ἔσχατα γεωργοῦντες*. Siebelis proposed *οἱ ἔσχατα γεωργοῦντες*.

6. **ἐπὶ Ὑσιάς.** We should probably read *ἐπὶ Ὑσιῶν* with LaAgPc, approved by Kayser, *l.c.*

7. **ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀποκεκλειμένοι τῶν πυλῶν ἦσαν.** Kayser, *l.c.*, proposed to insert *ἐλθόντες* after *ἐς τοὺς ἀγρούς*. Some such participle seems wanted. *ἐξελθόντες* would perhaps be better.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέν γε. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γάρ* Sylburg, approved by Kayser, *l.c.*, rightly perhaps.

2. 3. **καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἀκταίωνος κοίτην, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καθεύδειν φασὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸν Ἀκταίωνα.** The asyndeton is intolerable. Most of the MSS. read *οἱ* after *φασίν*. We should probably read *φάμενοι* with Bekker, for *φασὶν οἱ*. Bekker's conjecture is accepted by SW and Dindorf, and approved by Hitzig, *W. B.*, pp. 28 *sq.* Seemann proposed to read *κοίτην, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καθεύδειν φασὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ*, explaining the *οἱ* of the MSS. to be a marginal correction of the reading *καὶ τήν*, which appears in a good many MSS. for *κοίτην* (*Quaestiones*, pp. 8 *sq.*).

ἐν τῇ πηγῇ. Herwerden (p. 62) would cancel these words as a gloss.

4. **νόσον λύσσαν.** *νόσον* may be a gloss on *λύσσαν*.

[ὁ δὲ Κιθαιρὼν τὸ ὄρος Διὸς ἱερὸν Κιθαιρωνίου ἐστίν]. These words are perhaps a gloss; certainly they are not in their right place here. They are bracketed by SW and Dindorf, as well as by Schubart. Kayser proposed (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 392) to transpose them before *Καθότι δὲ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος κ.τ.λ.*

5. **τούτους μὲν δὴ χαλκοῦ.** *τούτους* is a conjecture of SW, accepted by Dindorf. But *τούτους* can hardly be made to refer to the remote *τάφοι*, especially after the interposition of *βωμός*. The MSS. read *τούτου, τούτων*, or *τοῦτον*. Kayser seems right in accepting *τοῦτον* and referring it to the image of a god, the mention of which has dropped out. See *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 356; *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 392. In the translation I have accordingly indicated a gap. From a comparison of Plutarch, *Aristides*, 21, Kayser suggested that the missing god might be Subterranean Hermes.

3. 6. **συντέλειαν αἱροῦνται.** Read *συντελῇ ἀναιροῦνται*, with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 29 (where *συντελῇ* is the nominative, referring to *πολίσματα*).

9. **Σφραγίδιον μὲν ὀνομαζόμενον.** We should perhaps accept Clavier's conjecture *Σφραγιτίδων μὲν ὀνομαζομένων*, approved by Lobeck and by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 392. Cp. Plutarch, *Aristides*, 11.

4. 2. **Ὀνασία δὲ Ἀδράστου καὶ Ἀργείων.** The passage is corrupt in the MSS. Kuhn, Facius, and Siebelis read *Ὀνατᾶ* instead of *Ὀνασία*, and this reading is defended by Kayser. Bekker, SW, and Dindorf read *Ὀνασία*. The name *Ἀδράστου* is a conjecture made independently by Kayser and Dindorf. See *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 348 *sq.*; *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 392; Dindorf, Praef. p. iii.

5. 3. **παρευρεῖν.** *εὑρεῖν* Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 34 (1888), p. 50.

7. **ᾗδε καί.** The *καί* is not in the MSS. Kayser proposed *ᾠδῇ* for *ᾗδε* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 392).

8. **λίθων καὶ θηρίων.** *λίθων πέρι καὶ θηρίων* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 393.

9. **κατὰ δὲ τὴν τιμωρίαν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἔστι ποιήσεως Μινυάδος, ἔχει δὲ ἐς Ἀμφίονα κοινῶς καὶ ἐς τὸν Θρᾷκα Θάμυριν.** The first of these sentences is not Greek at all. Kayser proposed *ἐς δὲ* (or *καὶ ἐς*) *τὴν τιμωρίαν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἔπη ποιήσεως Μινυάδος ἔχει, ἔχει δὲ κ.τ.λ.* (*Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 506; *id.*, 1850, p. 393). Hitzig proposed to alter *κατὰ δέ* into *καὶ τὰ ἐς*, leaving the rest as it stands (*W. B.*, p. 29). But this will hardly do.

6. 3. **ὁ Ἀρίφρονος, στρατηγῶν.** Two MSS. (VbLa) read *ὃς στρατηγὸς ἦν* for *στρατηγῶν*, with the approval of Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 393.

8. 1. **τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ παρὰ τὰς Ποτνιὰς * * τὰς θεὰς ὀνομάζουσιν.** Kayser proposed *τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ Ποτνιῶν θεῶν παρὰ τὰς Ποτνιὰς ταύτας ὀνομάζουσιν* (*Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 353). Afterwards, instead of *θεῶν παρά*, he proposed to read *ὥσπερ* (or *ὡς καί*) (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 393).

ἐν Δωδώνῃ. *ἀναδῦναι*, or *ἀναδοθῆναι* Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 829 *sq.*

φασὶν ἐπι * *. *φασὶν ἐπιφαλνεσθαι* Coraes. *φασὶν ἐπιφανῆναι* K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos*[2], p. 55, note 2. I have translated accordingly.

3. **ἐν δεξιᾷ περίβολος τῆς ὁδοῦ.** After *ὁδοῦ* all the MSS. except La read *τε*. Read with Emperius (*Opuscula*, p. 344) *ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ περίβολός τε κ.τ.λ.* Seemann vainly defends the reading of the MSS. (*Quaestiones*, pp. 32 *sq.*).

μήτε πόαν. Kayser conjectured *τήν τε πόαν* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 393).

4. **μένουσι.** *διαμένουσι* Herwerden, p. 69.

ἐξ αὐτῶν. *τὴν ὀξυτάτην* Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 704 note. The same conjecture had been made by Clavier, who followed a hint of Kuhn's ('*Suspicor in ἐξ latere ὀξυτάτην*'). Valckenaer conjectured *τὴν ἐσχάτην*. Kayser proposed to insert *τὴν ἑβδόμην* before *ἐξ αὐτῶν* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 393). The text cannot be right as it stands.

10. 1. **ἄνδρας δέ.** Read *ἄνδρας δή*, as Kuhn and Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 15) proposed.

2. **Ἰσμηνίου.** Read *Ἰσμηνοῦ* with Bekker, SW, and Dindorf. It has the authority of PcAg, and apparently Va. Cp. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in *Hermes*, 26 (1891), p. 197, note 1.

11. 1. **θάλαμόν γ' εἰλίξατο.** *θάλαμον μὲν ἑλίξατο* Kayser, *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 362. Herwerden (pp. 69 *sq.*) approves of Hermann's correction *θάλαμόν οἱ ἑλίξατο*. I have translated accordingly.

Ἀγχάσιος. *Ἀγχίσιος* Lobeck, referring to Mt. Anchisia in Arcadia (Paus. viii. 12. 8). *Ἀγχόϊος* Siebelis, referring to the Boeotian place *Ἀγχόη*, mentioned by Strabo (ix. p. 406), as to which see Commentary on ix. 23. 7. Kayser thought that *Ἀγχάθιος* was a corruption of one of the stock epithets of Greek poetry, such as *ἀγχίθεος* or *ἀντίθεος* (*Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 362). He may be right.

2. **τοῦτο —— γραφῆναι.** The MSS. have *τοῦτον* (not *τοῦτο*). Kuhn proposed to read *ταφῆναι* for *γραφῆναι*, retaining *τοῦτον*, which he referred to the preceding *Ἀμφιτρύων*. The conjecture was approved by Kayser, *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 358.

3. **εἰκόνες· ἀμυδρότερα ἤδη τὰ ἀγάλματα.** *εἰκόνες ἀμυδρότεραι ἤδη* (omitting *τὰ ἀγάλματα*) Kayser, in *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 356; *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 394.

τετοκέναι γάρ. Madvig would omit *γάρ* (*Adversaria*, 1. p. 707), wrongly, I think.

6. **κολοσσοῦ ἐπὶ λίθου τύπου τοῦ Πεντέλησιν.** This is of course corrupt. The simplest emendation is to read *κολοσσοὺς* with Sylburg, and to transpose *λίθου* and *τύπου*, as Facius proposed. This is the reading of Siebelis and Dindorf, and in the translation I have, with some hesitation, followed it. The expression *ἐπὶ τύπου* occurs in § 3 of this chapter; cp. viii. 31. 1. Kuhn conjectured *ἐπὶ τύπων λίθου τοῦ Πεντέλησι*. Kayser proposed *κολοσσοὺς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντελῆσι*, comparing v. 6. 6 (*Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 356 *sq.*). L. Urlichs proposed to read *κολοσσώ*, retaining the rest of the sentence as it stands (*Skopas*, p. 73 * *); but this would not mend matters much.

12. 1. **ἐπὶ Φωκέων.** Sylburg proposed *ἐπὶ Θηβαίων* or *ἀπὸ Φωκέων*, Valckenaer suggested *διὰ Φωκέων*, which is supported by Apollodorus (iii. 4. 1) and the Schol. on Homer (*Il.* ii. 494), both of whom, telling the same story as Pausanias, use the

expression *διὰ Φωκέων*. It is also supported by the oracle given to Cadmus, as reported by the Schol. on Euripides, *Phoen.*, 638; for in it Cadmus is bidden to go *τὴν διά τε Φλεγυῶν καὶ Φωκίδος*. But no change is needed. See Commentary.

4. **Διόννσον καλέσαι Κάδμον. πλησίον δὲ Διονύσου ἄγαλμα κ.τ.λ.** Kayser proposed to rewrite this passage as follows: *Διόνυσον καλέσαι. Κάδμου δὲ πλησίον ἐστι καὶ Διονύσου ἄγαλμα καὶ τοῦτο Ὀνασιμήδης ἐποίησεν ἐπιχώριος δι' ὅλου χαλκοῦ, τὸ Κάδμου δὲ οἱ παῖδες κ.τ.λ.* (*Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 347 *sq.*; *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 394). That this is substantially right is strongly suggested by the reading *Κάδμον*, which some good MSS. (VbPcLa) have instead of *βωμόν*. If Kayser is right, the wooden image which fell from heaven was named Dionysus simply (not Dionysus Cadmus), and near it were two images, one of Dionysus by Onasimedes, a Theban, and one of Cadmus by the sons of Praxiteles. V. Brunn approved of the reading *Κάδμον* instead of *βωμόν* (*Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, I. p. 392). Kayser's emendation of the passage is combated by Schubart, *Methodologie*, pp. 67–70.

ἐποίησε δι' ὅλου πλῆρες ὑπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ. *πλῆρες ὑπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ* is not Greek. See the preceding note. But *δι' ὅλου* is right. Cp. iii. 17. 6 *δι' ὅλου*. viii. 31. 2; x. 9. 1; 16. 2 *διὰ πάσης*. viii. 31. 8 and 46. 5 *διὰ παντός*.

13. 1. **αὐτοῖς —— καὶ ὡς ἤδη μειράκιον ἦν.** *αὐτὸς —— καὶ ὢν ἤδη μειράκιον* (omitting *ἦν* which is found only in La) Tyrwhitt, in Dawes's *Miscellanea Critica*, ed. Kidd, 2nd ed., p. 611.

3. **ἐξῆρτο.** *ἐξῆπτο* Porson, approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 494. But Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 17) defends *ἐξῆρτο* by comparing iv. 4. 4 *ἐξήρθη —— μῖσος*, and iv. 8. 9 *μάχη —— ἤρθη*.

6. **καὶ Σιμάγγελος.** *καὶ Αἰσιμάγγελος* Valckenaer, p. 825, a very plausible conjecture.

7. **Βακχυλίδης.** Kuhn proposed *Βραχυλλίδης*. A Boeotarch named *Βραχύλλης* is mentioned by Polybius (xviii. 43 ed. Dindorf) and Livy (xxxiii. 27). Cp. Dindorf, Praef. pp. ii. *sq.*

14. 2. **[ἐς τήν].** These words are certainly wrong. Kayser would cancel them (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 394). But it is better with Hitzig to alter them into *ἐν τῇ* (*Beiträge*, p. 13).

3. **κούριον.** *κούρων* Herwerden, p. 69.

15. 2. **οἱ βοιωτάρχαι.** After these words Herwerden (p. 69) would insert *οἱ*.

3. **τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις.** *αὐτοῖς Ὀρχομενίων* Seemann, *Quaestiones*, pp. 47 *sq.* It would perhaps be better to read *τῶν Ὀρχομενίων*, as Sylburg suggested. At all events the dative is almost certainly wrong.

4. **στιγμήν.** *συνηγμένοι* Spengel. *ὑπάγειν* Hitzig, *W. B.*, pp. 29 *sq.* Spengel's emendation is the best that has been proposed. I have adopted it in the translation.

5. **Ξενοφῶντος δέ.** Kayser proposed *δὴ* for *δέ* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 394). I should prefer to omit the words *Ξενοφῶντος δέ*.

16. 6. **ἀνοιγνύναι φασίν.** *φασὶν* is a correction of SW for *σφίσιν*. More probably Kayser is right in supposing that *καθέστηκε* has dropped out before *σφίσιν*: he compares viii. 41. 5 (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, pp. 394 *sq.*).

17. 3. **Πλησίον δὲ Ἀμφιτρύωνος δύο ἀγάλματα λίθινα λέγουσιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν Ζωστηρίας.** The text seems defective. Kayser proposed to supply it thus: *πλησίον δὲ Ἀμφιτρύωνος <ἀναθέντος> δύο ἀγάλματα λίθινα <ἃ> λέγουσιν <εἶναι> Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν ζωστηρίας* (*Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 358 *sq.*).

4. **μνήματι * *, Τιθορεεῦσιν.** One MS. (Vb) supplies the gap with *περιάψωσι*. J. C. Schmitt suggested that the right word might be *ἐπιπάσωσι* (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 477). I would suggest *περιτιθῶσιν*, which might easily have dropped out before *Τιθορεεῦσιν*.

5. **θελγομένου.** *θεινομένου* Kayser, in *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 364. The change would be the reverse of an improvement.

6. **παρὰ θεῶν.** *παρὰ θεοῖς?* This emendation seems necessary; I have translated accordingly.

περιτίθησιν ἥτις ἦν. This of course makes nonsense. Kayser proposed to read *περὶ Τιθορέαν ἰδόντα τὴν Ἀντιόπην ἐρασθῆναι αὐτῆς καὶ ἔχειν κ.τ.λ.* (*Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 364 *sq.*).

7. **μήτε ἄλλως εἰργασμένοι.** A corresponding clause beginning with *μήτε* seems to have dropped out before these words.

18. 1. **ἀδελφῶν τῶν Ἀδράστου.** La has *ἀδελφὸν τὸν* which is adopted by SW and Dindorf, and approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, p. 509. But this collocation of the words would here, I think, be wrong. If the accusative be accepted, we should expect *τὸν Ἀδράστου ἀδελφόν*.

Ἀμφιαράῳ. Read *Ἀμφιαράου*, Sylburg's conjecture, approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 395.

19. 8. **γῆς.** *τέχνης* Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 344.

20. 5. **ἔρχεσθαι.** *προσέλκεσθαι* Herwerden, p. 70.

21. 1. **παρέχονται δὲ ἰδέαν οἱ Τρίτωνες.** After these words we should perhaps insert *τοιαύτην*.

2. **ἐν ἑκάστῳ.** *ἐνέστηκε* Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 222. Perhaps rightly.

οἱ ἐκ Παιόνων. Krüger would omit these words (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 486).

4. **Θηρίον δὲ ἐν τῷ Κτησίου λόγῳ κ.τ.λ.** Kayser would read *θηρίον δὲ ἐν τῳ Κτησίου λόγῳ, τῷ ἐς Ἰνδούς, ὃ μαρτιχόρα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων φησὶν ἀνδροφάγον λέγεσθαι, λελέχθαι οἱ πείθομαι τὸν τίγριν* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 395).

6. **τὰ θηρία.** Madvig would omit these words as a gloss on *αἱ ἀσπίδες* (*Adversaria*, 1. p. 63). But they are rightly defended by Hitzig (*W. B.*, pp. 17 *sq.*) as in harmony with Pausanias's usage. Herwerden, in proposing (p. 57) to alter a host of similar passages in Pausanias, is correcting Pausanias himself.

πείθομαι, διότι. Most or all of the MSS. read *δὲ ὅτι* for *διότι*. SW were probably right in proposing to read *πείθομαι, πείθομαι δὲ ὅτι* (cp. Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 28). The conjecture is approved by Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 7.

22. 1. **τοῦ τείχους.** *τὸ τεῖχος* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 395.

6. **τῇ Ἀνθηδόνι.** Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 7) would insert *ἐν* before these words. Perhaps rightly.

7. **ἐπεὶ τῆς πόας.** *ἐπεί τινος πόας* Herwerden, p. 70. I have translated accordingly.

23. 5. **διαπεσόντας.** *διεσπεσόντας* or *διεμπεσόντας* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 396.

7. **λιμήν.** This is a certain correction of H. N. Ulrichs's for *λίμνη* (*Reisen und Forschungen*, 1. p. 233). A similar correction is made by Boblaye in iii. 23. 2. The words *λιμὴν* and *λίμνη* were easily confused by the copyists. In v. 13. 7 *λίμνη* is a correction of *λιμήν*, the reading of the MSS.

24. 3. **Ὀλμωνέων.** *Ὀλμώνων* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 396.

4. **πάντα ἐν τῷ ἄλσει.** *πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει?*

25. 2. **ἐνταῦθα.** *ἔνθα* Valckenaer, approved by Hitzig, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 35 (1889), p. 825.

παιδὶ ἔτι ἐπισχεῖν γάλα. Herwerden (p. 70) would read *παιδίῳ* for *παιδί*. But cp. 31. 2 *γάλα ἐστὶν ἔλαφος παιδὶ μικρῷ διδοῦσα*.

4. **τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν.** Hitzig would insert *τὴν* before *ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν* (*W. B.*, p. 12).

5. **ἐσελθεῖν δὲ τοῖς τελεσθεῖσιν ἔστι.** Herwerden (p. 70) would insert *μόνοις* before *τοῖς τελεσθεῖσιν*.

26. 3. **χρῆσθαι σοφίσμασιν ἐς τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ὡς κ.τ.λ.** Kayser thought that a participle like *λέγουσαν* was wanted (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 396). *λέγουσαν* would improve the sentence, and might easily have dropped out after *ἀδελφούς*.

8. **ἀπολεῖσθαί τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολεῖν.** Read *ἀπολεῖσθαί τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἀπολεῖν* with Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 27. SW made the same conjecture.

ἐποίησε * * * Facius conjectured that the blank should be supplied by *Θήρων*, the name of a Boeotian sculptor mentioned by Pausanias, vi. 14. 11. *Θήρων* could easily have dropped out on account of the following *Θεῶν*. Cp. v. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 297.

27. 2. **ἀνδρὶ ἐς λόγους.** Valckenaer (p. 825) proposed to insert *ἐλθὼν* after these words. The missing word may perhaps have been *ἀφικόμενος*. Cp. vii. 23. 7.

8. **τοὺς ἐς Ἰωνίαν.** *τοὺς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ* Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 13. Schubart made the same correction in SW, vol. 2. p. xxiii. Joseph Klein proposed to read *τοὺς ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἀποικήσαντας*, referring to vii. 3. 7 (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 24 (1869), pp. 330 *sq.*). Some correction is necessary. The former is the simpler.

28. 3. **καθ' ὁπόσους.** *κατὰ ποσούς* Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 707. *καθ' ὁπόσους* is certainly meaningless.

4. [ἐσ]φέρει. ἐκφέρει J. C. Schmitt, *Philologus*, II (1856), p. 479.

μετακεράννυσι. Read μετακεράννυται with Madvig, *Adversaria*, I. p. 707.

29. 8. τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Read τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ with Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 396. For the genitive cp. viii. 27. 8 τὸ πταῖσμα ἐγένετο Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις.

30. 1. ὁ μὲν Λυσίππου. οἱ μὲν Λυσίππου Bekker, SW, and Dindorf; the conjecture is Sillig's. If this reading be adopted, Pausanias says that the group of Apollo and Hermes fighting for the lyre was by Lysippus, and that the statue of Dionysus was by Myron. If we retain ὁ μέν (the reading of the MSS.), Pausanias does not name the sculptor of the group of Apollo and Hermes, but mentions two images of Dionysus, one by Lysippus, the other by Myron. Now as he speaks of the image of Dionysus by Myron as 'the standing one' (τὸ ὀρθόν), it would seem that he intended to distinguish it from a seated image of Dionysus, and this seated image will be the one by Lysippus. It is better, therefore, to adhere to the reading of the MSS.

2. τοσῶνδε εἰκόνας. The MSS. read τόσων, not τοσῶνδε. Madvig proposed to read ὅσων and insert ἐρῶ or λέξω before it (*Adversaria*, I. pp. 707 *sq.*). But the words τόσων εἰκόνας have the appearance of being a gloss inserted by a scribe who did not understand the expression ποιητὰς——ἀνέθεσαν.

4. τροπὰς μηνιμάτων. Read ἀποτροπὰς μηνιμάτων with Herwerden, p. 70.

10. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πεσοῦσα. Madvig thought that the sense required ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεσόντος (*Adversaria*, I. p. 708). But he was wrong. See § 7.

31. 2. ἄλλως. ἄλλοθι Herwerden, p. 70.

6. τῇ Μολυκρίᾳ. Read ἐν τῇ Μολυκρίᾳ with Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 12, and Herwerden, p. 70.

7. ὁ Δάμος. Read Ὀλμιός with Leake, *Northern Greece*, 2. p. 498, note 3, comparing Hesiod, *Theog.* 6. Leake's emendation is rejected by Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 2. p. 93, note 43, but accepted by Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, I. p. 233, note 3.

32. 2. ἔστι πόλις. Read ἔστιν ἡ πόλις with Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 396.

3. ἐκώλυεν οὐδέν. Insert ἄν before or after οὐδέν, with Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 14, who compares viii. 7. 1.

5. ἐνούσης. οὔσης Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 25.

33. 6. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαλκομεναῖς. Hitzig would insert τό before ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαλκομεναῖς (*Beiträge*, p. 11).

34. 2. αἰτεῖν. αἰθειν Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 344.

3. ἐς ᾠδῆς ἔργον. ἐς ᾠδῆς ἀγῶνα Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 396; Herwerden, p. 70. Rightly, perhaps.

7. ἐποιήσατο. Hitzig proposed either to accept Sylburg's conjecture ἐσεποιήσατο or to insert παῖδας before ἐποιήσατο (*Beiträge*, pp. 8 *sq.*; *W. B.*, p. 21). Neither change is necessary. ποιεῖσθαι is good Greek in the sense of 'to adopt,' and is so used by Pausanias, viii. 27. 11 (which Hitzig would alter into ἐσποιησαμένου).

9. τῶν ποιητῶν. Read τῶν πολιτῶν with all the MSS. and all editions except Schubart's. ποιητῶν is a conjecture of Schubart's. It is sufficiently refuted by the words ὥστε καὶ τῶν ποιησάντων τινὲς which immediately follow, where τῶν ποιησάντων is clearly contrasted with τῶν πολιτῶν.

10. ἡ κώμη τότε ἐκλήθη Ἄλμωνες. The MSS. read αἱ κῶμαι τότε ἐκλήθησαν Ἄλμωνες. Probably Hitzig is right in thinking that Pausanias wrote ἡ κώμη τότε ἐκλήθησαν Ἄλμωνες, comparing x. 24. 1 κώμη —— ᾠκοῦντο αἱ Χῆναι (*Beiträge*, pp. 27 *sq.*).

35. 3. οἵ γε Διονύσου. These words are corrupt. Kayser proposed to read Μουσηγέτην. He thought that this emendation was confirmed by the fact that the Graces, who were placed on the hand of this statue of Apollo, each carried a musical instrument (Plutarch, *De musica*, 14). See Kayser in *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 350 *sq.*; *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 396. But the statue in question was called Ulius, not Musegetes, and carried in its left hand a bow, which would be unsuitable for Apollo in his character of Musegetes or leader of the Muses. See Commentary. J. M. van Gent proposed to read σύνδυο for Διονύσου (*Mnemosyne*, 2 (1853), pp. 388 *sq.*).

6. με. μοι Herwerden, p. 70.

36. 7. ἡ ταύτῃ. ἢ ταύτῃ Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 28.

8. ἄλλων τε ὁπόσων ἄδειαν εἶναι χρή. ἄλλων τε ὁπόσων χρή, ἄδειαν εἶναι Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 396. This makes the construction regular. If the reading in the text is retained, we must suppose that ἄλλων and *τιμωρίας* are genitives by attraction for ἄλλα and *τιμωρία*.

38. 5. πέτραν ἔχον. *περιτρέχον* Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 28. This is ingenious and plausible.

39. 1. ἄλλο ἤ. ἀλλ' ἤ Herwerden, p. 71.

3. ἀνακομίσαι. We should probably insert *φασὶ* after *ἀνακομίσαι* with Herwerden, p. 71.

4. καλουμένη θήρα. *καλουμένης* Ἥρας Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 1. p. 177, note 22.

11. προεμβάλλει —— τοὺς πόδας. Schubart would prefer to cancel *τοὺς πόδας* (vol. 2. p. xix.). But the reading of the text is confirmed, not only by *προεκθεόντων σφίσι τῶν ποδῶν* in § 11, but also by the schol. on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 508 *στόμιον γάρ τί ἐστιν, ὡς τὰ ἄκρα δύνασθαι μόνα τῶν ποδῶν χωρῆσαι* (repeated by Suidas, *s.v.* *Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια*).

40. 9. * * * [συνεῖναι τῇ] γνώμῃ, Κάρανον δὲ κ.τ.λ. Kayser proposed to correct this passage as follows: *συνεῖναι δὲ τῆς γνώμης Κάρανον οὐκ εὖ βουλεύσασθαι βαρβάροις τοῖς περιοικοῦσιν ἐς ἔχθραν ἐλθόντα ἀδιάλλακτον καταστῆναί τε μήτε ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν ὕστερον βασιλευσόντων Μακεδονίας τρόπαια ἱστασθαι* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 396). This may be right: it gives the required sense. *ἐλθόντα* is in the MSS. and ought not to have been altered by Schubart into *ἐθέλοντα*. Emperius suggested *ἐκόντα* for *ἐλθόντα* (*Opuscula*, p. 344).

BOOK X

1. 2. **Ἐπικνημίδιοι.** Read *Τποκνημίδιοι* with all the MSS. except La. The form *Τποκνημίδιοι*, instead of the more usual *Ἐπικνημίδια*, occurs both in inscriptions and on coins. See Roehl, *I. G. A.*, No. 321; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 231, and p. 347; Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 285. It is also mentioned, as an alternative to *Ἐπικνημίδιοι*, in the *Etymol. Magnum*, *s.v.* *Ἐπικνημίδιοι*, p. 360. Cp. Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 30, and Critical Note on 13. 4. The reading *Τποκνημίδιοι* is also supported by x. 8. 2 *Λοκροὺς τῇ Φωκίδι ὁμόρους ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κνήμιδι.* x. 20. 2 *Λοκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κνήμιδι.*

4. **αἰτοῦντες.** *αἰτοῦντας* Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 5, approved by Schubart in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 22 (1876), p. 396. We should rather expect *αἰτήσοντας.*

9. **οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ.** These words are perhaps a gloss on *σαλεύουσαν.* Cp. Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 397. However *οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ σαλεύουσαν* may possibly mean 'not riding in a safe roadstead.'

10. **Ἀπόλλωνι.** This is a conjecture of SW (accepted by Dindorf) for the MS. reading *Ἀπόλλωνα.* Cp. Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1848, pp. 510 *sq.* If we retain *Ἀπόλλωνα*, the meaning will be that the Phocians sent a statue of Apollo to Delphi as a votive offering. Statues of Apollo were often thus sent as votive offerings to Delphi. See x. 9. 5; 9. 7; 10. 1; 11. 1; 13. 5; 13. 6; 15. 2; 15. 7; 16. 7; 18. 4; 18. 7.

11. **ἀποδέον.** *ἀποδέοντο* La. *ἀποδέοντα* Hitzig, *Beiträge*, p. 28. The latter is perhaps right.

2. 5. **τῆς συμβολῆς.** Read *τῇ συμβολῇ* with Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 708. See Critical Note on ij. 20. 4.

6. **Φαῦλον.** *Φάυλλον* Herwerden, p. 71.

χαλκοῦν χρονιωτέρου. Between these words Palmer and J. C. Schmitt (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 477) proposed to insert *νεκροῦ.* SW would prefer to insert *ἀνδρός.* A noun in the genitive is certainly wanted.

ὑπολαβοῦσα αὐτὸν φθοώδης νόσος. *φθιώδης* VaM. *φθιώδες* Vb. *φθυώδης* La. We should probably read *φθινώδης.* Cp. viii. 28. 5 *κατέλαβε Τεῦθαν φθινώδης νόσος.* ix. 7. 3 *ὑπολαβοῦσα νόσος φθινώδης.* Kuhn, Facius, and Siebelis read *φθινώδης*, and it is approved by Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 21 note.

3. 2. **πλὴν Ἄβας ᾠκίσθησαν αἱ ἄλλαι.** Read *πλὴν Ἄβας διῳκίσθησαν αἱ ἄλλαι* with Cobet, *Novae Lectiones*, p. 291. For the phrase *ἐς* (or *κατὰ*) *κώμας διοικίζειν* see viii. 8. 9; ix. 14. 4.

4. 4. **ἑκάτερος.** *ἕκαστος* VbLa. If *ἑκάτερος* is the right reading, Pausanias implies that there were only two of these stones.

7. **στάδια ἑπτά.** Leake conjectured (*N. Greece*, 2. pp. 109 *sq.*) that *εἴκοσι* has been lost, so that the true reading would be *ὅσον στάδια ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι ἀπέχει Δαυλὶς* 'Daulis is distant about twenty-seven furlongs.' This would give about the correct distance. See Commentary.

10. **Τρωνίς.** Leake (*N. Greece*, 2. p. 104) conjectured *Πατρωνίς*, comparing Plutarch, *Sulla*, 15.

5. 6. **Χθονίης σφῶν δή.** These words are corrupt. Tyrwhitt proposed *Χθονίη σφιν Γῇ.* See Dawes's *Miscellanea Critica*, ed. Kidd, 2nd ed. p. 516. This may be right. *Χθονίη Γῇ* occurs in an inscription. See Dittenberger, *Sylloge Ins. Graec.*, No. 373. 26.

8. **ἐπαριθμοῦσα.** *ἀπαριθμοῦσα* Dindorf, Praef. p. xxx.

6. 1. **τῶν πετομένων τε ὀρνίθων τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαντείαν.** Hitzig conjectured

(*W. B.*, pp. 21 *sq.*) that after *ὀρνίθων* some words like *τὴν διάγνωσιν καὶ* have dropped out. He is probably right.

4. **πρῶτον.** We should perhaps read *πρώτην*, as SW conjectured.

μητρὸς μέν. *μητρὸς εἶναι* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 397.

7. **φόνου δέ ἑ Κρήσιοι ἄνδρες | χεῖρας ἀγιστεύουσι.** For *ἀγιστεύουσι* read *ἀγιστεύσουσι* with Herwerden, in *Mnemosyne*, N.S., 14 (1886), p. 42. Kayser proposed to read *φόνου δ' ἀπὸ Κρήσιοι ἄνδρες | χεῖρας ἅγος νίψουσι* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 397). The transitive use of *ἀγιστεύειν* is certainly unusual.

7. 4. **ὃς λάμποι.** Corrupt. Boeckh conjectured Μελάμπους, which is accepted by SW and Dindorf. It may be right. I have translated accordingly.

6. **Ἕλλησιν δ' ᾄδων μέλεα καὶ ἐλέγους.** *Ἕλλησιν μελετῶν αὐλοὺς ἠδ' ἐλέγους* Aug. Mommsen, *Delphika*, p. 192.

8. 3. **ἀγαγόντος.** *ἀγοντος?*

9. **καὶ πιεῖν ἡδύ.** A corresponding clause seems wanting. Buttmann suggested *καὶ λοῦσθαι καλόν*. Kayser proposed to insert *ἄφθονον θεάσασθαι*, comparing vii. 24. 3 *ὕδωρ ἄφθονον θεάσασθαί τε καὶ πιεῖν ἐκ πηγῆς ἡδύ* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, pp. 397 *sq.*).

9. 7. **Ἄβας.** Read *Ἀγίας* with Valckenaer, p. 825, comparing iii. 11. 5. Hitzig approves.

10. **Ἐπικυρίδας.** *Ἐπικυδίδας* Herwerden, p. 71.

11. **ἡτταλοισ' ἡμούσουσι πόλιν.** Corrupt. Emperius (*Opuscula*, p. 135) proposed *ἥττης· οὐ λήσουσι πόλιν* (joining *ἥττης* with the preceding *παραιφασίη δέ τις ἔσται*). This is plausible, if not probable, and I have translated accordingly. It is approved by Waltz (SW, 3. p. xv.) and Kayser (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 398). J. C. Schmitt proposed *ἢ γὰρ οἱ οὐ λήσουσι πόλιν* (*Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 479).

10. 1. **Φυλεύς.** *Φιλέας* or *Φίλαιος*, E. Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 366. One MS. (Lb) reads *Φιλεύς*. See Commentary.

11. 4. **εἰ δέξεταί σε ἡπίως.** *εἰ δὴ ἕξει ἠπίως* J. C. Schmitt, *Philologus*, 11 (1856), pp. 477 *sq.*

12. 1. **Σίβυλλαν δὲ ἐπίκλησιν * * * τὴν πρότερον.** E. Maass has suggested that the lacuna is to be filled up with *κατὰ τὴν παρὰ Λίβυσι* or some such words (*De Sibyllarum Indicibus*, p. 7). See Commentary.

6. **ἔχοισ'. Ἑκάτω.** *ἔχουσα κάτω* Emperius, *Opuscula*, p. 345. The same emendation was suggested by v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, as I learn from E. Maass, *De Sibyllarum Indicibus*, p. 5 note.

10. **ἀνίει.** Read *ἀνιεῖ* with Herwerden, p. 71. (*ἀνίει* is the imperfect.)

11. **Εὔκλουν.** *Εὔκλον* Dindorf, Praef. p. xiv.

13. 1. **Δέοντος.** Read *Λέοντος*. See Commentary.

ἰσχυρὰ τῇ ἐμβολῇ. Herwerden, p. 71, proposes to insert *ὥστε ἀντίσχειν* before *τῇ ἐμβολῇ*. Some such words certainly are necessary to complete the sense.

3. **[ἐλαχίστων] ἐλύτρων.** Krüger defends *ἐλαχίστων*. According to him the *ἐλάχιστα ἔλυτρα* are the inner husk, German *Samenflügel*, what Pliny calls *alia ferruginis tunica*, as opposed to *lacunati tori* (the outer husk). Pliny, *N. H.*, xv. 35. See Krüger, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 485.

4. **Ἐπικνημίδιοι.** Read *Τροκνημίδιοι* with all the MSS. except La. (SW give *Τροκνημίδιος* as the reading of the MSS. But this seems to be a misprint.) See Critical Note on x. 1. 2.

10. **Καλύνθου τε ἐστικωσι ἔργου.** *Καλλιτέλους ὃς ἦν οἱ συνεργός* Kayser, *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 349; *id.*, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 398, referring to v. 27. 8. *Καλλιτέλους ἐστὶν οἱ συνεργοῦ* Seemann, *Quaestiones*, p. 30.

14. 6. **ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου.** *τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου* or *τὸ τοῦ Μήδου* Dindorf, Praef. p. xviii. It might be enough to omit *ἀπό*.

7. **συνεχές.** *συνηρεφές* Herwerden, p. 71, comparing Herodotus, i. 110; vii. 111. This is perhaps right.

15. 3. **αὐλήσει.** The MSS. read *αὐδήσει*, of which various emendations (*αὐχήσει*, *λυσσήσει*, etc.) have been proposed. Kayser proposed *ᾠδ' ἥξει* (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 365). Herwerden rather prefers *λυσσήσει* (*Mnemosyne*, N.S., 14 (1886), p. 47).

τάχα γάρ σφιν. Herwerden would alter *γὰρ* into *δέ* (*Mnemosyne*, N.S., 14 (1886), pp. 46 *sq.*). But the change is needless, as *γὰρ* explains the words immediately preceding (*εἰς ὀλίγον*). The ravages of the Gauls will last only a short time, for a champion will arise who will destroy them.

7. ἔτι οὖσι. *αἰφνιδίως* G. Hermann, *Opuscula*, 7. p. 149.

17. 1. πεντήκοντα. *προήκει* or *ἐστὶ προήκουσα* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 398. *πεντήκοντα* is certainly corrupt. In translating I have accordingly omitted it.

4. ἀποδρᾶναι τηνικαῦτα Καμίκου. We should probably insert *ἐκ* before Καμίκου with Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 398, approved by Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 22.

6. ἐκώλυσε τοὺς βαρβάρους. A nominative to the verb seems to be wanted. Schubart proposed (*Methodologie*, p. 103) to write the passage thus: *καταστῆναι δὲ ἐς μάχην τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἐκώλυσε τοὺς βαρβάρους (παρασκευῇ γὰρ ἴσοι τῇ ἁπάσῃ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἦσαν) ὁ Θόρσος ποταμός, ὃς διὰ μέσου σφίσι ῥέων κ.τ.λ.* The text is, however, defended by Herwerden. See Critical Note on iv. 25. 6.

9. πόλιν. Read *πόλεις*, as Bochart and Siebelis conjectured, with Hitzig's approval (*W. B.*, p. 22).

12. ἀλλὰ ἐς εὐθὺ —— ἐληλιγμένα. This must be wrong. Schubart (*Methodologie*, p. 65) proposed to transpose the words *ἐς εὐθὺ* before ἀλλά, joining them with the preceding words *διεστηκότα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς*. This is plausible.

18. 1. πατρός. Herwerden (p. 71) would omit this as superfluous. He is probably right.

2. λαῶν πινόντων. *λαῷ πινόμενον* Herwerden, *Mnemosyne*, N.S., 14 (1886), p. 48.

7. ὠμότητος ἐς Καλλιέας. Hitzig proposes (*W. B.*, p. 11) to insert *τῆς* before *ἐς*.

19. 2. καταδύονται δὲ —— ἔτι παρθένοι. The sentence is probably an interpolation, as Schubart remarked (*Methodologie*, p. 83).

4. ἐστὶν ἐργασάμενος. Insert *ὁ* before *ἐργασάμενος* with Herwerden, p. 71.

11. ἵππον τὸ ὄνομα ἴστω τις μάρκαν ὄντα ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν. This cannot be right. Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 32) proposed *ἵππῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἴστω τις μάρκαν ὂν τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν*, an emendation which had been already proposed by SW. But it is not satisfactory. A participle such as *τεθὲν* is wanted with *ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν*. Cp. ii. 15. 1; x. 26. 4; and Critical Note on x. 32. 9.

20. 4. τούτων ἦγε τὸ ἱππικὸν Μεγαρεύς. This cannot be right. As SW saw, the name of the general has probably been corrupted into *ἱππικόν*, and the true reading may have run *τούτων ἡγεῖτο Ἱππόνικος Μεγαρεύς*, though the general's name cannot be restored with certainty.

ψιλοὶ δὲ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ * * ἑπτακισχιλίων ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν οἱ ὁπλιτεύοντες. Schubart proposed to fill up the blank with the words *ἑπτακόσιοι, πλέονες δέ* (*Methodologie*, p. 39).

8. διανηχόμενοι ὧδε. *ὧδε* is meaningless here. Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 32) would alter it into *οἱ μέν*, omitting the *μὲν* after the preceding *οὗτοι*. But *οἱ μὲν* should come before *διανηχόμενοι*, not after it.

τὰ ὅπλα, τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους θυρεούς. *τὰ ὅπλα* is perhaps a gloss on *τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους θυρεούς*.

21. 1. ἡ σφενδονῶν. *καὶ σφενδονῶν* Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 20. Rightly perhaps.

5. εὖτ' ἐπὶ τὸν Γαλάταν ἥκμασε θοῦρος Ἄρης. *εὖτ' ἐπὶ τὸν Γαλατᾶν ἥκμασε θοῦρον Ἄρη* Th. Bergk, referred to by Dindorf, Praef. p. xxxv., note. *θοῦρον* is in four MSS.

22. 1. ὑπὲρ τῆς * * Τραχινίδος. It is not absolutely necessary to suppose that there is a lacuna here.

* * * τὴν φρουρὰν οἰομενου Τελεσάρχῳ. *<τῆς δὲ ἀτράπου οἱ Φωκεῖς εἶχον> τὴν φρουρὰν ἡγουμένου Τελεσάρχου* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 398. This probably gives the sense of the passage.

3. ἀποκτείνοντες. Read *ἀποκτείναντες* with Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 5), approved by Schubart (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 22 (1876), p. 396).

ἥπτοντο. *ὠπτῶντο* Valckenaer, p. 823.

4. ταῖς δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ὑπάρξειν τὸ χρεὼν ἔμελλεν ἥ τε ἀσιτία καὶ ἡ ἀὐπνία. This transitive use of *ὑπάρχειν* can hardly be right. We should probably read *παρέξειν* for *ὑπάρξειν*, as Wakefield and Schaefer conjectured.

23. 2. τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. After these words Herwerden (p. 72) would insert *σέλα*.

3. ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν —— ἀπέστειλαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δελφούς. Krüger thought that this paragraph was out of place here, and should be transposed after *ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ* in § 10 (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), pp. 481 *sq.*).

12. **πίνοντα.** Read *πιόντα* with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 5, and Herwerden, p. 72. It is approved by Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 22 (1876), p. 396.

24. 3. **κακά.** *καλά* Siebelis, apparently approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 398. *κλέα* Herwerden, *Mnemosyne*, N.S., 14 (1886), p. 42.

ἰδίᾳ δὲ οὐδένα αὐτῶν. *ἰδίᾳ οὐδένα αὐτοί?*

4. **ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπέκτεινε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.** Perhaps we should insert ὁ before *τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.*

25. 2. **καὶ ναῦς τε γεγραμμένη καὶ ἄνδρες ἐντὸς ναῦται.** *καὶ ναῦς ἐστι γεγραμμένη καὶ ἄνδρες ὄντες ἐν αὐτῇ* Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 398. Seemann proposes to insert *εἰσι* after *ἐντός* (*Quaestiones*, p. 13). C. Robert reads *ἐπὶ ταῖς κώπαις* instead of *ἐντὸς ναῦται*, comparing x. 28. 1 (C. Robert, *Die Iliupersis des Polygnot*, p. 2). The MSS. read *ἐν τοῖσι ναύταις*, except La, which has *ἐν τοῖς ναύταις*, and Va, which has *ἐν τοῖς ναύπλαις.*

4. **ἐοίκασιν ἀνασκοπούμεναι.** We should expect *ἐοίκασιν ἀνασκοπουμέναις.* But Dindorf, Praef. p. xxxi., defends the nominative by comparing vi. 1. 7 *οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἔοικεν εὐχόμενος τῷ θεῷ.*

5. **ὑπὸ τὴν μάχην τοῦτον, ἣν —— ἐμαχέσαντο.** *ὑπὸ τὴν μασχάλην τοῦτον ἥνικα —ἐμαχέσαντο*, C. Robert, *Iliupersis*, p. 4. The change is unnecessary. Cp. i. 44. 4 *ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην μάχην πρὸς Γλισαντι ἀποθανόντα*: i. 23. 3; iv. 14. 3; viii. 41. 9; ix. 5. 3; and for the construction *μάχην—ἐμαχέσαντο*, cp. viii. 53. 9 *τῆς μάχης ἣν —— ἐμαχέσατο.*

9. **ἑλόμενος τοῦ μαστοῦ.** *ἐχόμενος τοῦ ἱματίου* Cobet, *Novae Lectiones*, p. 534. This is probably right.

ἐθελῆσαι. Herwerden (p. 72) would omit this or change it into *ἐθέλοντα.* He prefers the former course.

26. 1. **ἡ θεῶν μήτηρ.** These words are omitted by C. Robert, *Iliupersis*, p. 8.

δουλείας ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων. Dindorf, Praef. p. xviii., would prefer to insert *τῆς* before *ἀπό.*

2. **ἐπὶ κλίνης.** *ἐπικλινής*, C. Robert, *Iliupersis*, p. 9.

3. **καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς τέ ἐστιν ἐνδεδυκὼς θώρακα. [Ὀδυσσεύς.]** Instead of *ἐνδεδυκὼς* several MSS. (PcLabAg) read *καὶ ἐνδέδυκε.* This is adopted by C. Robert (*Iliupersis*, p. 9), who supposes that some words containing the description of another figure, perhaps that of Diomede, have dropped out after *ἐστίν.* This is not improbable, and I have accordingly indicated a lacuna in the translation. Herwerden proposed (p. 72) to read *καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς δέ ἐστιν* or *πάρεστιν.*

τοῦ ἐν Αὐλίδι φανέντος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱερείοις τέρατος ἕνεκα· ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Αἴαντα ἐξορκοῦσιν. The passage is corrupt. Schubart proposed to read *τοῦ ἐν Αὐλίδι φανέντος τέρατος ἕνεκα· ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱερείοις τὸν Αἴαντα ἐξορκοῦσι* (Praef. p. xxiv.; *Methodologie*, pp. 72* *sq.*). This is plausible, and I have translated accordingly. C. Robert puts a full stop after *ἕνεκα* and a comma after *ἐξορκοῦσιν*, and reads *ὑπὸ τούτοις τοῖς* for *ἐπὶ τούτοις* (*Iliupersis*, p. 10).

4. **ὅτι Ἀχιλλεὺς ἡλικίᾳ ἔτι νέος πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο.** Siebelis proposed to strike out Ἀχιλλεύς, and refer the verb to Neoptolemus. SW and Dindorf bracket Ἀχιλλεύς. But see Commentary.

6. **ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυγνώτου.** We should probably read *ὑπὸ τοῦ τε Πολυγνώτου* with C. Robert, *Iliupersis*, p. 12. The correction is due to Bekker. I have translated accordingly.

27. 1. **ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τὸ λουτήριον.** Read *ὑπὸ τὸ λουτήριον* with VabLa and C. Robert, *Iliupersis*, p. 14.

2. **Ἐς δὲ Ἑκάβην.** Instead of *ἐς* several MSS (VbMAgLb) read *εἰ.* La reads *ἡ δὲ ἑκάβη.* Accordingly C. Robert reads *ἡ δὲ Ἑκάβη*, and supposes that after these words there is a lacuna which he conjecturally supplies thus: *ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ἐς κύνα μετεβλήθη* (*Iliupersis*, p. 15).

28. 1. **τὰ ἐς τὴν γραφήν.** *τὰ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ* Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 7, comparing x. 29. 3.

τὰ εἴδη τῶν ἰχθύων σκιὰς μᾶλλον ἢ ἰχθῦς εἰκάσεις. Kayser proposed to insert *ὡς* before *σκιὰς* and *εἶναι* before *εἰκάσεις* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 399).

3. **οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐς ἅπαν εἰσιν οἷς προσήκουσι.** The two last words seem to be corrupt or interpolated. I have omitted them in the translation. C. Robert alters *ἐς ἅπαν* into *ἐς ἅπαντας* (*Die Nekyia des Polygnotus*, p. 6). But the change is needless, since the adverbial phrase *ἐς ἅπαν* is common in Pausanias. See vi. 17. 8; viii. 27. 7; ix. 31. 8; x. 17. 8; x. 29. 3.

ἡλικίαν ἐφήβου γεγονὼς φαίνεται. *ἡλικίαν γέρων ὡς φαίης ἂν* C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 6. *γέρων ὡς* is a conjecture of v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's for *γεγονώς*.

4. τῇ ὄχθῃ μάλιστα [τῷ] ὑπὸ τοῦ Χάρωνος. *τῇ ὄχθῃ μάλιστα τῷ θεασαμένῳ μνήμης ἄξιον, ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ Χάρωνος* C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 6. La reads *μάλιστα ἄξιον ὅτι*. VbR read *μάλιστα ἄξιον ὅτι τῷ*.

ἀνὴρ οὐ δίκαιος ἐς πατέρα ἀγχόμενός ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. Herwerden (p. 72) proposed to insert *τὸν* before *πατέρα*. We ought perhaps, also, to insert *γενόμενος* before *ἀγχόμενος*.

6. τῷ ἔργῳ, ἡνίκα ἐν Φοινίσσῃ νηῒ κ.τ.λ. *τῶν ἔργων ἕνεκα· ἐν Φοινίσσῃ νηῒ κ.τ.λ.* C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 8. *τῶν ἔργων ἕνεκα* is in most (or all?) of the MSS. *τῷ ἔργῳ, ἡνίκα* is a conjecture of Porson's, accepted by Bekker, SW, and Dindorf.

τὸν συλήσαντα ἱερά. C. Robert follows LaVb in reading *ἱερέα* instead of *ἱερά* (*Nekyia*, p. 8). But *συλήσαντα* has thus no accusative to govern.

7. γυπός. λυγκός C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 8.

29. 2. ὄκνον δ' οὖν. *ὄκνον οὖν* C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 9, following La.

μάντεων οἱ ὁρῶντες τοὺς οἰωνούς. Insert *ἐς* before *τοὺς οἰωνοὺς* with Herwerden, p. 72.

3. Τιτυὸς οὐ κολαζόμενος ἔτι. *Τιτυὸς ὁ <γηγενὴς> κολαζόμενος ἔτι* C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 10. La reads *ὁ κολαζόμενος*. The other MSS. read *οὐ κολαζόμενος*.

5. φησί. Read *φήσει* with Dindorf.

ἡ δὲ * * * χώρας. εἶπον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐς αὐτὰς λόγον. *ἡ δὲ <Κασταλίου θυγάτηρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ>, εἶπον δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν ἐς αὐτὰς λόγον* C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 11. The reading δ' ἂν (instead of *δὲ*) is in VabMPac(*)AgLab. Instead of *ἄλλον* the MSS. read *ἄλλοι ὃν* or *ἀλλοῖον*.

7. διὰ μὲν τοῦ χιτῶνος ἀνέχουσα ἄκρους παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον τοὺς δακτύλους. *ᾗαν μὲν τοῦ χιτῶνος ἀνέχουσα ἄκροις παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον τοῖς δακτύλοις* C. Robert, *Nekyia*, pp. 11 *sq.* These changes are conjectural; they have no MS. authority.

τῶν χειρῶν. After these words we should perhaps insert *τῇ ἑτέρᾳ* with Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 399. I have translated accordingly.

ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὅρμον. *θατέρᾳ τὸν ὅρμον* C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 12.

8. ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσίν. Herwerden (p. 62) considers these words an interpolation.

9. προσφυές. We should probably read either *προσφυῆ* with Hitzig (*W. B.*, p. 15), or *προσφύεσθαι* with v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 12). Cp. Schubart, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 22 (1876), p. 396.

30. 3. Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ μετὰ τὸν Ἀντίλοχον σκήπτρῳ τε κ.τ.λ. The passage which follows is probably corrupt. Kayser would rewrite it thus:—*Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ μετὰ τὸν Ἀντίλοχον σκήπτρῳ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀριστερὰν μασχάλην ἐρειδόμενος καὶ Πρωτεσίλαος ταῖς χερσὶν ἑστιν ἔχων ῥάβδον, πρὸς δὲ Ἀχιλλέα ἀφορᾷ καθεζόμενον * * * παρέχεται σχῆμα*: he supposes that the full description of Achilles's attitude has dropped out (*Z. f. A.* 1850, p. 399). Cp. Schubart, *Z. f. A.*, 1856, p. 330 *sqq.*

ἐπανέχων. *ἔτι ἄλλην ἔχων* C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 14.

4. γενείων ὅδε εὖ ἔχει. *ἑλαίαν μὲν ἀνέχων* C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 14. The MSS. read *καὶ ἐς εὐγένειαν δὲ εὖ ἔχει*.

6. καὶ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ. *καὶ* is here superfluous. We should probably omit it with Herwerden, p. 72.

ἰτέας κλῶνές εἰσιν ὧν ψαύει. *ἰτέας ψαύει· κλῶνές εἰσιν ὧν ψαύει* Kuhn, Facius, Siebelis, C. Robert (*Nekyia*, p. 15), following most of the MSS., including La VabAgPa. Bekker was the first to cancel the first *ψαύει*, and he was followed by SW and Dindorf. Cp. Schubart, in *Z. f. A.*, 1856, pp. 339 *sq.*

τὸ ἄλσος ἔοικεν εἶναι. *τὸ δὲ <δένδρον> ἄλσος ἔοικεν εἶναι* C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 15. The *δὲ* after *τὸ* appears to have some MS. authority.

8. πολλὴ μὲν —— πολλὴ δέ. *πολιὴ μὲν —— πολιὴ δὲ* Madvig, *Adversaria*, 1. p. 708.

31. 3. τούτοις πλὴν τῷ Παλαμήδει γένειά ἐστι τοῖς ἄλλοις. This sentence is transposed by C. Robert (*Nekyia*, p. 17) and placed at the end of § 2, immediately after the words *ἐν ἔπεσιν οἶδα τοῖς Κυπρίοις*.

4. ὑπ' αἰνᾶς. *ὑπαὶ ταῖς* or *ὑπ' ἀρᾶς* Valckenaer, p. 825. Porson proposed to read *Ἀλθαίας* for *αἰνᾶς* (*Adversaria*, ed. Monk and Blomfield (Cambridge, 1812), pp. 38 *sq.*).

6. αἱ ὄρνιθες. These words are cancelled by C. Robert, *Nekyia*, p. 19. The *αἱ* has no MS. authority.

7. **τέτμηται δὲ διὰ τῶν μονῶν ἡ ὁδός.** The text can hardly be right here. Emperius conjectured *δι' αὐτῶν μέσων* for *διὰ τῶν μονῶν* (*Opuscula*, p. 345). Prof. W. M. Ramsay in a letter to me says: 'I fancy that the reference is to rock-cuttings, like Petra Intercisa on Flaminia Via; and that *μονῶν* should be corrected to some word meaning rocks, or *ὀρῶν*. I have seen various cuttings of that style in the country.' One MS. (Ag) reads *μηνῶν* for *μονῶν*. In a later letter Prof. W. M. Ramsay suggests that this *μηνῶν* may be a shortened or corrupted form of a proper name ending in *ηνῶν*, and he conjectures that the reading may have been *διὰ τῶν Μηρηνῶν*, so that the sense would be 'the road has been carried through the country of the people of Meros' (beside Midas's tomb).

32. 1. **Στάδιον δέ σφισιν ἀνωτάτω τῆς πόλεως τοῦτό ἐστιν· ἐπεποίητο δὲ ἐκ τῆς πέτρας.** Here *τοῦτο* can hardly be right. Sylburg proposed to transfer it after *ἐπεποίητο*.

2. **ῥᾴων εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί, ἡμιόνοις τε καὶ ἵπποις.** Insert *ἢ* before *ἡμιόνοις* with La, Porson, Valckenaer (p. 819), Hitzig, Bekker, SW, Dindorf, Herwerden (p. 72), and J. E. B. Mayor (*Journal of Philology*, 16 (1888), p. 112).

6. **ἐριπόντες.** *ἐρείποντες* Hitzig, *Beiträge*, pp. 28 *sq.*, on the ground that the aorist is always intransitive. But it is transitive in Herodotus, ix. 70. See Liddell and Scott, *s.v. ἐρείπω*.

9. **Τιθορέᾳ δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τεθῆναί φασιν ἀπὸ Τιθορέας νύμφης.** The words *τὸ ὄνομα* must have dropped out, perhaps after *ἐπιχώριοι*. Cp. Critical Note on x. 19. 11.

12. **δύο.** Kuhn proposed to read *δυοκαίδεκα*, which may be right.

16. **Ὅσοις μὲν δὴ καθαγίσασι τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἀποστεῖλαι.** *ὅσους μὲν ἂν καλέσῃ ἡ Ἶσις τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἀποστεῖλαι* Kayser, *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 354.

17. **καθαγίζουσι τὰς σκηνάς.** Kayser would insert *περὶ* before *τὰς σκηνάς* (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), p. 354).

33. 3. **καὶ ὥρᾳ.** Kayser would omit *καί* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 400). Emperius proposed to change *καὶ ὥρᾳ* into *καθ' ὥραν* (*Opuscula*, p. 345).

10. **ποιμαινόντων.** *ποιμένων* La, approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 400.

ἐθέλουσιν Ὀφιτείαν. *ἐθέλουσι καὶ Ὀφιτείαν* Herwerden, pp. 72 *sq.*

11. **ἃ μάλιστα ἄξιον Διονύσῳ δρῶσιν ὄργια.** These words are corrupt. One MS. (La) reads *θέας δὲ μάλιστα ἄξια Διονύσῳ ὄργια δρῶσιν*, which gives good sense and is approved by Kayser, *Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 400. Kayser would correct the next sentence as follows: *ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον οὐκ ἔστι, οὐδὲ ἐν φανερῷ σφισιν ἄγαλμα*.

12. **σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα.** If the two preceding numbers (15 and 20 furlongs) are correct, *ὀγδοήκοντα* must be wrong. For if the distance between Amphiclea and Dryinaea by way of Tithronium was only 15+20=35 furlongs, the direct distance between Amphiclea and Drymaea must have been less than 35 furlongs. Cp. Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. p. 88.

34. 3. **συμφοραὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν πρὸς Φωκέας τοὺς ἄλλους γεγόνασί σφισιν ἐοικυῖαι.** This is not Greek. For *ἐοικυῖαι* read *ἐν κοινῷ* with, apparently, all the MSS. except MVaLbPcAg, and with the editions of Kuhn, Facius, Bekker, Siebelis, SW, and Dindorf.

5. **Μνησίβουλος.** The true form of the name was *Μνασίβουλος*. See the Commentary. But Pausanias may have preferred the Attic to the Doric spelling.

8. **ἱεροῦται.** Read *ἱερῶται* with Hitzig, *W. B.*, p. 16.

μίμημα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι. Kayser would insert *τῶν* before *ἐπί* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 400).

35. 7. **οὐκ ἐδήλωσα.** This cannot be right. SW conjectured *οὐκ ἔχω δηλῶσαι*, which is plausible. I translate accordingly. Cp. Schubart, *Methodologie*, p. 27.

10. **ὁπόσα Δήμητρι ἐς τιμήν.** Kayser suggested that for *ἐς τιμήν* we should read *ἐποιήθη* (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 400).

36. 1. **αἱ θάμνοι.** The article should perhaps be omitted, as Herwerden (p. 73) suggests.

6. **ἐδήλωσα δὲ ἀρχομένης τῆς ἐς Φωκέας * * * ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀσεβῆσαι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς.** The gap was probably filled by some such words as *συγγραφῆς ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Μεδεωλίους διὰ τό*. Cp. x. 3. 2.

37. 1. **ἱερὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς πεποιημένον ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος· ἔργον τῶν Πραξιτέλους,**

δᾷδα ἔχουσα κ.τ.λ. Something has fallen out between Ἀρτέμιδος and ἔργον. Kayser suggested that we should supply τὸ ἔδος (*Z. f. A.*, 1850, p. 400). Pausanias twice uses ἔδος in the sense of image. See ii. 20. 8; viii. 46. 2. SW conjectured that the missing words were ἡ θεός.

2. [ἐς δὲ τὸν] * * * λιμένα σταδίων ἑξ Ἀντικύρας ἐστὶν ἑκατόν. Herwerden (p. 73) proposed to read <πλοῦς δὲ ἐς τὸν Μυχὸν> λιμένα σταδίων ἑξ Ἀντικύρας ἐστὶν ἑκατόν. (As to the harbour Μυχός, see Strabo, ix. p. 423. It is perhaps the port of Boulis.)

3. θαύματος πολλοῦ. θαύματος <ἄξια> πολλοῦ Herwerden, p. 73.

4. ἀμείνω. τὰ ἀμείνω Krüger, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), p. 487.

38. 8. ἐπισχεῖν. ἔτι ἀνίσχειν Seemann, *Quaestiones*, p. 14. Seemann's ἔτι is here out of place, and is not defended by x. 11. 5, to which he refers. With this use of ἐπέχειν compare iv. 7. 6 ἐπισχούσης ἡμέρας: iv. 29. 3 ἡμέρα τε ἐπέσχε.

END OF VOL. I

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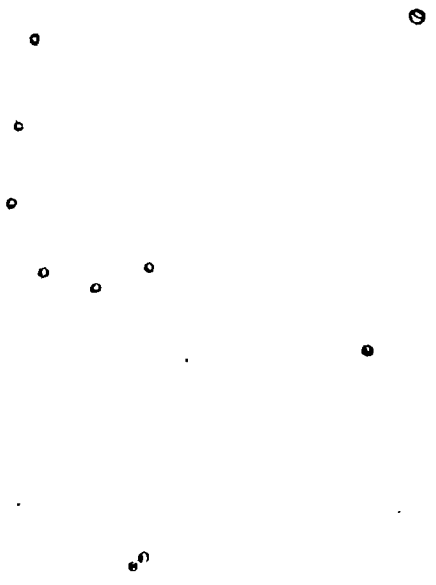

CORRIGENDA

Page	2,	*line*	10	*from foot.*	*For*	Gobrias	*read*	Gobryas.
,,	5,	,,	13	,, ,,	,,	Callipus	,,	Callippus.
,,	12,	,,	8	,, *top.*	,,	Philometer	,,	Philometor.
,,	18,	,,	12	,, *foot.*	,,	Larissa	,,	Larisa.
,,	19,	,,	22	,, *top.*	,,	Spacteria	,,	Sphacteria.
,,	24,	,,	17	,, ,,	,,	Perithous	,,	Pirithous.
,,	46,	,,	9	,, *foot.*	,,	Mnaseus	,,	Mnaseas.
,,	76,	,,	15	,, *top.*	,,	Mycenian	,,	Mycenaean.
,,	83,	,,	16	,, ,,	,,	Mnaseus	,,	Mnaseas.
,,	92,	,,	21	,, ,,	,,	son of Arcas	,,	the Arcadian.
,,	93,	,,	6	,, *foot.*	,,	Argos	,,	Argus.
,,	,,	,,	5	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	94,	,,	11	,, *top.*	,,	Peneus	,,	Perseus.
,,	,,	,,	14	,, *foot.*	,,	Acuselaus	,,	Acusilaus.
,,	101,	,,	13	,, ,,	,,	Argos	,,	Argus.
,,	106,	,,	20	,, ,,	,,	Oneus	,,	Oeneus.
,,	110,	,,	7	,, ,,	,,	Argos	,,	Argus.
,,	114,	,,	9	,, ,,	,,	Pamphilus	,,	Pamphylus.
,,	115,	,,	15	,, *top.*	,,	Aesopus	,,	Asopus.
,,	119,	,,	9	,, ,,	,,	Anaxorids	,,	Anaxagorids.
,,	125,	,,	4	,, ,,	,,	Niseus	,,	Nisus.
,,	,,	,,	23	,, *foot.*	*After*	a spit of land	*add*	called Epi Posidium.
,,	128,	,,	15	,, ,,	*For*	Charilus	*read*	Charillus.
,,	140,	,,	18	,, ,,	,,	Ariphoron	,,	Ariphron.
,,	141,	,,	13	,, ,,	,,	Ariston	,,	Aristo.
,,	143,	,,	10	,, *top.*	,,	Euxidamus	,,	Zeuxidamus.
,,	,,	,,	5	,, *foot.*	,,	Lepreum	,,	Lepreus.
,,	144,	,,	10	,, *top.*	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	164,	,,	12	,, *foot.*	,,	Polybaea	,,	Polyboea.
,,	167,	,,	20	,, ,,	,,	Lapithus	,,	Lapithes.
,,	176,	,,	17	,, ,,	,,	Artemis	,,	Athena.
,,	,,	,,	15	,, ,,	,,	Oetylum	,,	Oetylus.
,,	,,	,,	13	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	,,	,,	10	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	180,	,,	3	,, *top.*	,,	Diocleus	,,	Diocles.
,,	193,	,,	8	,, ,,	,,	Epebolis	,,	Epebolus.
,,	199,	,,	11	,, *foot.*	,,	Hippomanes	,,	Hippomenes.

Page	202,	*line*	21	*from foot.*	*For*	Lepreum	*read*	Lepreus.
,,	215,	,,	10	,, *top.*	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	,,	,,	20	,, *foot.*	,,	Diagorus	,,	Diagoras.
,,	235,	,,	13	,, *top.*	,,	Caphareus	,,	Caphereus.
,,	,,	,,	19	,, ,,	,,	victory	,,	Victory.
,,	238,	*top line.*			,,	Lapithus	,,	Lapithes.
,,	248,	*line*	7	,, ,,	,,	Sybara	,,	Sybaris.
,,	296,	,,	4	,, *foot.*	,,	Philon	,,	Philo.
,,	303,	,,	7	,, *top.*	,,	Telemechus	,,	Telemachus.
,,	309,	,,	12	,, *foot.*	,,	Charmantides	,,	Carmantides.
,,	311,	,,	3	,, *top.*	,,	Rexibius	,,	Rhexibius.
,,	,,	,,	18	,, *foot.*	,,	treasury	,,	chamber.
,,	312,	,,	10	,, ,,	,,	Metapontum	,,	Metapontium.
,,	315,	,,	11	,, ,,	,,	Alcathus	,,	Alcathous.
,,	317,	,,	27	,, ,,	,,	Parthenia	,,	Parthenias.
,,	,,	,,	14	,, ,,	,,	Alcathus	,,	Alcathous.
,,	328,	,,	25	,, ,,	,,	Peneleus	,,	Peneleos.
,,	,,	,,	4	,, ,,	,,	Didymi	,,	Didyma.
,,	376,	,,	7	,, ,,	,,	Azas	,,	Azan.
,,	,,	,,	4	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	377,	,,	5	,, *top.*	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	,,	,,	7	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	,,	,,	10	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	,,	,,	20	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	,,	,,	14	,, *foot.*	,,	Aphidamas	,,	Amphidamas.
,,	378,	,,	16	,, ,,	,,	Hippothus	,,	Hippothous.
,,	410,	,,	3	,, ,,	,,	Pamphilia	,,	Pamphylia.
,,	429,	,,	14	,, ,,	,,	Dinomanes	,,	Dinomenes.
,,	,,	,,	10	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	433,	,,	11	,, *top.*	,,	Diophantes	,,	Diophantus.
,,	,,	,,	18	,, *foot.*	,,	Hippothus	,,	Hippothous.
,,	434,	,,	4	,, *top.*	,,	Ephesians	,,	Milesians.
,,	445,	,,	12	,, *foot.*	,,	Gobrias	,,	Gobryas.
,,	452,	,,	19	,, ,,	,,	Peneleus	,,	Peneleos.
,,	,,	,,	17	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	,,	,,	11	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	455,	,,	15	,, *top.*	,,	cords	,,	chords.
,,	478,	,,	7	,, *foot.*	,,	Callipus	,,	Callippus.
,,	481,	,,	16	,, *top.*	,,	Baphyra	,,	Baphyras.
,,	482,	,,	,,	,, *foot.*	,,	are	,,	is.
,,	514,	,,	11	,, *top.*	,,	Agelades	,,	Ageladas.
,,	515,	,,	5	,, ,,	,,	Xenophon	,,	Xenophanes.
,,	517,	,,	12	,, *foot.*	,,	oracle	,,	oracles.
,,	538,	,,	14	,, ,,	,,	Medisicaste	,,	Medesicaste.
,,	,,	,,	11	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	541,	,,	5	,, ,,	,,	Aetna	,,	Etna.

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